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THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

M. L'ABBÉ FLEURY,

FROM

THE SECOND ECUMENICAL COUNCIL TO THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

381-420

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES,

AND

68084

AN ESSAY ON THE MIRACLES OF THE PERIOD.

A. h. 11

OXFORD:

JOHN HENRY PARKER.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE publication of a portion of Fleury's elaborate work in English has been undertaken in consequence of the growing interest which is felt at this time in the history of the Church, and the want of works in our language which may be considered to satisfy it. The learned Mosheim, who is most familiarly known to the English reader, has not, properly speaking, written a history; unless, indeed, that deserves the name, which contains no action, pursues no line of narrative, discovers no curiosity about individual character and its influence upon the course of events, and throws no light upon the philosophy of doctrine and its developments. We are presented with a vast multitude of isolated facts in their external aspect; without any relief of the oppression they create from ethical tone, eloquence of style, or skill in composition, on the part of the narrator. His work, therefore, is rather fitted for reference than for reading. A similar judgment has been pronounced by one, whose memory is very dear to the writer of these lines. "Let any one take up "Mosheim," says Mr. Rose in his Second Divinity Lecture delivered at Durham, "—and I mention his name without "any disrespect, for he has done whatever could be done in "his way, by actually wedging and driving in one fact after "another into his pages till they bristle with facts, and the "heart and the imagination are alike beaten down and "crushed to pieces—and see, when one has read his careful "and laborious conglomeration of facts, what more we know

" of Christianity, as a rule of life intended to influence both " individuals and nations, gradually to operate upon laws and " customs, and institutions and manners, and gradually to " cheer and bless all the sons of men.

" We toil through his pages with a reluctant and weary " spirit, without ever going beneath the surface, or beyond " dry details, without one movement of the heart for the cause " which he is recording, and with lively pleasure only when " we can lay the book out of our hands.

" In a word, in Mosheim there is no love of the cause, or, " if the man had a heart, the writer thought it his duty to " overlay his feelings with dry details of barren facts, without " the record of a single moral lesson to which they can lead, " or a feeling which they can inspire."

Nor is a work like Milner's better calculated to supply the deficiency; for though he writes in a tone of piety and seriousness, and with an evident desire to do justice to the great Saints of Christendom, and to illustrate the power of Christian principles in their lives and writings, he falls into the opposite extreme, and has adopted a style between Meditations and Biography. His learning, moreover, is very inadequate to his undertaking; and he is driven to introduce his private religious views into his narrative as a sort of compensation for this disadvantage; judging of persons, not by their actual circumstances and opinions, but by his own view of Scripture teaching, and thinking to ascertain, estimate, and dispose of historical facts, not by research into the existing sources of information, but by the theory of Calvinism. Yet, in consideration of the love he bore to the Fathers in an age when few voices were raised even in apology for them, he is ever to be mentioned with kindness and honour.

Neander's historical works are written, as even a slight acquaintance with them will suffice to shew, with an abundance of learning and thought, and great gratitude is due to the

persons who have taken upon themselves the laborious task of translating portions of them for the benefit of those who are not German scholars; but his History of the Three First Centuries is so full of theories, and those characteristic of his country, and facts are stated with so little attention to historical order and connection, that, valuable or rather necessary as his work is to the theological student, he does not come up to the demand of the present times, when men want to be put into possession of the plain state of things, as it existed in ancient times, with the liberty of judging of them for themselves. The Life of St. Chrysostom, however, translated by Mr. Stapleton, is written on a different plan, and, as being a simple account of his teaching and conduct, with copious extracts from his writings, certainly does answer, as regards the biography of that eminent Father, the purpose which Fleury will be found to fulfil on the whole as regards the History of the Church.

What we meet with in Fleury's work is a minute and exact narrative of the course of ecclesiastical events, as they occurred; and this, from the plan of their histories, is not found in Mosheim, Milner, Gibbon, Neander, Milman, or Dollinger, great as are the merits of these authors in various ways. And another excellence thence resulting, which has already been hinted at, is this: that his particular religious opinions exert a far less influence upon his relation of facts than those of the abovenamed authors, one of whom was not even a believer in Christianity, and all of whom put forward a theory, or write as apologists or controversialists. Of course it is not denied that Fleury writes as a Roman Catholic, nor is it intended to place his creed on a level with that of Calvin or with Protestantism or Rationalism generally; and it is undoubtedly an advantage in itself, where there is but a choice of evils, to select an author who belongs to the Church Catholic in preference to others who do not belong to it, or who deny its existence; yet it is a still greater advantage, when

the circumstances of our theological literature oblige us to look abroad for instructors in history, to find one who does not prominently put forward the characteristics of his Church, but mainly contents himself with setting before the reader facts, opinions, characters, and writings, as he finds them, without comment of his own. It may be added, that since Fleury is of the Gallican school, where he does introduce his own views, it is commonly in reduction of those characteristics of his communion, which are viewed among ourselves as exaggerations or perversions of Christian truth.

The faults, on the other hand, which are incident to a history such as Fleury's, are obvious, and some of them not inconsiderable. A bare relation of facts without system or philosophical view, however ethical, personal, and, as it were, living they may be in their character, is apt to become tedious and wearisome. And to many minds it is a source of much painful perplexity, to have a variety of deeds, sentiments, measures, and persons, set before them, without any clue to guide them how far each of these is true, and how far faulty, where they are at liberty to praise and where they are bound to blame. A still more obvious fault is the prolixity which is the necessary attendant on such a history. This is so serious a consideration in the present publication, that it is a question whether, in any subsequent portions to which it may proceed, some attempt might not advantageously be made at abridgment.

The portion contained in the present Volume commences with the Second Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople, A.D. 381; and has been selected under the idea that it is a part of history less known to theological students than the times which precede it. The matters treated in the Council in question, which was convened on the accession of Theodosius to settle the disturbances to which Arianism had given rise, are carried into two subsequent Councils held at Con-

stantinople, and two contemporaneous Councils at Aquileia and Rome. At this time the two most eminent Fathers in the East and West, were St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Ambrose; the latter of whom was the leading Bishop at Aquileia, and the former presided at Constantinople after the death of St. Meletius. St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Amphilochius of Iconium, and St. Cyril of Jerusalem were also present at Constantinople; in the West St. Martin was at the same date nearly in the middle of his Episcopate, and about sixty-five years old. St. Jerome was about forty, and at this time secretary to Pope Damasus. St. Paulinus was still in the world, filling the high offices of state. St. Chrysostom was a few years past thirty, and at Antioch in his Diaconate; St. Augustine still a Manichee, teaching rhetoric at Carthage, but soon about to pass into Italy and to be converted by St. Ambrose. These Fathers form the principal subject of the following books; especially St. Ambrose, whose Episcopate is contained in them nearly entire down to his death. Other chief subjects which occur are the history of St. Martin and the Ithacians, the sedition at Antioch, the conversion of St. Augustine, and his elevation to the See of Hippo, that of St. Chrysostom to the See of Constantinople, the destruction of the heathen temples in Egypt, and some considerable passages in the History of the Monastic Life, as seen in St. Paula and other ladies at Rome, in St. Jerome her spiritual guide, in St. Martin in Gaul, in the Monks in the Mountains near Antioch, and in those of Egypt.

It only remains to be observed in addition, that Herbert's translation (London, 1728) has been followed; but with so careful a revision, that as far as trouble is concerned, it may almost be said to be a new one; though the style retains marks of a former century. It has been carefully compared throughout with the original; and Fleury's marginal references have been all verified; where he does not mention

the edition he has used, other references are added, which, as well as other additions whether in the text or margin, are inclosed within brackets. The notes are confined, as far as possible, to matters of fact; the longer ones are generally engaged in tracing the history of rites and doctrines mentioned in the text. The Index to the text is translated from the French, with additions; and an Index to the notes has been subjoined.

For the trouble which these various improvements have involved, the Edition is indebted to ALBANY J. CHRISTIE, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College.

J. H. N.

Littlemore, June 4, 1842.

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ESSAY

ON THE

MIRACLES RECORDED IN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION.

SACRED History is distinguished from Profane by the nature of the facts which enter into its composition, and which are not always such as occur in the ordinary course of things, but are extraordinary and divine. Miracles are its characteristic, whether it be viewed as scriptural or ecclesiastical: as the history of a reign or dynasty more or less approximates to biography, the history of a wandering tribe passes into romance or poetry, and a constitutional history borders on a philosophical dissertation, so the history of religion is necessarily of a theological cast, and is occupied with the supernatural. It is a record of "the kingdom of heaven," a manifestation of the Hand of God; and "the temple of God "being opened" and "the ark of His testament," there are "lightnings and voices," the momentary yet recurring tokens of that conflict between good and evil which is waging in the world of spirits from age to age. This supernatural agency, as far as it is really revealed to us, is from its very nature the most important and arresting of the characteristics of sacred history, and the very rumour of its manifestation will interest the Christian mind from the certainty of its existence. But since the miraculous

accounts which are presented to us are often not mere reports or surmises, but essential to the narrative, it is plain that to treat any such portion of history, (for instance, that of the Jews, or of the rise of Christianity, or of the Catholic Church,) without taking them into account, is to profess to write the events of a reign, yet to be silent about the monarch,—to overlook as it were his personal character, and professed principles, and indirect influence, and immediate acts.

Among the subjects then which the history contained in these Volumes brings before us, and which are apt more or less to startle those who with modern ideas commence the study of Church history generally,—such as the relation and connection maintained in ancient times between the secular and ecclesiastical powers, the monastic rule, the view then taken of the poor and of poverty, the honour paid to celibacy, the prevailing belief in the power of the keys, the received methods and principles of teaching and disputing, and the like,—it seems right to bestow attention in the first place on the supernatural narratives which occur in the course of it, and of which various specimens are found in that portion of it which is now presented to the reader[a]. It will naturally suggest itself to him to form some judgment upon them, and a perplexity, perhaps a painful perplexity, may ensue from the difficulty of doing so. This being the case, it is inconsiderate and almost wanton to bring such subjects before him, without making at least the attempt to assist him in disposing of them. Accordingly the following brief remarks have been written in discharge of a sort of duty which a work of ecclesiastical history involves,—not indeed without a deep sense of the arduousness of such an essay, or of the extreme incompleteness and other great defects of its execution, but at the same time, as the writer is bound to add, without any

[a] E. g. pp. 104, 158, 214, 297, &c. Vid. in Index, *Miracles, Relics.*

apology at all for discussing in his own way a subject which demands discussion, and which, if any other, is an open question in the English Church, and has only during the last century been viewed in a light which he believes to be both false and dangerous to revealed religion altogether.

It may be advisable to state in the commencement the conclusions to which the remarks which follow will be found to tend; they are such as these:—that Ecclesiastical miracles, that is, miracles posterior to the Apostolic age, are on the whole very different in object, character, and evidence, from those of Scripture on the whole, so that the one series or family ought never to be confounded with the other; yet that the former are not therefore at once to be rejected; that there was no Age of miracles, after which miracles ceased; that there have been at all times true miracles and false miracles, true accounts and false accounts; that no authoritative guide is supplied to us for drawing the line between the two; that some of the miracles reported were true miracles; that we cannot be certain how many were not true; and that under these circumstances the decision in particular cases is left to each individual, according to his opportunities of judging.

SECTION II.

ON THE ANTECEDENT PROBABILITY OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL MIRACLES.

A FACT is properly called "improbable," only when it has some quality or circumstance attached to it which operates to the disadvantage of evidence adduced in its behalf. We can scarcely avoid forming an opinion for or against any statement which meets us; we feel well disposed towards some accounts or reports, averse from others, sometimes on no reason whatever beyond our accidental frame of mind at the moment, sometimes because the facts averred flatter or thwart our wishes, coincide or interfere with the view of things familiar to us, please or startle our imagination, or on other grounds equally vague and untrustworthy. Such anticipations about facts are as little blameable as the fancies which spontaneously rise in the mind about a person's stature and appearance before seeing him: and, like such fancies, they are dissipated at once when the real state of the case is in any way ascertained. They are simply notional; and form no presumption in reason, for or against the facts to which they relate.

An antecedent improbability then in certain facts, to be really such, must avail to prejudice the evidence which is offered in their behalf, and must be of a nature to diminish or destroy its force. Thus it is improbable, in the *highest* degree, that our friend should have done an act of fraud or injustice, and improbable again, but in a *slight* degree, that our next-door neighbour should have been highly promoted, or that he should have died suddenly. We do not acquiesce in any evidence that comes to hand even for the latter occurrence, and in none but the very best for the former. Again there is a

general improbability attaching to the notion that the members of certain sects or of certain political parties should be of this or that cast of opinions, feelings, or manners; and, on the other hand, though there is no *general* improbability that individuals of the poorest class should make large fortunes, yet a strong probability may lie against certain given persons of those classes *in particular*.

Now it may be asserted that there is no presumption whatever against miracles *generally* in the ages after the Apostles, though there may be and is a certain antecedent improbability in *particular* miracles.

There is no presumption against Ecclesiastical miracles generally, because inspiration has stood the brunt of any such antecedent objection, whatever it be worth, by its own supernatural histories, and in establishing their certainty in fact, has disproved their impossibility in the abstract. If miracles are antecedently improbable, it is either from want of a cause to which they may be referred, or of experience of similar events in other times and places. What neither has been before, nor can be attributed to an existing cause, is not to be expected, or is improbable. But Ecclesiastical miracles are occurrences not without a parallel, for they follow upon Apostolic miracles, and they are referrible to the Author of the latter as an All-sufficient Cause. Whatever be the regularity and stability of nature, interference with it can be, because it has been; there is One who both has power over His own work and who has not been unwilling to exercise it. In this point of view, then, Ecclesiastical miracles are more advantageously circumstanced than those of Scripture.

What has happened once, may happen again; the force of the presumption against miracles lies in the opinion entertained of the inviolability of nature, to which the Creator seems to "have given a law which shall not be broken." When once that law is shewn to be but general, not necessary, and, (if

the word may be used,) when its *prestige* is once destroyed, there is nothing to shock the imagination in a miraculous interference twice or thrice, as well as once. What never has happened is improbable in a sense quite distinct from that in which a thing is improbable which has before now happened; the improbability of the latter may be greater or less, it may be very great; but whatever its strength, it is different in kind from that which, without the possibility of refutation, admits of being called by those who reject it an impossibility.

It may be urged in reply, that the abstract argument against miracles generally has little or no force, directly the mere doctrine of a Creator and Supreme Governor is admitted, and prior to any reference to Scripture history; that there is no question among religious men of the existence of a Cause *adequate* to the production of miracles any where or at any period; the question rather is whether He *will* work them; the question simply is whether the *Ecclesiastical* miracles are probable, not whether there is a general presumption against them all *as miracles;* and that while the Scripture miracles can do little towards a recommendation of subsequent miracles, *as miracles,* for there is little needs doing here, they actually tend to discredit them, *as being subsequent,* for from the nature of the case irregularities can be but rarely allowed in any system. It is at first sight not to be expected that the Author of nature should interrupt His own harmonious order at all, though powerful to do so; and therefore the fact of His having already done so makes it only less probable that He will do so again. Moreover, could a recurrence of miraculous agency be anticipated, it would be the recurrence of a like agency, not any manifestation of power whatever, however different from it; whereas the miracles of the ages subsequent to the Apostles are on the whole so very unlike those of which we read in Scripture, in their object, circumstances, nature,

and evidence, as even to be disproved by the very contrast. This is what may be objected.

Now as far as this representation involves the discussion of the character and circumstances of the Ecclesiastical miracles, it will come under consideration in the following section; here we are only engaged with the abstract question, whether the circumstance that miracles have once occurred, and that under certain circumstances and with certain characteristics, does or does not prejudice a proof, when offered, of their having occurred again, and that under other circumstances and with other characteristics.

On this point many writers have expressed opinions which it is difficult to justify. Thus Warburton, in the course of some excellent remarks on the Christian miracles, is led to propose a certain test of true miracles founded on their professed *object*, and suggests that this will furnish us with means of drawing the line of supernatural agency in the early Church. "If [the *final cause,*]" he says, "be so *important* as "to make the miracle *necessary to the ends of the dispensation,* "this is all that can be reasonably required to entitle it to our "belief;" so far he is vindicating the Apostolic miracles, and his reasoning is unexceptionable; but he adds in a note, "Here, by the way, let me observe, that what is now said "gives that *criterion* which Dr. Middleton and his opponents, "in a late controversy concerning miracles, demanded of one "another, and which yet, both parties, for some reasons or "other, declined to give; namely, some certain mark to "enable men to distinguish, for all the purposes of religion, "between true and certain miracles, and those which were "false or doubtful[b]." He begins by saying that miracles which subserve a certain object deserve our consideration, he ends by saying that those which do not subserve it do not

[b] Div. Leg. ix. 5.

deserve our consideration, and he makes himself the judge whether they subserve it or not.

Douglas too, after observing that the miracles of the second and third centuries have a character less clearly supernatural and an evidence less cogent than those of the New Testament, and that the fourth and fifth are "ages of credulity and superstition," and the miracles which belong to them "wild and ridiculous," proceeds to lay down a *decisive criterion* between true miracles and their counterfeits, and this he considers to be the gift of inspiration in their professed workers. "Though it may be "a matter more of curiosity than of use, to endeavour to "determine the exact time when miraculous powers were "withdrawn from the Church, yet *I think that it may be* "*determined with some degree of exactness.* The various "opinions of learned protestants, who have extended them "at all after the Apostles, shew how much they have been "at a loss with regard to this, which has been urged by "papists with an air of triumph, as if protestants not being "able to agree when the age of miracles was closed, this were "an argument of its not being closed as yet. If there be any "thing in this objection, though perhaps there is not, *I think* "*I have it in my power to obviate it,* by fixing upon a period, "beyond which we may be *certain* that miraculous powers "did not subsist." Then he refers to his argument in favour of the New Testament miracles, that "what we know of the "attributes of the Deity, and of the usual methods of His "government, *incline us to believe* that miracles will never be "performed by the agency and instrumentality of men, but "when these men are set apart and chosen by God to be "His ambassadors, as it were, to the world, to deliver some "message or to preach some doctrine as a law from heaven; "and in this case their being vested with a power of working "miracles is the best credential of the divinity of their

"mission." So far, as Warburton, this author keeps within bounds, but next he proceeds, as Warburton also, to extend his argument from a defence of what is true to a test of what is false. "If we set out with this as a *principle*, then shall we "easily determine when it was that miracles ceased to be "performed by Christians; for we shall be led to conclude "that the age of Christian miracles must have ceased with the "age of Christian inspiration. So long as Heaven thought "proper to set apart any particular set of men to be the "authorized preachers of the new religion revealed to man-"kind, so long, may we rest satisfied, miraculous powers "were continued. But whenever this purpose was answered, "and inspiration ceased to be any longer necessary, by the "complete publication of the Gospel, then would the mi-"raculous powers, *whose end was to prove the truth of in-"spiration*, be *of course* withdrawn[c]." Here he determines *à priori* in the most positive manner the "end" or object of miracles in the designs of Providence. That it is very natural and quite consistent with humility to form antecedent notions of what is likely and what not likely, as in other matters, so as regards the Divine dealings with us, has been implied above; but it is neither reverent nor philosophical in a writer to "think he has it in his power" to dispense with good evidence in behalf of what professes to be a work of God, by means of a summary criterion of his own framing. His very mode of speech, as well as his procedure, reminds us of Hume, who in like manner, when engaged in invalidating the evidence for all miracles whatever, observes that "nothing is so convenient as a *decisive* argument," (such as Tillotson's against the Real Presence,) "which must at least "silence the most arrogant bigotry and superstition, and free "us from their impertinent solicitations," and then "*flatters "himself that he has discovered* an argument of a like nature,

[c] Pages 239—241. Edit. 4.

" which, if just, will, with the wise and learned, be an ever-
" lasting check to all kinds of superstitious delusion, and
" consequently, will be useful as long as the world endures."

It is observable that in another place Douglas had said, that " though we may be certain that God will never reverse " the course of nature but for important ends, (the course of " nature being the plan of government laid down by Himself,) " Infinite Wisdom may see ends highly worthy of a miraculous " interposition, the importance of *which may lie hid from our* " *shallow comprehension*. Were, therefore, the miracles, about " the credibility of which we now dispute, events brought " about by invisible agency, though our being able to dis-
" cover an important end served by a miracle would be no " weak additional motive to our believing it; yet our *not* " being able to discover any such end *could be no motive to* " *induce us to reject it,* if the testimony produced to confirm " it be unexceptionable [d]." The author is here speaking of the miracles of the Old and New Testaments, which he believes; and, like a religious man, he feels, contrariwise to Hume, that it is not " convenient," but dangerous to allow of an antecedent test, which, for what he knows, and before he is aware, may be applied in disproof of one or other of those sacred and gracious manifestations. But it is far otherwise when he comes to speak of Ecclesiastical miracles, which he *begins* with disbelieving without much regard to their evidence, and is engaged, not in examining or confuting, but in burdening with some test or criterion which may avail, in Hume's words, " to silence bigotry and superstition, and to " free us from their impertinent solicitations." He acts towards the miracles of the Church as Hume towards the miracles of Scripture.

And surely with less reason than Hume, from a consideration already suggested; because, in being a believer in

[d] Page 217.

the miracles of Scripture, he deprives himself of that strong antecedent ground against all miracles whatever, both Scriptural and Ecclesiastical, on which Hume took his stand. Allowing, as he is obliged to do, that the Ecclesiastical miracles are possible, because the Scripture miracles are true, he rejects Ecclesiastical miracles as not subserving the object which he arbitrarily assigns for miracles under the Gospel, while he protects the miracles of Scripture, by the cautious proviso, that "Infinite Wisdom may see ends" for an interposition, "the importance of which may lie hid from our shallow "comprehension." Yet it is a fairer argument against a miraculous agency, before it has in any case been ascertained, that its object is apparently unimportant, than after such agency has once been manifested. What has been introduced for greater ends may, when once introduced, be made subservient to secondary ones. Parallel cases are of daily occurrence in matters of this world; and if it is allowable, as it is generally understood to be, to argue from final causes in behalf of the being of a God, that is, to apply the analogy of a human framer and work to the relation subsisting between this world and a Creator, surely it is allowable also to illustrate the course of Divine Providence by the methods and procedures of human agents. Now, nothing is more common in scientific and social arrangements than that works, begun for one purpose, should, in the course of operation, be made subservient, as a matter of course, to lesser ones. A mechanical contrivance or a political organization is continued for secondary objects, when the primary has been attained; and thus miracles begun either for Warburton's object or Douglas's may be continued for others, "the importance of which," in the language of the latter, "may lie hid from our shallow "comprehension."

Hume judges of professedly Divine acts by *experience;* Warburton and Douglas by the *probable objects* which a

Divine Agent must pursue. Both parties draw extravagant conclusions, and that unphilosophically; but surely we know much less of the designs and purposes of Divine Providence, than of the course of this world. Facts come before us, the All-wise Mind is hidden from us. We have a right to form anticipations about facts; we may not, except very reverently and humbly, attempt to trace, and we dare not prescribe, the rules on which Providence conducts the government of the world. The Apostle warns us, "Who hath known the mind "of the Lord? and who hath been His counsellor?" And surely, a fresh or additional object in the course of Providence presents a less startling difficulty to the mind than an alteration in the laws of nature. If we conquer our indisposition towards the news of such an alteration by reflecting on the Sovereignty of the Creator, let us not be religious by halves, let us submit our imaginations to the full idea of that inscrutable Sovereignty, nor presume to confine it within bounds narrower than are prescribed by His own attributes.

This, then, is the proper answer to the objection, urged against the post-apostolic miracles, on the ground that the occurrence of miracles does in itself discredit their recurrence, and that the miracles subsequent to those of Scripture differ from them in fact in their objects and circumstances. The ordinary Providence of God is conducted upon a *system;* and as even creation is now contemplated by philosophers as possibly subject to fixed laws, so it is more probable than not that there is also a law of supernatural manifestations. And thus the occurrence of miracles is rather a presumption for than against their recurrence; such events being not isolated acts, but the symptoms of the presence of an agency. And again, since every system consists of parts varying in importance and value, so also as regards a dispensation of miracles, "God hath set every one of them in the body as it "hath pleased Him;" and even "those members which seem

"to be more feeble" and less "comely" are "necessary," and are sustained by their fellowship with the more honourable.

It may be added that Scripture, as in Mark xvi. 17, 18, certainly does give a *primâ facie* countenance to the idea that miracles are the privilege of true believers, and that where is faith, there shall be the manifested signs of its Invisible Author. Hence it was the opinion of Grotius [e], who is here quoted from his connection with English Theology, and of Barrow, Dodwell, and others, that at least miracles are to be expected to attend on the labours of Missionaries. Now, this Scripture intimation, whether fainter or stronger, does, as far as it goes, add to the presumption in favour of the miracles of Ecclesiastical history, by authoritatively assigning them a place in the scheme of Christianity. But this subject, as well as others touched upon in this section, will more distinctly come into review in those which follow.

[e] On Mark xvi. 17, Grotius avows his belief in the continuance of a miraculous agency down to this day. He illustrates that text from St. Justin, St. Irenæus, Origen, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and Lactantius, as regards the power of exorcism, and refers to the acts of Victor of Cilicia in the Martyrology of Ado, and the history of Sabinus, Bishop of Canusium, in Greg. Turon., for instances of miraculous protection against poison. As to missions, he asserts that the presence of miraculous agency is even a test whether the doctrine preached is Christ's. "Si quis etiam nunc gentibus "Christi ignaris, (illis enim proprie mi- "racula inserviunt, 1 Cor. xiv. 22), ita "ut ipse annunciari voluit, annunciat, "promissionis vim duraturam arbitror. "Sunt enim ἀμεταμέλητα τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρα. "Sed nos cujus rei culpa est in nostrâ "ignaviâ aut diffidentiâ, id solemus in "Deum rejicere." Elsewhere he professes his belief in the miracle wrought upon the Confessors under Hunneric, who spoke after their tongues were cut out, and in the ordeals of hot iron in the middle ages. de Verit. i. 17; and in the miracles wrought at the tombs of the Martyrs. ibid. iii. 7. fin. Vid. also de Antichr. p. 502. col. 2.

SECTION III.

ON THE INTERNAL CHARACTER OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL MIRACLES.

THE miracles wrought in times subsequent to the Apostles are of a very different character, viewed as a whole, from those of Scripture viewed as a whole; so much so, that some writers have not scrupled to say that, if they really took place, they must be considered as forming another dispensation[f]; and at least they are in some sense supplementary to the Apostolic. This will be evident both on a survey of some of them, and by referring to the language used by the Fathers of the Church concerning them.

The Scripture miracles are for the most part evidence of a Divine revelation, and that for the sake of those who have not yet been instructed in it, and in order to the instruction of multitudes: but the miracles which follow have sometimes no discoverable or direct object, or but a slight object; they happen for the sake of individuals, and of those who are already Christians, or for purposes already effected, as far as we can judge, by the miracles of Scripture. The Scripture miracles are wrought by persons consciously exercising under Divine guidance a power committed to them for definite ends, professing to be immediate messengers from heaven, and to be evidencing their mission by their miracles: whereas Ecclesiastical miracles are not so much wrought as displayed, being effected by Divine power without any visible media of operation at all, or by inanimate or material media, as relics and shrines, or by instruments who did not know at the time what they were effecting, or if they were hoping and praying for such supernatural blessing, at least did not know when they were to be used as instruments, when not. We find the gift

[f] Vid. Middleton's Inquiry, p. 24. et al. Campbell on Miracles, p. 121.

often committed, in the words of Middleton, "not to the suc-
"cessors of the Apostles, to the Bishops, the Martyrs, or the
"principal champions of the Christian cause, but to boys, to
"women, and above all, to private and obscure laymen, not
"only of an inferior but sometimes also of a bad character[g]."
The miracles of Scripture are, as a whole, grave, simple, and majestic: those of Ecclesiastical history often partake of what may not unfitly be called a romantic character, and of that wildness and inequality which enters into the notion of romance. The miracles of Scripture are undeniably of a supernatural character: those of Ecclesiastical history are often scarcely more than extraordinary accidents or coincidences, or events which seem to betray exaggerations or errors in the statement. The miracles of Scripture are definite and whole transactions, drawn out and carried through from first to last, with beginning and ending, clear, complete, and compact in the narrative, separated from extraneous matter, and consigned to authentic statements: whereas the Ecclesiastical for the most part are not contained in any authoritative form or original document; at best they need to be extracted from merely historical works, and often are only floating rumours, popular traditions, vague, various, inconsistent in detail, tales which only *happen* to have survived, or which in the course of years obtained a permanent place in local usages or in particular rites or in certain spots, recorded at a distance from the time and country when and where they profess to have occurred, and brought into shape only by the juxta-position of distinct informants. Moreover, in Ecclesiastical history true and false miracles are mixed: whereas in Scripture inspiration has selected the true to the exclusion of all others.

The peculiarity of these miracles, as far as their nature and character are concerned, which is the subject immediately before us at present, will be best understood by an enumeration

[g] Page 25. Edit. 1749.

of some of them, taken almost at random, in the order in which they occur in the authors which contain them.

The Life of St. Gregory of Neocæsarea, in Pontus, (A. D. 250), is written by his namesake of Nyssa, who lived about 120 years after him, and who, being a native and inhabitant of the same country, wrote from the traditions extant in it. He is called Thaumaturgus, from the miraculous gift ascribed to him, and it is not unimportant to observe that he was the original Apostle of the heathen among whom he was placed. He found but seventeen Christians in his diocese, and he was the instrument of converting the whole population both of town and country. St. Basil, whose see was in the neighbourhood, states this circumstance, and adds, "Great is the "admiration which still attends on him among the people of "that country, and his memory resides in the Churches new "and ever fresh, impaired by no length of time. And therefore no usage, no word, no mystic rite of any sort have "they added to the Church beyond those which he left. "Hence many of their observances seem imperfect, on account of the ancient manner in which they are conducted. "For his successors in the government of the Churches, did "not endure the introduction of any thing which has been "brought into use since his date[h]."

St. Gregory of Nyssa tells us that, when he was first coming into his heathen and idolatrous diocese, being overtaken by night and rain, he was obliged with his companions to seek refuge in a temple which was famous for its oracles. On entering he invoked the Name of Christ and made the sign of the Cross, and continued till morning in prayer and psalmody, as was his custom. He then went forward, but was pursued by the Priest of the temple, who threatened to bring him before the magistrates, as having driven the evil spirit from the building, who was unable to return. Gregory

[h] De Spir. S. 74.

tore off a small portion of the book he had with him, and wrote on it the words, "Satan enter." The Priest, on returning, finding that the permission took effect as well as the former prohibition, came to him a second time, and asked to be instructed about that God who had such power over the demons. Gregory unfolded to him the mystery of the Incarnation, and the pagan, stumbling at it, asked to see a miracle. Nyssen, who has spoken all along as relating the popular account, now says, that he has to relate what is "of all the most incredible." A great stone lay before them; the Priest asked that it might be made to move by Gregory's faith, and Gregory wrought the miracle. This was followed by the Priest's conversion, but not as an isolated event, for on his entry into the city, all the inhabitants went out to meet him, and enough were converted by his preaching the first day to form a Church. In no long time he was in a condition to call upon his flock to build a place of worship, the first public Christian edifice on record; which remained to Nyssen's time in spite of the serious earthquakes which had visited the city. St. Gregory's fame extended into the neighbouring districts, and secular causes were brought for his determination. Among those who came to him were two brothers, who had come into their father's large property, and litigated about the possession of a lake which formed part of it. When his efforts to accommodate their difference failed, and the disputants being strong in adherents and dependents, were even proceeding to decide the matter by force of arms, Gregory the day before the engagement betook himself to the lake, and passed the night there in prayer. The lake was dried up, and in Nyssen's time its bed was covered with woods, pasture and corn land, and dwellings. Another miracle is attributed to him of a similar character. A large and violent stream, which was fed by the mountains of Armenia, from time to time broke through the mounds

which were erected along its course in the flat country and flooded the whole plain. The inhabitants, who were heathen, having heard the fame of Gregory's miracles, made application to him for relief. He journeyed on foot to the place, and stationed himself at the very opening which the stream had made in the mound. Then invoking Christ, he took his staff and fixed it in the mud; and then returned home. The staff budded, grew, and became a tree, and the stream never passed it henceforth; as it was set up at the time, and was appealed to by the inhabitants[1] who were converted in consequence, and was still living in Nyssen's time, it became a sort of monument of the miracle. On one of his journeys two Jews attempted to deceive him; the one lay down as if dead, and the other pretended to lament him, and asked alms of Gregory for a shroud. Gregory threw his garment upon him, and walked on. His companion called on him to rise, but found him really dead. One day when he was preaching, a boy cried out that some one else was standing by Gregory, and speaking instead of him; at the end of the discourse Gregory observed to the bystanders that he was possessed, and taking off the covering which was on his own shoulders, breathed on it, and cast it on the youth, who forthwith shewed all the usual symptoms of demoniacs. He then put his hand on him, and his agitation ceased, and his delusion with it.

Now, concerning these and similar accounts, it is obvious to remark, on the one hand, that the alleged miracles were wrought in order to the conversion of idolaters; on the other hand, when we read of stones changing their place, rivers restrained, and lakes dried up, and, at the same time, of buildings remaining in spite of earthquakes, we are reminded, as in the case of the Scripture miracle upon the cities of the plain, that a volcanic country is in question, in which such

[1] Μεχρὶ τοῦ νῦν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θέαμα γίνεται τὸ φυτὸν καὶ διήγημα . . . . ὄνομα δὲ μεχρὶ τοῦ νῦν ἐστι τῷ δενδρῷ ἡ βακτηρία, μνημόσυνον τῆς Γρηγορίου χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως, τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἐν πάντι τῷ χρόνῳ σωζόμενον. t. 2. pp. 991, 992.

phænomena are to a great extent coincident with the course of nature. It may be added, that the biographer not only is frequent in the phrases, "it is said," "it is still reported," but he assigns as a reason for not relating more of St. Gregory's miracles, that he may be taxing the belief of his readers more than is fitting, and he throughout writes in a tone of apology as well as of panegyric.

Next, let us turn to St. Athanasius's Life of St. Antony, who began the solitary life A.D. 270. Athanasius knew him personally, and writes whatever he was able to learn from himself; for "I followed him," he says, "no small time, and "poured water upon his hands;" and he adds, that "every "where he has had an anxious regard to truth." The following are some of the supernatural or extraordinary portions of his narrative. He relates that the enemy of souls appeared to Antony, first like a woman, then like a black child, when he confessed himself to be the spirit of lewdness, and to have been vanquished by the young hermit. Afterwards, when he was passing the night in the tombs, he was attacked by evil spirits, and so severely stricken that he lay speechless till a friend found him next day[k]. When he was on his first journey into the desert, a large plate of silver lay in his way; he soliloquised thus, "Whence this in the desert? This is "no beaten path, no track of travellers; it is too large to be "dropped without being missed; or if dropped, it would have "been sought after and found, for there is no one else to take it. "This is a snare of the devil; thou shalt not, O devil, hinder "thus my earnest purpose; unto perdition be it with thee!" As he spoke, the plate vanished. He exhorted his friends not to fear the evil spirits; "They conjure up phantoms to

[k] Eusebius relates of one Natalis, a Confessor of the end of the second century, that he fell into the heresy of Theodotus, a sort of Unitarianism, and was warned by our Lord in visions. On neglecting these, he was severely scourged by Angels all through the night. Hist. v. 28. Vid. Hieron. adv. Rufin. p. 414.

" terrify cowards, but sign yourselves with the cross, and go " forth in confidence." " Once there appeared to me," he says on another occasion, " a spirit very tall, with a great " show, and presumed to say, ' I am the Power of God,' and " ' I am Providence; what favour shall I do thee?' But " I the rather spit upon him, naming the Christ, and essayed " to strike him, and I think I did; and straightway this " great person vanished with all his spirits at Christ's Name. " Once he came, the crafty one, when I was fasting, and as " a Monk, with the appearance of loaves, and bade me eat; " ' Eat, and have over thy many pains; thou too art a man, " ' and art like to be sick;' I, perceiving his craft, rose up to " pray. He could not bear it, but vanished through the " door, like smoke. Listen to another thing, and that " securely and fearlessly; and trust me, for I lie not. One " time some one knocked at my door in the monastery; I " went out, and saw a person tall and high. ' Who art thou?' " say I; he answers, ' I am Satan.' Then I asked, ' Why art " ' thou here?' He says, ' Why do the Monks, and all other " ' Christians, so unjustly blame me? Why do they curse " ' me hourly?' ' Why troublest thou them?' I rejoin. He, " ' I trouble them not; they harass themselves; I have be- " ' come weak. I have no place left, no weapon, no city. " ' Christians are now every where; at last even the desert is " ' filled with Monks. Let them attend to themselves, and " ' not curse me, when they should not.' Then I said to " him, admiring the grace of the Lord, ' A true word against " ' thy will, who art ever a liar and never speakest truth; for " ' Christ hath come and made thee weak, and overthrown " ' thee and stripped thee.' At the Saviour's Name he " vanished; it burned him, and he could not bear it." Once when travelling to some brethren across the desert, water failed them; they sat down in despair, and let the camel wander. Antony knelt down, and spread out his hands in prayer;

when a spring of water burst from the place where he was praying. A person came to him who was afflicted with madness or epilepsy, and begged his prayers; he prayed for him, and then said, "Go, and be healed." The man refusing to go, Antony said, "If thou remainest here, thou canst not "be healed; but go to Egypt, and thy cure shall be wrought "in thee." He believed, went, and was cured as soon as he got sight of Egypt. At another time, he was made aware that two brothers were overtaken in the desert by want of water; that one was dead, and the other dying; he sent two Monks, who buried the one and restored the other. Once, on entering a vessel, he complained of a most loathsome stench; the boatmen said that there was fish in it, but without satisfying Antony, when suddenly a cry was heard from a youth on board, who was possessed by a spirit. Antony used the Name of our Lord, and the sick person was restored. St. Athanasius relates a similar instance of Antony's power, which took place in his presence. When the old man left Alexandria, whither he had gone to assist the Church against the Arians, Athanasius accompanied him as far as the gate. A woman cried after him, "Stop, thou man of God, my "daughter is miserably troubled by a spirit." Athanasius besought him too, and he turned round; the girl, in a fit, lay on the ground; but on Antony praying, and naming the Name of Christ, she rose restored. It should be observed, that Alexandria was at this time still in a great measure a heathen city; Athanasius says, that, while Antony was there, as many became Christians in a few days as were commonly converted in the course of the year. This fact is important, not only as shewing us the purpose which his miracles answered, but as informing us by implication that pretensions such as Antony's were not of every day's occurrence then, but arrested attention and curiosity at the time.

We have a similar proof of the comparative rareness of

such miraculous claims in St. Jerome's Life of Hilarion. When the latter visited Sicily, one of his disciples, who was seeking him, heard in Greece, of a Jew, that "a Prophet of the "Christians had appeared in Sicily, and was doing so many "miracles and signs that men thought him one of the old "Saints." Hilarion was the first solitary in Palestine, and a disciple of St. Antony; St Jerome enumerates various miracles which were wrought by him, such as his giving sight to a woman who had been ten years blind, restoring a paralytic, procuring rain by his prayers, healing the bites of serpents with consecrated oil, curing a dropsy, curbing the violence of the sea upon a shore, exorcising the possessed, and among these a camel which had killed many persons in its fury. When he was solemnly buried ten months after his death, his Monk's dress was quite whole upon him, and his body was entire as if he had been alive, and sent forth a most exquisite fragrance.

Sulpicius gives us the account of his master St. Martin's miracles, which encountered much incredulity when he first published it. "I am shocked to say what I lately heard," says his friend to him in his Dialogues; "but an unhappy "man has asserted that you tell many lies in your book." As St. Martin was the Apostle of Gaul, the *purpose* effected by his miracles is equally clear and sufficient as in the instance of Thaumaturgus; yet they are even more extraordinary and startling than his. Sulpicius in his Dialogues solemnly appeals to our Lord that he has stated nothing but what he saw himself, or knew, if not on St. Martin's own word, at least on sure testimony. He also appeals to living witnesses. The following are instances taken from the first of his two works.

Before Martin was a Bishop, while he was near St. Hilary at Poictiers, a certain Catechumen, who lived in his monastery, died of a fever in Martin's absence without baptism. On his

return the Saint went by himself into the cell where the body lay, threw himself upon it, prayed, and then raising himself with his eyes fixed on it, patiently waited his restoration, which took place before the end of two hours. The man, thus miraculously brought to life, lived many years, and was known to Sulpicius, though not till after the miracle. At the same period of his life he also restored a servant in a family who had hung himself, and in the same way. Near Tours, which was his See, a certain spot was commonly considered to be the tomb of Martyrs, and former Bishops had placed an altar there. No name or time was known, and Martin found reason to suspect that the tradition was unfounded. For a while he remained undecided, being afraid either of encouraging superstition or of irreverence; at length he went to the tomb, and prayed to Christ to be told who was buried there and what his character. On this a dismal shade appeared, who, on being commanded to speak, confessed that he was a robber who had been executed for his crimes, and was in punishment. Martin's attendants heard the voice, but saw nothing. Once when he was on a journey, he saw at a distance a heathen funeral procession, and mistook it for some idolatrous ceremonial, the country people of Gaul being in the practice of carrying their gods about their fields. He made the sign of the cross, and bade them stop and set down the body; this they were constrained to do. When he discovered their real business, he suffered them to proceed. At another time, on his giving orders for cutting down a pine to which idolatrous honour was paid, a heathen said, "If thou hast confidence in thy God, let us "hew the tree and do thou receive it as it falls; if thy Lord "is with thee, thou wilt escape harm." Martin accepted the condition, and when the tree was falling upon him, made the sign of the cross; the tree reeled round and fell on the other side. This miracle converted the vast multitude who

were spectators of it[1]. About the same time when he had set on fire a heathen temple, the flames spread to a house which joined it. Martin mounted on to the roof of the building that was in peril, and by his presence warned off the fire, and obliged it to confine itself to the work intended for it. At Paris a leper was stationed at the gate of the city; Martin went up and kissed and blessed him, and his leprosy disappeared.

St. Augustine, again, enumerates at the end of his De Civitate Dei, certain miracles which he himself had witnessed, or had on good authority,—such as these. An actor of the town of Curulis was cured of the paralysis in the act of baptism; this Augustine knew on what he considered the best authority. A person known to Augustine who had received earth from the Holy Sepulchre, asked him and another Bishop to place it in some oratory for the profit of worshippers. They did so; and a country youth, who was paralytic, hearing of it, asked to be carried to the spot. After praying there, he found himself recovered and walked home. By the relics of St. Stephen one man was cured of a fistula, another of the stone, another of the gout; a child who had been crushed to death by a wheel, was restored to life; also a nun, by means of a garment which had been taken to his shrine and thrown over the corpse; and another female by the same means; and another by the oil used at the shrine; and a dead infant who was brought to it. In less than two years even the formal statements given in of miracles wrought at St. Stephen's shrine at Hippo were almost seventy.

These miracles are recorded by writers of the fourth century, though they belong, in one case wholly, in another partially, to the history of the third. When we turn to

[1] Sulpicius adds, "Et vere ante "Martinum pauci admodum, imo pœne "nulli, in illis regionibus Christi no- "men receperant; quod adeò virtutibus "illius exemploque convaluit, ut jam "ibi nullus locus sit, qui non aut ec- "clesiis frequentissimis aut monasteriis "sit repletus." V. Mart. 10.

earlier writers, we find similar assertions of the presence of a miraculous agency in the Church, and its manifestations have the same general character. Exorcism, cures, visions, are the chief miracles of the fourth century; and they are equally so of the second and third; so that the former have a natural claim to be considered the continuation of the latter. But there are these very important differences between the two; that the accounts in the fourth century are much more in detail than those of the second and third, which are commonly vague and general; and next, that in the second and third those kinds of alleged miraculous operation which are the most decisive proofs of a supernatural presence are but sparingly or scarcely mentioned.

Middleton's enumeration of these primitive miracles, which on the whole may be considered to be correct, is as follows,— "the power of raising the dead, of healing the sick, of cast- "ing out devils, of prophesying, of seeing visions, of dis- "covering the secrets of men, of expounding the Scriptures, "of speaking with tongues [m]." Of these the only two which are in their nature distinctly miraculous are the first and last; and for both of these we depend mainly on the testimony of St. Irenæus, who lived immediately after the Apostolical Fathers, that is, close upon the period when even modern writers are disposed to allow that miracles were wrought in the Church. Douglas observes, "If we except the testimonies of "Papias and Irenæus, who speak of raising the dead . . . I "can find no instances of miracles mentioned by the Fathers "before the fourth century, as what were performed by "Christians in their times, but the cures of diseases, par- "ticularly the cures of demoniacs, by exorcising them; which "last indeed seems to be their favourite standing miracle, "and the only one which I find (after having turned over "their writings carefully and with a view to this point) they

[m] Page 72.

"challenged their adversaries to come and see them per-
"form[n]."

It must be observed, however, that though certain occurrences are in their character more miraculous than others, yet that a miracle of *degree* may, in the particular case, be quite as clearly beyond the ordinary course of nature. Imagination can cure the sick in certain cases, in certain cases it cannot; and we shall have a very imperfect view of the alleged miracles, of the second and third centuries, if instead of patiently contemplating the instances recorded, in their circumstances and details, we content ourselves with their abstract character, and suffer a definition to stand in place of examination. Thus if we take St. Cyprian's description of the demoniacs, in which he is far from solitary[o], we shall find that while it is quite open to accuse him and others of misstatement, we cannot accept his description as it stands, without acknowledging that the conflict between the powers of heaven and the evil spirit was then visibly proceeding as in the time of Christ and His Apostles. "O would you listen to "them," he says to the heathen Demetrian, "and see them, "when they are adjured and tormented by us with spiritual "lashes, hurled with words of torture out of bodies they have "possessed, when shrieking and groaning at a human voice, "and beneath a power divine laid under lash and stripe, they "confess the judgment to come. You will find that we are "entreated of them whom you entreat, feared by them whom "you fear, and whom you adore. Surely thus, at least, "will you be brought to confusion in these your errors, "when you behold and hear your gods at once upon our "questioning betraying what they are, and unable, even in "your presence, to conceal their tricks and deceptions[p]."

[n] Page 232.

[o] For ancient testimonies to the power of exorcism, vid. Middlet. pp. 80—90. Douglas's Criterion, p. 232. note l. Farmer on Miracles, pp. 241, 242. Whitby's Preface to Epp. § 10.

[p] Treat. viii. 8. Oxford tr.

Again, "You may see them by our voice, and through the "operation of the unseen Majesty, lashed with stripes, and "scorched with fire; stretched out under the increase of "their multiplying penalty, shrieking, groaning, intreating, "confessing from whence they came, and when they de- "part, even in the hearing of their own worshippers; and "either leaping out suddenly, or gradually vanishing, as "faith in the sufferer aids, or grace in the curer conspires[q]." Passages equally strong might be cited from writers of the same period.

And there are other occurrences of a distinctly miraculous character in the earlier centuries, which come under none of Middleton's or Douglas's classes, but which ought not to be overlooked. For instance, a fragrance issued from St. Polycarp when burning at the stake, and on his being pierced with a sword a dove flew out. Narcissus Bishop of Jerusalem about the end of the second century, when oil failed for the lamps on the vigil of Easter, sent persons to draw water instead; which, on his praying over it, was changed into oil. Eusebius, who relates this miracle, says that small quantities of the oil were preserved even to his time. St. Cyprian speaks of a person who had lapsed in persecution, attempting to communicate; when on opening the arca, or receptacle in which the consecrated bread was reserved, fire burst out from it and prevented her. Another on attending at church with the same purpose, found that he had received from the Priest a cinder instead of bread.

Before quitting this review of Ecclesiastical miracles in the ancient Church, it will be right to mention certain isolated ones which have an historical character and are accordingly more celebrated than the rest. Such is the miracle of the thundering Legion, that is, the rain accorded to the prayers of Christian soldiers in the army of Marcus Antoninus when they were

[q] Treat. ii. 4. Oxford tr.

perishing by thirst; the appearance of the cross in the sky to Constantine's army, with the inscription "In hoc signo vinces;" the sudden death of Arius close upon his proposed re-admission into the Church, at the prayers of Alexander of Constantinople; the discovery of the true cross, its multiplication, and the miracles wrought by it; the fire bursting forth from the foundations of the Jewish temple, which hindered its rebuilding; the restoration of the blind man on the discovery of the relics of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius; and the power of speech granted to the African confessors who had lost their tongues in the Vandal persecution[r].

Imperfect as is this survey of the miracles ascribed to the ages later than the Apostles, it is quite sufficient for the purpose for which it has been made; viz. to shew that those miracles are on the whole very different in their character and attendant circumstances from the Gospel miracles, which are very far from preparing us for them, or rather at first sight indispose us for their reception[s].

And in the next place this important circumstance must be considered, which is as clear as it is decisive, that the Fathers speak of miracles as having in one sense ceased with the Apostolic period;—that is, (considering they elsewhere speak of miracles as existing in their own times,) they say that *Apostolic* miracles, or miracles *like* the Apostles', whether in their object, cogency, impressiveness, or character, were no longer of occurrence in the Church; an interpretation which they themselves in some passages give to their own words. "Argue not," says St. Chrysostom, "because mira-

[r] For other ancient testimonies to the Ecclesiastical miracles, vid. Dodwell. Dissert. in Irenæum. ii. 41—60. Middleton's Inquiry, pp. 2—19. Brook's Defens. Miracl. Eccl. pp. 16—22. Mr. Isaac Taylor's Anc. Christ. part 7.

[s] On the difference between the miracles of Scripture and of Ecclesiastical history, vid. Douglas's Crit. pp. 221—237. Paley's Evidences, part i. prop. 2. Middlet. pp. 21—26. 91—96, &c. Bishop Blomfield's Sermons, note on p. 82. Dodwell attempts to draw a line between the Ante-Nicene and the later miracles, in favour of the former, Dissert. in Iren. ii. 62—66, as regards testimony, nature, instrument, and object.

" cles do not happen now, that they did not happen then . .
" In those times they were profitable, and now they are not."
He proceeds to say that in spite of this difference, the mode of conviction was substantially the same. " We persuade
" not by philosophical reasonings, but from Divine Scripture,
" and we recommend what we say by the miracles then done.
" And then they persuaded not by miracles only, but by dis-
" cussion." And presently he adds, " The more evident and
" constraining are the things which happen, the less room there
" is for faith [t]." Again in another part of his works, " Why are
" there not those now who raise the dead and perform cures?
" I will not say why not; rather, why are there not those
" now who despise the present life? why serve we God for
" hire? When however nature was weak, when faith had to
" be planted, then there were many such; but now He wills,
" not that we should hang on these miracles, but be ready
" for death [u]."

In like manner St. Augustine introduces his catalogue of contemporary miracles, which has been partly given above, by stating and allowing the objection that miracles were not then as they had been. " Why, say they, do not these
" miracles take place now, which, as you preach to us, took
" place once? I might answer that they were necessary
" before the world believed, that it might believe [x]." He then goes on to say that miracles were wrought in his time, only they were not so public and well-attested as the miracles of the Gospel.

St. Ambrose, on the discovery of the bodies of the two Martyrs, uses language of surprise which is quite in accordance with the feelings which the miracles of Antony and Hilarion seem to have roused, in Alexandria and in Sicily.
" You know, you yourselves saw that many were cleansed

[t] Hom. in 1 Cor. vi. 2 and 3.
[u] Hom. 8. in Col. § 5.
[x] De Civ. Dei xxii. 8. § 1.

"from evil spirits, very many on touching with their hands "the garment of the saints, were delivered from the infirmi- "ties which oppressed them. The *miracles of the old time* "are come *again*, when by the advent of the Lord Jesus a "fuller grace was shed upon the earth." Under a similar feeling [y] he speaks of the two corpses, which happened to be of large size, as "miræ magnitudinis, ut prisca ætas ferebat [z]."

And Isidore of Pelusium, after observing that in the Apostles holiness of life and power of miracles went together, adds, "Now, too, if the life of teachers rivalled the Apostolic "bearing, perhaps miracles would take place; though if they "did not, such life would suffice for the enlightening of those "who beheld it [a]."

The doctrine, thus witnessed by the great writers of the end of the fourth century is declared by as clear a testimony two centuries before and two centuries after. Pope Gregory at the end of the sixth in commenting on the text, "And these "signs shall follow those that believe," says, "Is it so, my "brethren, that, because ye do not these signs, ye do not "believe? On the contrary, they were necessary in the "beginning of the Church: for, that faith might grow, it "required miracles to cherish it withal; just as when we "plant shrubs, we water them till they seem to thrive in the "ground, and as soon as they are well rooted, we cease our "irrigation. This is what Paul teaches, 'Tongues are a "'sign not for those who believe, but for those who believe "'not;' and there is something yet to be said of these signs "and powers of a more recondite nature. For Holy Church "doth spiritually every day, what she then did through the "Apostles, corporally. For when the Priests by the grace of "exorcism lay hands on believers and forbid evil spirits to

[y] Ep. i. 22. § 9. The same feeling of reverence for times past must be taken partly to account for the expressions ἴχνη and ὑπολέλειπται in Origen, Eusebius, &c. below note c. page xli.

[z] § 2.

[a] Ep. iv. 80.

"inhabit their minds, what do they but cast out devils? "And any believers soever who henceforth abandon the "secular words of the old life, and utter holy mysteries, and "rehearse, as best they can, the praise and power of their "Maker, what do they but speak with new tongues? More- "over, while by their good exhortations they remove evil "from the hearts of others, they are taking up serpents, &c. ". . . Which miracles are the greater, because they are the "more spiritual; the greater because they are the means of "raising not bodies but souls; these signs then, dearest "brethren, by God's aid, ye do if ye will[b]." And St. Clement of Alexandria at the end of the second century: "If it was imputed to Abraham for righteousness on his "believing, and we are the seed of Abraham, we too must "believe by hearing. For Israelites we are, who are obe- "dient, not through signs[c], but through hearing[d]."

[b] In Evang. ii. 29.

[c] Strom. ii. 6. p. 444. So Mr. Osburn, Errors Apost. Fathers, p. 12. and I think rightly. The Bishop of Lincoln, however, observes, "I find "only one passage in the writings of "Clement which has any bearing on "the question of the existence of mira- "culous powers in the Church;" and proceeds to refer to the Extracts from the writings of Theodotus. Kaye's Clement, p. 468. The Bishop argues in his work upon Tertullian that miracles had then ceased, from a passage in the De Pudicitiâ, in which, after saying that the Apostles had spiritual powers peculiar to themselves, Tertullian adds, "Nam et mortuos suscitaverunt, quod "Deus solus; et debiles redintegrave- "runt, quod nemo nisi Christus; immo "et plagas inflixerunt, quod voluit "Christus." c. 21.

[d] The following passages will be found to testify to the same general fact, that the special miraculous powers possessed by the Apostles did not continue in the Church after them. Eusebius says that according to St. Irenæus, instances of miraculous powers, ἐν ἐκκλησιαις τισὶν ὑπολέλειπτο, Hist. v. 7. ἴχνη, of the miracles still remain, Origen contra Cels. i. 2. fin. ἴχνη, καὶ τινά γε μείζονα. *ibid.* ii. 8. ἴχνη παρ' ὀλίγοις. *ibid.* vii. 8. fin. In two of these passages the gift is connected with holiness of life, a doctrine which Dodwell denies to have existed till the middle ages, Dissert. in Iren. ii. 64, though he is aware of these passages. οὐδὲ ἴχνος ὑπολέλειπται, Chrysost. de Sacerd. iv. 3. fin. οἱ δὲ νῦν πάντες ὁμοῦ cannot do as much as St. Paul's handkerchiefs. *ibid.* iv. 6. He implies that the dead were not raised in his day. "If God saw that the raising of the "dead would profit the living, He "would not have omitted it." De Lazar. iv. 3. "Where is the Holy Spirit "now? a man may ask; for then it "was appropriate to speak of Him, "when miracles took place, and the "dead were raised, and all lepers were "cleansed; but now, &c." De Sanct. Pent. i. 3. He adds that now we have the sanctifying gifts instead. So again, "The Apostles indeed enjoyed the grace "of God in abundance; but if *we* were "bid raise the dead, or open the eyes "of the blind, or cleanse lepers, or "straighten the lame, or cast out "devils, and heal the like disorders," &c. Ad Demetr. i. 8. "When the "knowledge of Him as yet was not "spread abroad, then miracles used to

What are the distinctions between the Apostolic and the later miracles, which allow of the Fathers saying in a true sense that miracles ceased with the first age, has in many ways appeared from what has already come before us. For instance, it has appeared that the Ecclesiastical miracles were but locally known, or were done in private; or were so like occurrences which are not miraculous as to give rise to doubt and perplexity, at the time or since, as to their real character; or they are so unlike the Scripture miracles, so strange and startling in their nature and circumstances, as to need support and sanction rather themselves than to supply it to Christianity; or they are difficult from their drift, or their instruments or agents, or the doctrine connected with them;

" take place; but now there is no need " of that teaching, the facts themselves " proclaiming and manifesting the " Lord." in Psalm cxlii. 5. Vid. also Inscript. Act. ii. 3. Speaking of the miracles in the wilderness, he says, " In our case also, when we came out " of error, many wonders were dis- " played; but after that they stopped, " when religion was planted every " where. And if subsequently they " happened [to the Jews] they were " few and scattered, as when the sun " stood, &c. and this too has appeared " in our case;" and then he goes on to mention the fiery eruption at the temple, &c. in Matth. Hom. iv. 1. And ibid. Hom. xxxii. 7, after mentioning the Apostolic miracles of cleansing lepers, exorcising spirits, and raising the dead; he says, " This is the greatest proof of " your nobleness and love, to believe " God without pledges; for this is one " reason, among others, why God ceased " miracles . . Seek not miracles then, " but health of soul." And then he contrasts with visible miracles the " greater" ones of beneficence, self-command, &c. to the end of the Homily. And in Joan. " Now too there " are those who seek and say, Why are " there not miracles now? If thou art " faithful as behoveth and love Christ " as thou shouldest, miracles thou " needest not." Hom. xxiv. 1. Elsewhere after speaking of the gift of the Spirit dwelling in us, he adds, " not " that we may raise the dead, nor " cleanse lepers, but that we shew forth " the greatest miracle of all, charity," in Rom. Hom. viii. 7. After quoting the text, " We are changed into the same " image from glory to glory," he adds, " This was shewn more manifestly, when " the gifts of miracles were in operation; " but even now it is not difficult to dis- " cern it when a man has believing eyes," &c. in 2 Cor. Hom. vii. 5. In like manner St. Augustine after mentioning the Apostolic miracles, " Sanati lan- " guidi, mundati leprosi, incessus clau- " dis, cæcis visus, surdis auditus est " redditus," and the changing of water into wine, the multiplication of the loaves, &c., continues, " Cur, inquis, " ista modò non fiunt? quia non " moverent, nisi mira essent: at si so- " lita essent, mira non essent." De Util. cred. 16. He adds in his Retractations, " Hoc dixi, quia non tanta, " nec omnia modo, non quia nulla fiunt " etiam modo." Again, " Cum Ecclesia " Catholica per totum orbem diffusa " atque fundata sit, nec miracula illa in " nostra tempora durare permissa sunt, " ne animus semper visibilia quæreret," &c. De Ver. Rel. 25. He adds in his Retractations, " Non sic accipiendum " est quod dixi, ut nunc in Christi no- " mine fieri miracula nulla credantur. " Nam ego ipse quando istum ipsum " librum scripsi, ad Mediolanensium " corpora Martyrum in eâdem civitate " cæcum illuminatum fuisse jam no- " veram," &c. Vid. also Pope Greg. Mor. xxvii. 18.

in a word, they are not primarily and directly *evidence* of revelation, though they may become so accidentally, or to certain persons, or in the way of confirmation. That they are not the direct evidence of revealed truth, is fully granted by St. Augustine in the following striking passage from one of his works against the Donatists:—

"Let him prove that we must hold to the Church in Africa "only, to the loss of the nations, or again that we must re- "store and complete it in all nations from Africa; and prove "it, not by saying 'It is true, because I say it,' or 'because "'my associate says it,' or 'my associates,'' or 'these our "'Bishops,' 'Clerks,' or 'people;' or 'it is true because "'Donatus, or Pontius, or any one else, did these or those "'marvellous acts,' or 'because men pray at the shrines of "'our dead brethren, and are heard,' or 'because this or "'that happens there,' or 'because this brother of ours,' or "'that our sister,' 'saw such and such a vision when he was "'awake,' or 'dreamed such and such a vision when he was "'asleep.' Put away what are either the fictions of men who "lie, or the wonders of spirits who deceive. For either what "is reported is not true, or, if among heretics wonders "happen, we have still greater cause for caution, inasmuch "as our Lord, after declaring that certain deceivers were to "be, who should work some miracles, and deceive thereby, "were it possible, even the elect, added an earnest charge, in "the words, 'Behold, I have told you before.' Whence also "the Apostle warns us that 'the Spirit speaketh expressly, "'in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, "'giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils.' "Moreover, if any one is heard who prays in the shrines of "heretics, what he receives, whether good or bad, is con- "sequent not upon the merit of the place, but upon the "merit of his own earnest desire. For 'the Spirit of the "'Lord,' as it is written, 'hath filled the whole world,' and

" 'the ear of His zeal heareth all things.' And many are
" heard by God in anger; of whom saith the Apostle, 'God
" 'gave them up to the desires of their own hearts.' And to
" many God in favour gives not what they wish, that He may
" give what is profitable. . . . . Read we not that some
" were heard by the Lord God Himself in the high places of
" Judah, which high places notwithstanding were so dis-
" pleasing to Him, that the kings who overthrew them not
" were blamed, and those who overthrew them were praised?
" Thus it appears that the state of heart of the suppliant, is
" of more avail than the place of supplicating. Concerning
" deceitful visions, they should read what Scripture says, that
" 'Satan himself transforms himself into an angel of light,'
" and that 'dreams have deceived many.' And they should
" listen, too, to what the Pagans relate, as regards their
" temples and gods, of wonders either in deed or vision;
" and yet 'the gods of the heathen are but devils, but it is
" the Lord that made the heavens.' Therefore many are
" heard and in many ways, not only Catholic Christians, but
" Pagans and Jews and heretics, involved in various errors
" and superstitions; but they are heard either by seducing
" spirits, (who do nothing, however, but by God's permission,
" judging in a sublime and ineffable way what is to be be-
" stowed upon each;) or by God Himself, whether for the
" punishment of their wickedness, or for the solace of their
" misery, or as a warning to them to seek eternal salvation.
" But salvation itself and life eternal no one attains, unless
" he hath Christ the Head. Nor can any one have Christ
" the Head, who is not in His body, which is the Church;
" which, as the Head Himself, we are bound to discern in
" holy canonical Scripture, not to seek in the various rumours
" of men, and opinions, and acts, and sayings, and sights.

" Let no one therefore object such facts who is prepared
" to answer me; for I too am far from claiming credit for

" my assertion, that the communion of Donatus is not the " Church of Christ, on the ground that certain bishops among " them are convicted, in records ecclesiastical, and municipal, " and judicial, of burning the sacred books, ... or that the " Circumcelliones have committed so much evil, or that some " of them cast themselves down precipices, or throw them- " selves into the fire . . . . or that at their sepulchres herds " of strollers, men and women, in a state of drunkenness and " abandonment bury themselves in wine day and night, or " pollute themselves with deeds of profligacy. Let all this " be considered merely as their chaff, without prejudice to " the Church, if they themselves are really holding to the " Church. But whether this be so, let them prove only from " canonical Scripture; just as we do not claim to be recog- " nized as in the Church of Christ, because the body to " which we hold has been graced by Optatus of Milevis or " Ambrose of Milan, or other innumerable Bishops of our " communion, or because it is set forth in the Councils of " our colleagues, or because through the whole world in holy " places, which are frequented by our communion, so great " marvels take place, whether answers to prayer, or cures; " so that the bodies of Martyrs, which had lain concealed " so many years, (as they may hear from many if they do " but ask,) were revealed to Ambrose, and in presence of " those bodies a man long blind and perfectly well known to " the citizens of Milan recovered his eyes and sight; or " because one man has seen a vision, or because another has " been taken up in spirit, and heard either that he should " not join, or that he should leave, the party of Donatus. " All such things, which happen in the Catholic Church, are " to be approved because they are in the Catholic Church; not " she manifested to be Catholic, because these things happen " in her[e]."

[e] De Unit. Eccl. 49, 50.

So far St. Augustine; it being granted, however, that the object of Ecclesiastical miracles is not, strictly speaking, that of evidencing Christianity, still they may have other uses, known or unknown, besides that of being the argumentative basis of revealed truth; and therefore it does not at once destroy the credibility of such miraculous narratives, vouched to us on good authority, that they have no assignable object, or an object different from those which are specified in Scripture, as was observed in the last section.

Here we are immediately considering the *internal character* of the miracles later than the Apostolic period: and what real prejudice ought to attach to them from the dissimilarity or even contrariety of many of them to the Scripture miracles will be best ascertained by betaking ourselves to the argument from Analogy, and attempting to measure these occurrences by such rules and suggestions as the works of God, as brought before us in the visible creation or in Scripture, may be found to supply. And first of the natural world as it meets our senses:—

"All the works of the Lord are exceeding good," says the son of Sirach; "a man need not to say, What is this? Where-"fore is that? for He hath made all things for their uses." Yet an exuberance and variety, a seeming profusion and disorder, a neglect of severe exactness in the prosecution of its objects, and of delicate adjustment in the details of its system, are characteristics of the world both physical and moral, and characteristics of Scripture also; but still the Wise Man assures us, that the purposes of the Creator are not forgotten by Him or missed, because they are hidden, or the work faulty because it is subordinate or incomplete. All things are not equally good in themselves, because they are diverse, yet every thing is good in its place. "All the works of the "Lord are good, and He will give every needful thing in due "season. So that a man cannot say, This is worse than

"that; for in time they shall all be well approved[f]." To persons who have not commonly the opportunity of witnessing for themselves this great variety of the Divine works, there is something very strange and startling, it may even be said, unsettling, in the first view of nature as it is. To take for instance, the case of animal nature, let us consider the effect produced upon the mind on seeing for the first time the many tribes of the animal world, as we find them brought together for the purposes of science or exhibition in our own country. We are accustomed, indeed, to see wild beasts more or less from our youth, or at least to read of them; but even with this partial preparation, many persons will be moved in a very singular way on going for the first time, or after some interval to a menagerie. They have been accustomed insensibly to identify the wonder-working Hand of God with the specimens of its exercises which they see around them; the forms of tame and domestic animals, which are necessary for us, and which surround us, are familiar to them, and they learn to take these as a sort of rule on which to frame their ideas of the animated works of the Creator generally. When an eye thus habituated to certain forms, colours, motions, and habits in the inferior animals, is suddenly brought into the full assemblage of those mysterious beings, with which it has pleased Almighty Wisdom to people the earth, a sort of dizziness comes over it, from the impossibility of our reducing all at once the multitude of new ideas poured in upon us to the centre of view habitual to us; the mind loses its balance, and it is not too much to say, that in some cases it even falls into a sort of scepticism. Nature seems to be too powerful and various, or at least too strange, to be the work of God, according to that Image which our imbecillity has set up within us, for the Infinite and Eternal, and as we have framed to ourselves our contracted notions of His attributes and acts; and

[f] Eccles. xxxix. 16—35.

if we do not submit ourselves in awe to His great mysteriousness, and chasten our hearts and keep silence, we shall be in danger of losing our belief in His presence and providence altogether. We have hitherto known enough of Him for our personal guidance, but we have not understood that only this has been the extent of our knowledge of Him. Religion we know to be a grave and solemn subject, and some few vague ideas of greatness, sublimity, and majesty, have formed in our minds the whole character of Him whom the Seraphim adore. And then we are suddenly brought into the vast family of His works, hardly one of which is a specimen of those particular and human ideas with which we have identified the Ineffable. First, the endless number of wild animals, their independence of man, and uselessness to him; then their exhaustless variety; then their strangeness in shape, colour, size, motions, and countenance; not to enlarge on the still more mysterious phenomena of their natural propensities and passions; all these things throng upon us, and are in danger of overpowering us, tempting us to view the Physical Cause of all as disconnected from the Moral, and that, from the impression borne in upon us, that nothing we see in this vast assemblage is *religious* in our sense of the word religious. We see full evidence there of an Author,—of power, wisdom, goodness; but not of a Principle or Agent correlative to our idea of religion. But without pushing this remark to an extreme point, or dwelling on it further than our present purpose requires, let two qualities of the works of nature be observed before leaving the subject, which (whatever explanation is to be given of them, and certainly some explanation is not beyond even our limited powers) are at first sight very perplexing. One is that principle of *deformity*, whether hideousness or mere homeliness, which exists in the animal world; and the other (if the word may be used with due soberness) is the *ludicrous*;—that is, judging of things, as we

are here judging of them, by their impression upon our minds.

It is obvious to apply what has been said to the case of the miracles of the Church, as compared with those in Scripture. Scripture is to us a garden of Eden, and its creations are beautiful as well as "very good;" but when we pass from the Apostolic to the following ages, it is as if we left the choicest valleys of the earth, the quietest and most harmonious scenery, and the most cultivated soil, for the luxuriant wildernesses of Africa or Asia, the natural home or kingdom of brute nature, uninfluenced by man. Or rather, it is a great injustice to the times of the Church, to represent the contrast as so vast a one; and Adam might much more justly have been startled at the various forms of life which were brought before him to be named, than we may presume at once to decide that certain alleged miracles in the Church are not really such, because they are unlike those to which our eyes have been accustomed in Scripture. There is far greater difference between the appearance of a horse or an eagle and a monkey, or a lion and a mouse, as they meet our eye, than between the most august of the Divine manifestations in Scripture and the meanest and most fanciful of those legends which we are accustomed without further examination to cast aside. Such properties, or rather such impressions of them upon our minds, may be the necessary consequence of Divine Agency moving on a system and not by isolated acts; or the necessary consequence of its deigning to work with or through the eccentricities, the weaknesses, nay, the wilfulness of the human mind. As then birds are different from beasts, as tropical plants from the productions of the north, as one scene is severely beautiful and another rich or romantic, as the excellence of colours is very different from that of form, as pleasures of sight from pleasures of scent, so also in the case of those works and productions which are above or beside the ordinary

course of nature, in spite of their variety, "to every thing "there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the "heaven," and "He hath made every thing beautiful in his "time;" and as one description of miracles may be necessary for evidence, viz. such as are at once majestic and undeniable, so for those other and manifold objects which the economy of the Gospel kingdom may involve, a more hidden and intricate path, a more complex exhibition, a more exuberant method, a more versatile rule, may be essential; and it may be as shallow a philosophy to reject them merely because they are not such as we should have expected from God's hand, or as we read of in Scripture, as to judge of universal nature by the standard of our own home, or again with the ancient heretics to refuse to admit that the Creator of the physical world is the same with the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Nay, it may even be urged that the variety of nature is antecedently a reason for expecting variety in a supernatural agency, if it be introduced; or, again, (as has been already observed,) if such agency is conducted on a system, it must even necessarily involve diversity and inequality in its separate parts, and, granting it was intended to continue after the Apostolic age, the want of uniformity between the miracles first wrought and those which followed, as far as it is found, might have been almost foretold without the gift of prophecy in that age, or at least may be fully vindicated in this,—nay, even the inferiority of the Ecclesiastical miracles to the Apostolic, for if Divine Wisdom had determined, as is not difficult to believe, that the wonderful works which illuminate the history of the first days of the Church should be the highest and best, what was left to subsequent times, by the very terms of the proposition, but miracles which are but second best, which would necessarily belong to another and rival system if they too were the best, and which admit of belonging to the same system for the very reason that they are not the best?

So much then on the general correspondence between the works of nature, on the one hand, and the miracles of sacred history, whether Scriptural or Ecclesiastical, viewed as one whole, on the other. And while the physical system bears such an analogy to the supernatural system, viewed in its Scriptural and Ecclesiastical portions together, as forms a strong argument in defence of the supernatural, it is on the other hand so far unlike the Scriptural portion of that supernatural when taken by itself, as to protect the portion which is not Scriptural, from objections drawn from any differences observable between it and the portion which is in Scripture. If it be true that the Ecclesiastical miracles are in some sense an innovation upon the idea of the Divine Economy, as impressed upon us by the miracles of Scripture, it is at least equally true that the Scripture miracles also innovate upon the impressions which are made upon us by the order and the laws of the natural world; and as we reconcile our imagination, nevertheless, to that deviation from the course of nature in the Economy of revelation, so surely may we bear without impatience or perplexity that the subsequent history of revelation should in turn diverge from the path in which it originally commenced [g]. Hume argues against miracles ge-

[g] This is Middleton's ground in the following passage, with which should be compared the passages from Hume in the text: "The present question "concerning the reality of the mi- "raculous powers of the primitive "Church, depends on the joint cre- "dibility of the facts, pretended to "have been produced by those powers, "and of the witnesses who attest them. "If either part be infirm, their credit "must sink in proportion; and if the "facts especially be incredible, must "*of course* fall to the ground; *because* "no force of testimony can alter the "nature of things. The credibility "of facts lies open to the trial of our "reason and senses, but the credibility "of witnesses depends on a variety of "principles wholly concealed from us; "and though, in many cases, it may "reasonably be presumed, yet in none, "can it certainly be known. For it is "common with men, out of crafty and "selfish views, to dissemble and de- "ceive; or out of weakness and cre- "dulity to embrace and defend with "zeal what the craft of others had im- "posed upon them; but plain facts "cannot delude us; cannot speak any "other language, or give any other in- "formation, but what flows from nature "and truth. The testimony therefore "of facts, as it is offered to our senses, "in this wonderful fabric and consti- "tution of worldly things, may pro- "perly be called the *testimony of God* "*Himself*, as it carries with it the surest "instruction in all cases, and to all "nations, which in the ordinary course

nerally, "Though the Being to whom the miracle is ascribed, "be, in this case, Almighty, it does not, upon that account, "become a whit more probable; since it is impossible for us "to know the attributes or actions of such a Being, otherwise "than from the experience which we have of His productions "in the usual course of nature[h]." And elsewhere he says, "The Deity is known to us only by His productions . . . As "the universe shews wisdom and goodness, we infer wisdom "and goodness. As it shews a particular degree of these "perfections, we infer a particular degree of them, precisely "adapted to the effect which we examine. But farther at-"tributes, or farther degrees of the same attributes, we can "never be authorized to infer or suppose, by any rules of just "reasoning[i]." And in a note he adds, "In general, it may, "I think, be established as a maxim, that where any cause "is known only by its particular effects, it must be impossible "to infer any new effects from that cause . . . . To say that "the new effects proceed only from a continuation of the "same energy, which is already known from the first effects, "will not remove the difficulty. For even granting this to "be the case, (which can seldom be supposed), the very con-"tinuation and exertion of a like energy (for it is impossible "it can be absolutely the same), I say, this exertion of a

"of His Providence He has thought "fit to appoint for the guidance of "human life." pp. ix, x.

Again, "Our first care should be to "inform ourselves of the proper nature "and condition of those miraculous "powers, . . . as they are represented to "us in the history of the Gospel; for "till we have learned from those sacred "records, what they really were, for "what purposes granted, and in what "manner exerted by the Apostles and "first possessors of them, we cannot "form a proper judgment on those evi-"dences, which are brought either to "confirm or confute their continuance "in the Church, and must dispute con-"sequently at random, as chance or pre-"judice may prompt us, about things "unknown to us." p. xi.

"The whole which the wit of man "can possibly discover, either of the "ways or will of the Creator, must be "acquired . . . not by imagining vainly "within ourselves, what may be proper "or improper for Him to do; but by "looking abroad and contemplating "*what He has actually* done; and at-"tending seriously to that revelation "which He made of Himself from the "beginning, and placed continually be-"fore our eyes, in the wonderful works "and beautiful fabric of this visible "world." p. xxii.

[h] Essay on Miracles, part ii. circ. fin.

[i] Essay on Providence.

" like energy, in a different period of space and time, is a " very arbitrary supposition, and what there cannot possibly " be any traces of in the effects, from which all our knowledge " of the cause is originally derived. Let the inferred cause " be exactly proportioned, as it should be, to the known " effect; and it is impossible that it can possess any qualities, " from which new or different effects can be inferred." This is not the place to analyze a paradox which is sufficiently refuted by the common sense of a religious mind; but the point which concerns us to consider, is whether persons who, not merely question, but prejudge the Ecclesiastical miracles on the ground of their want of resemblance, whatever that be, to those contained in Scripture,—as if the Almighty could not do in the Christian Church what He had not already done at the time of its foundation, or under the Mosaic Covenant,—whether such reasoners are not siding with the sceptic who in the above passages denies that the First Cause can act supernaturally at all, because in nature He can but act naturally, and whether it is not a happy inconsistency by which they continue to believe the Scriptures while they reject the Church.

Indeed, it would not be difficult to shew that the miracles of Scripture are a far greater innovation upon the economy of nature than the miracles of the Church upon the economy of Scripture. There is nothing, for instance, in nature at all to parallel and mitigate the wonderful history of the assemblage of all animals in the Ark, or the multiplication of an artificially prepared substance, such as bread. Walking on the sea, or the resurrection of the dead, is a plain reversal of its laws. On the other hand, the narrative of the combats of St. Antony with evil spirits, is a development rather than a contradiction of revelation, viz. of such texts as speak of Satan being cast out by prayer and fasting. To be shocked then at the miracles of Ecclesiastical history, or to ridicule

them for their strangeness, is no part of a scriptural philosophy.

Nor can the argument from *à priori* ideas of propriety be made available against Ecclesiastical miracles with more safety than the argument from experience. This method of refutation, as well as the other, (to use the common phrase,) proves too much. Those who have condemned the miracles of the Church by such a rule, have before now included in their condemnation the very notion of a miracle altogether, as the creation of barbarous and unphilosophical intellects, who knew nothing of the beautiful order of nature, and as unworthy to be introduced into our contemplation of the providences of Divine Wisdom. A miracle has been considered to argue a defect in the system of moral governance, as if it were a correction or improvement of what is in itself imperfect or faulty, like a piece of new cloth upon an old garment. The Platonists of old were influenced by something like this feeling, as if none but low and sordid persons would attempt or credit miracles truly such, and none but quacks and impostors would profess them. The only true miracles, in the conception of such a school, are miracles of knowledge;—words or deeds which are the result of a greater insight into or foresight of the course of nature, and are proofs of a liberal education and a cultivated and reflective mind[k]. It is easy to see how a habit of this sort may grow upon scientific men, especially at this day, unless they are on their guard against it. There is so much beauty, majesty, and

[k] Hence the charge against the Christians of magic, or γοήτεια. Tertull. Apol. 23. Origen. in Cels. i. 38. ii. 9. Arnob. contr. Gent. i. Euseb. Dem. Ev. iii. 5. and 6. pp. 112, 130. August. Serm. xliii. 4. contr. Faust. xii. 45. Ep. cxxxviii. fin. Julian calls St. Paul the greatest of rogues and conjurors, τὸν πάντας πάνταχου τοῦς πώποτε γοήτας καὶ ἀπατεῶνας ὑπερβαλλόμενον Παῦλον. Ap. Cyr. iii. p. 100. Apollonius professed a knowledge of nature, as the secret of his miracles. Vid. Philostr. Vit. Ap. v. 12. Also Quæst. ad Orthod. 24, where Apollonius is said to have done his miracles κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων, not κατὰ τὴν θείαν αὐθεντίαν. Philostratus illustrates this, when he seems to doubt whether the young woman was really dead whom Apollonius raised. iv. 45.

harmony in the order of nature, so much to fill, satisfy, and tranquillize the mind, that by those who are accustomed to the contemplation, the notion of an infringement of it will at length be viewed as a sort of profanation, and as even shocking, as the mere dream of ignorance, the wild and atrocious absurdity of superstition and enthusiasm, (if it is right to use such language even to describe the thoughts of others,) and as if analogous, to take another and less serious subject, to some gross solecism, or indecorum, or wanton violation of social usages or feelings. We should be very sure, if we resolve on rejecting the Ecclesiastical miracles, that our reasons are better than that false zeal for our Master's honour, which such philosophers express for the honour of the Creator, and which reminds us of the exclamation, "Be "it far from Thee, Lord, this shall not be unto Thee!" as uttered by one who heard for the first time that doctrine which to the world is foolishness.

The question has hitherto been argued on the admission, that a distinct line can be drawn in point of character and circumstances between the miracles of Scripture and of Church History; but this is by no means the case. It is true, indeed, that the miracles of Scripture, viewed as a whole, recommend themselves to our reason and claim our veneration, beyond all others, by a peculiar dignity and beauty; but still it is only as a whole that they make this impression upon us. Some of them, on the contrary, fall short of the attributes which attach to them in general, nay, are inferior in these respects to certain Ecclesiastical miracles, and are received only on the credit of the system of which they form part. Again, specimens are not wanting in the history of the Church, of miracles as awful in their character and as momentous in their effects as those which are recorded in Scripture. The fire interrupting the rebuilding of the Jewish temple, and the death of Arius, are instances, in Ecclesiastical

history, of such solemn events. On the other hand, difficult instances in the Scripture history are such as these:—the serpent in Eden, the Ark, Jacob's vision for the multiplication of his cattle, the speaking of Balaam's ass, the axe swimming at Elisha's word, the miracle on the swine, and various instances of prayers or prophecies, in which, as in that of Noah's blessing and curse, words which seem the result of private feeling are expressly or virtually ascribed to a Divine suggestion.

And thus, it seems, there exists in matter of fact that very connection and intermixture between Ecclesiastical and Scripture miracles, which, according to the analogy suggested in a former page, the richness and variety of physical nature rendered probable. Scripture history, far from being broadly separated from Ecclesiastical, does in part countenance what is peculiar in its miraculous narratives, by affording patterns and precedents for them itself. It begins a series which has, indeed, its higher specimens and its lower, but which still proceeds in the way of a series, with a progress and continuation, without any sudden breaks and changes, or even any exact law of variation according to the succession of periods. As in the natural world, the animal and vegetable kingdoms imperceptibly melt into each other, so are there mutual affinities and correspondences between the two families of miracles as found in inspired and uninspired history, which shew, that whatever may be their separate peculiarities, as far as concerns their internal characteristics, they admit of being parts of one system. For instance, there is not a more startling, yet a more ordinary gift in the history of the first ages of the Church than the power of exorcism; while at the same time it is open to much suspicion, both from the comparative facility of imposture and the intrinsic strangeness of the doctrine it inculcates. Yet, here Scripture has anticipated the Church in all respects, even

going the length of relating the posssession of brute animals, which appears so extravagant when introduced, as instanced above, into the life of Hilarion by St. Jerome. Again, we have a prototype of the miracles wrought by relics in the resurrection of the corpse which touched Elisha's bones, a work of Divine power, which, whether considered in its appalling greatness, the absence of apparent object, and the means through which it was accomplished, we should think incredible, with the now prevailing notions of miraculous agency, were we not familiar with it. Similar precedents for a supernatural presence in things inanimate are found in the miracles wrought by the touch of our Saviour's garments, and by the handkerchiefs and aprons which had been applied to St. Paul's body; not to insist on what is told us about St. Peter's shadow. One particular property ascribed in the early Church to relics was the power of exorcising, or at least of violently affecting, the possessed; in connection then with this belief, let the following words be considered; "And God wrought "special miracles by the hands of Paul, so that from his body "were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and "the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went "out of them[1]." Elijah's mantle is another instance of a relic, endued with miraculous power. Again, the multiplication of the wood of the Cross (the *fact* of which is not here determined, but must depend on the testimony and other evidence producible) is but parallel to Elisha's multiplication of the oil, and of the bread and barley, and our Lord's multiplication of the loaves and fishes. Again, the account of the consecrated bread becoming a cinder in unworthy hands is not so strange as the very first miracle wrought by Moses, the first miracle for evidence recorded in Scripture, when his rod became a serpent, and then a rod again; nor stranger than

[1] Acts xix. 11, 12.

our Lord's first miracle, when water was turned into wine. When the tree was falling upon St. Martin, he is said to have caused it to whirl round and fall elsewhere by the sign of the Cross; is this more startling than Elisha's causing the iron axe-head to swim by throwing a stick into the water? It is objected by Middleton, that after the decree of the Council of Laodicea, restricting exorcism to such as were licensed by the Bishop, the practice died away[m]; this, indeed, implies a very remarkable committal or almost abandonment of a Divine gift, supposing it such, to the discretion of its human instruments; but how does it imply more than we read of in the Apostolic history of the Corinthian Christians, who had so absolute a possession of their supernatural powers that they could use them disorderly and pervert them to personal ends? The miracles in Ecclesiastical history are often wrought without human instruments, or by instruments but partially apprehensive that they are such; but did not the rushing mighty wind, at Pentecost, come down "suddenly" and unexpectedly? and were not the Apostles forthwith carried away by it, not in any true sense *using* the gift, but compelled to speak as the Spirit gave them utterance? It is objected that the Ecclesiastical miracles are not distinct and unsuspicious enough to be true ones, but admit of being plausibly attributed to fraud, collusion, or misstatement in narrators; yet, in like manner St. Matthew tells us that the Jews persisted in maintaining that the disciples had stolen away our Lord's Body, and He did not shew Himself, when risen, to the Jews; and various other objections, to which it is painful to do more than allude, have been made to other parts of the sacred narrative. It is objected that St. Gregory's, St. Martin's, or St. Hilarion's miracles were not believed when first formally published to the world by Nyssen, Sulpicius, and St. Jerome; but it must be recollected that Gibbon observes scoffingly,

[m] Inquiry, pp. 95, 96.

that "the contemporaries of Moses and Joshua beheld with "careless indifference the most amazing miracles," that even an Apostle, who had attended our Lord through His ministry, did not believe his brethren's report of His resurrection, and that St. Paul's supernatural power of punishing offenders was doubted at Corinth by the very parties who had seen his miracles and been his converts. That alleged miracles then should admit of doubt, or be what is called "suspicious," is not at all inconsistent with their title to be considered the immediate operation of Divine Power.

It is observable also, that this intercommunion of miracles, if the expression may be used, which exists between the respective supernatural agencies contained in Scripture and in Church history, is seen also in the separate portions of Scripture history. Its miracles may be distributed into the Mosaic, the Prophetical, and the Evangelical; of which the first are mainly of a judicial and retributive character, and wrought on a large field; the last are miracles of mercy; and the intermediate are more or less of a romantic or poetical cast. Yet, among the Mosaic we find the changing of the rod into a serpent, and the sweetening of the water by a branch, which belong rather to the second period; and among the Christian are the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira, which resemble the awful acts of the first; while Philip's transportation by the Spirit, and the ship's sudden arrival at the shore, might be ranked among those of the second.

And moreover this circumstance is worth considering, that a sort of analogy exists between the Ecclesiastical and Evangelical histories, and the Prophetical and Mosaic. The Prophetical and Ecclesiastical are each in its place a sort of supplement to the supernatural manifestations with which the respective Dispensations open, and present a similar internal character. And whereas there was an interval between

the age of Moses and the revival of miraculous power in the Prophets, though extraordinary providences were never wholly suspended, so the Ecclesiastical gift is restricted in its operation in the first centuries compared with the exuberant exercise recorded of it in the fourth and fifth; and as the Prophetical miracles in a great measure belong to the schools of Elijah and Elisha, so the Ecclesiastical have a special connection with the ascetics and solitaries and the orders or families of which they were patriarchs, with St. Antony, St. Martin and St. Benedict, and other great confessors or reformers, who are the antitypes of the Prophets. Moreover much might be said concerning the romantic character of the Prophetical miracles. Those of Elisha in particular are related, not as parts of the history, but rather as his "Acta;" as illustrations indeed of that double portion of power gained for him by Elijah's prayer, and perhaps with some typical reference to the times of the Gospel, but still with a profusion and variety very like the style of writing which offends us in the miraculous narratives of Ecclesiastical authors. Elisha begins by parting Jordan with Elijah's mantle; then he curses the children, and bears destroy forty-two of them; then he supplies the kings of Judah, Israel, and Edom with water in the wilderness, and gives them victory over Moab; then he multiplies the oil; then he raises the Shunammite's son; then he renders the poisonous pottage harmless by casting meal into it; then he multiplies the bread and barley; then he directs Naaman to a cure of his leprosy; then he reads Gehazi's heart, and follows him throughout his act of covetousness, and inflicts on him Naaman's leprosy; then he makes the iron swim; then he reveals to the king of Israel the counsels of Syria and casts an illusion before the eyes of his army; then he prophesies plenty in the siege; then he foretells Hazael's future course. These wonderful acts are strung together as the single subject of the chapters

in which they occur: they have no continuity; they carry on no action or course of Providence. At length he falls sick, the king visits him, and Elisha promises him a series of victories over the Syrians; he dies and is buried, and by accident a corpse is thrown into his grave, and "when the "man was let down and touched the bones of Elisha, he "revived and stood up on his feet[n]." Surely it is not too much to say, that after this inspired precedent there is little in Ecclesiastical legends to offend as regards the *matter*; their credibility turning first on whether they are to be expected at all, and next whether they are avouched on sufficient evidence. Or take again the history of Samson; what a mysterious wildness and eccentricity is impressed upon it, upon the miracles which occur in it, and upon its highly favoured though wayward subject! "At this juncture," says a recent writer, speaking of the low estate of the chosen people when Samson was born, "the most extraordinary of "the Jewish heroes appeared; a man of prodigious physical "power, which he displayed, not in any vigorous and con- "sistent plan of defence against the enemy, but in the "wildest feats of personal daring. It was his amusement to "plunge headlong into peril, from which he extricated him- "self by his individual strength. Samson never appears at "the head of an army, his campaigns are conducted in his "own single person. As in those of the Grecian Hercules "and the Arabian Antar, a kind of comic vein runs through "the early adventures of the stout-hearted warrior, in which "love of women, of riddles, and of slaying Philistines out of "mere wantonness vie for the mastery. Yet his life began "with marvel, and ended in the deepest tragedy[o]." The tone of this extract cannot be at all defended; yet what else has the writer done towards the words of inspiration but

[n] 2 Kings xiii. 21.
[o] Milman's History of the Jews, vol. i. p. 204.

invest them in those showy human colours which legendary writers from infirmity, and enemies from malice, have thrown over the miracles of the Church? There is certainly an aspect of romance in which Samson may be viewed, though he was withal the instrument of a Divine presence; and so again there may have been a divinity in the acts and fortunes, and a spiritual perfection in the lives, of the ancient Catholic hermits and missionaries, in spite of whatever is wild, uncouth, and extravagant in their personal demeanour and conduct, or rather in the record of them. Once more; the books of Daniel and Esther are very different in composition and style from the earlier portions of the sacred volume, and present a view of the miraculous dealings of the Almighty with His Church, very much resembling what we disparage in Ecclesiastical legends, or again in the historical portions of the Apocrypha, as poetical or dramatic. The two Economies then, the Prophetical and the Ecclesiastical, thus resembling each other in their character as well as their position in their two Covenants respectively, should any one urge, as was stated in a former place [p], that the Ecclesiastical miracles virtually form a new dispensation, we need not deny it *in the sense* in which the Prophetical miracles are distinct from the Mosaic; that is, not as if the Law was in any respect or in any part repealed by the Prophetical schools, but that they, as well as other works of God, had a character of their own, and, as in other things, so in their miracles, were a new exhibition of that Supernatural Presence which overshadowed Israel from first to last. And it may be added, that as a gradual revelation of Gospel truth accompanied the miracles of the Prophets, so to those who admit the Catholic doctrines as enunciated in the Creed, and commented on by the Fathers, the subsequent expansion and variation of supernatural agency in the Church, instead of suggesting difficulties, will

[p] Supra, p. xxiv.

seem but parallel, as they are contemporaneous, to the developments, additions, and changes in dogmatic statements which have occurred between the Apostolic and the present age, and which are but a result and an evidence of life.

Nor lastly, is it any real argument against admitting the Ecclesiastical miracles on the whole, or against admitting certain of them, that certain others are rejected on all hands as fictitious or pretended. It happens as a matter of course on many accounts, that where miracles are really wrought, miracles will also be attempted, or simulated, or imitated, or fabled; and such counterfeits become, not a disproof, but a proof of the existence of their prototypes, just as hypocrisy and extravagant profession are an argument for and not against the reality of virtue [q]. It is doubtless the tendency of religious minds to imagine mysteries and wonders where there are none; and much more, where causes of awe really exist, will they unintentionally misstate, exaggerate, and embellish, when they set themselves to relate what they have witnessed or have heard [r]. A fact is not disproved, because the testimony is confused or insufficient, it is only unproved. And further, the imagination, as is well known, is a fruitful cause of apparent miracles [s]; and hence wherever there are works wrought which altogether surpass the powers of nature, there are likely to be others which surpass its ordinary powers. It would be no cause for surprise, if, as the destruction of Sodom is said to have arisen from volcanic influence, so in the multitude of cures which the Apostles effected some were solely attributable to natural, but unusual, effects of faith. And if Providence makes use of natural principles even when miracles seem intended as evidence of His immediate presence, much more is He likely to intermingle the

[q] Douglas' Crit. p. 19.

[r] Camp. Miracl. p. 122. Jenkins' Christ. Rel. vol. ii. p. 455.

[s] Le Moyne Miracl. pp. 486, 502. Douglas' Crit. p. 93, &c.

ordinary and the extraordinary, when His object is not to prove a revelation, to accredit a messenger, or to certify a doctrine, but to confirm or encourage the faithful, or to rouse the attention of unbelievers. And it will be impossible to draw the line between the two; and the possibility of explaining some of them on natural principles will unjustly prejudice the mind against accounts of those which cannot be so explained. Moreover, as Scripture expressly shews us, wherever there is miraculous power, there will be curious and interested bystanders who would fain "purchase the gift of God" for their own aggrandisement, and "cast out devils in the Name of Jesus," and who counterfeit what they have not really to exhibit, and gain credit and followers among the ignorant and perverse. The impostures then of various kinds which from the first hour abounded in the Church[t] prove as little against the truth of her miracles as against the canonicity of her Scriptures. Yet here too pretensions on the part of worthless men will be sure to scandalize enquirers, and the more so, if, as is not unlikely, such pretenders manage to ally themselves with the Saints, and have an historical position amid the struggles which are made for the integrity or purity of the faith; yet St. Paul was not less an Apostle, nor have Confessors and Doctors been less his successors, because "as they have gone to prayer" a spirit of Pytho has borne witness to them as "the servants of the "most high God," and the teachers of "the way of salvation."

Nor is it any fair argument against Ecclesiastical miracles that, while for the most part they have a legendary air, the miracles contained in Scripture are on the contrary so soberly, so gravely, so exactly stated; unless indeed it is an absurdity to contemplate a gift of miracles without an attendant gift of

[t] Vid. Acts viii. 9; xvi. 17; xix. 13. Vid. Lucian. Peregr. &c. ap. Middlet. Inqu. p. 23.

inspiration to record them. Were it not that the Evangelists were divinely guided, doubtless we should have in Scripture that confused mass of truth and fiction together, which the apocryphal gospels exhibit, and to which St. Luke seems to allude. I repeat, the character of facts is not changed, because they are incorrectly reported; distance of time and place only does injury to the record of them. The Christian miracles were in themselves what they are to us now, at the very time that the world was associating them with the prodigies of Jewish strollers, heathen magicians and astrologers, and idolatrous rites; they would have been thus associated to this day, had not inspiration interposed; yet, in spite of this, they would have been deserving our serious attention as now, so far as we were able to separate the truth from the falsehood. And such is the state in which Ecclesiastical miracles actually do come to us, because inspiration was not continued; they are dimly seen in twilight and amid shadows; let us not quarrel with a circumstance which is but the consequence of the acknowledged absence of the necessary cause.

SECTION IV.

ON THE STATE OF THE ARGUMENT IN BEHALF OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL MIRACLES.

VARIOUS able writers, Leslie, Paley, and Douglas, have laid down certain tests or criteria of matters of fact, which may serve as guarantees that the miracles really took place which are recorded in Scripture. They consider these criteria to be of so rigid a nature that an alleged event which satisfies them must necessarily have occurred, and that, as their argument seems to imply, however great its antecedent improbability. Thus they reply to objections such as Hume's, drawn from the uniformity of nature; not meeting it directly, but rather superseding the necessity of considering it; for what is proved to be true, need not be proved to be possible. Hume scruples not to use "miracle" and "impossibility" as convertible terms[u]; Leslie before him, and Douglas after him, seem to answer, "Would you believe a miracle, if you *saw* it? "Now we are prepared to offer evidence, if not as strong, "still as convincing, as ocular demonstration." Thus they escape from the abstract argument by a controversial method of a singularly practical, and as it may be called, English character.

It would be well if such writers stopped here, but it was hardly to be expected. Disputants are always exposed to the temptation of being overcandid towards objections which they think they have outrun; they admit as facts or truths what they have shewn to be irrelevant as arguments. Thus,

[u] "What have we to oppose to such "a cloud of witnesses, but the absolute "*impossibility* or *miraculous nature* of "the events which they relate." Essay on Miracles.

even were there nothing of a kindred tone of mind in Hume who has assailed the Scripture miracles and in some of ourselves who have defended them, it might have been anticipated that the consciousness of possessing an irresistible weapon in the contest would have led us to treat the arguments of our opponents with a dangerous generosity. But, unhappily, there is much in Protestant habits of thought actually to dispose our writers to defer to a rationalistic mode of reasoning which they have managed to evade in the particular case. Hence, though they are earnest in their protest against Hume's summary rejection of all miraculous histories whatever, they make admissions, which only do not directly tell against the principal Scripture miracles, and tell against all others. They tacitly grant that the antecedent improbability of miracles is so great that it can only be overcome by the strongest and most overpowering evidence; that second best evidence does not even tend to prove them; that they are absolutely incredible up to the very moment that all doubt is decisively set at rest; that there can be no degrees of proof, no incipient and accumulating arguments to recommend them; that no relentings of mind or suspense of judgment is justifiable, as various fainter evidences are found to conspire in their favour; that they may be treated altogether as fictions, till they are clearly proved to be truths.

It looks like a mere truism to say that a fact is not disproved, because it is not proved; ten thousand occurrences are ever passing which leave no record behind them, and do not cease to have been, because they are forgotten. Yet Douglas in his defence of the New Testament miracles in answer to Hume, certainly assumes that no miracle is true which has not been proved to be so, or that it is safe to treat all miracles as false which are not recommended by evidence as strong as that which is adducible for the miracles of Scripture.

In estimating statements of fact, it is usual to allow that occurrences may be all true, which rest upon very different degrees of evidence. It does not prove that this passage of history is false and the fabrication of impostors, because that passage is attested more distinctly and fully. Writers, however, like Douglas, are constantly reminding us that we *need* not receive Ecclesiastical miracles, *though* we receive those of the New Testament. But the question is not whether we *need* not, but whether we *ought* not, to receive the former, as well as the latter; and if it really is the case that we ought not, surely this must be in consequence of some positive reasons, not of a mere inferiority in the evidence. It is plain then, that such reasoners, though they deny that an *à priori* ground can be maintained in fact against the miracles of Scripture, still at least agree with Hume in thinking that such a ground does exist, and that it is conclusive against Ecclesiastical miracles even antecedent to the evidence.

In the title to his Dissertation, Douglas promises us "a criterion by which the *true* miracles recorded in the New Testament are distinguished from the *spurious* miracles of Pagans and Papists;" yet when he proceeds to state in the body of the work the real object to which he addresses himself, we find that it relates quite as much to the *evidence* for either class of miracles as to the fact itself of their occurrence. He says, that whereas "the accounts which have been published to the world of miracles in general," are concerned with events which are supernatural either in themselves or under their circumstances, while the latter class can be explained on natural principles, the former "*may* from the *insufficiency* of the evidence produced in support of them be *justly suspected* to have never happened[x]." But how does *insufficiency* in the evidence create a positive prejudice against an alleged fact? How can things depend on our knowledge of them?

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This writer must mean that evidence of an inferior kind is insufficient to overcome a certain *pre-existing objection* which attaches to the very notion of these miracles; otherwise even slight evidence is sufficient to influence our minds, as Bishop Butler would tell us, so far as it is positive, and evidence of this defective kind may constitute the very trial of our obedience.

He continues: "I flatter myself, that the evidence produced "in their support,"—in support of the miracles of "Pagans "and Papists,"—"will appear to be so very defective and in- "sufficient, as *justly to warrant* our rejecting them as idle tales "that never happened, and *the inventions of bold and interested* "*deceivers*[y]." There are many reasons to warrant our disbelieving alleged facts and ascribing them to imposture; for instance, if the evidence is contradictory, or attended by suspicious circumstances; if the witnesses are of bad character, or strong inducements to fraud exist; but it is difficult to see how its mere *insufficiency* or *defectiveness* is a justification of so decided a step. The direct effect of evidence is to create a presumption, according to its strength, in favour of the fact attested; it does not appear how it can create a presumption the other way. The real explanation of this mode of writing certainly must be that the author takes it for granted that all miraculous accounts are already in a manner self-condemned, as being miraculous, *till* they are proved; and that evidence offered for them, which does not amount to a proof, is but involved in that existing prejudice. There is no medium then; the testimony must either prevail or be scouted; it is certainly a fraud, if it is not an overpowering demonstration.

But the writer in question scarcely leaves us in doubt of his meaning, when he avails himself of the following maxim of Dr. Middleton's. "I have already observed," he says, "that the testimony supporting [miracles] must be free from

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"every suspicion of fraud and imposture. And the reason is "this: the history of miracles, (to make use of the words of "an author whose authority you will think of some weight,) "is of a kind totally different from that of common events; "the one *to be suspected always of course, without the strongest "evidence* to confirm it; the other to be admitted of course, "without as strong reason to suspect it. So that, wherever "the evidence urged for miracles *leaves grounds* for a "suspicion of fraud and imposition, *the very suspicion* fur- "nishes *sufficient reasons* for disbelieving them. And what I "shall offer under this head will make it evident, that those "miracles which the Protestant Christian thinks himself at "liberty to reject, have always been so *insufficiently* attested as "to *leave full scope* for fraud and imposition[z]." That is, we may ascribe a story to fraud, whenever it is not absolutely impossible so to ascribe it; we may summarily reject and vilify all evidence *up to* such evidence as is a moral demonstration, though to such we must immediately yield, because we cannot help it; and this as a matter "of course." All this surely implies the existence of some deep latent prejudice in the writer's mind against miraculous occurrences considered in themselves; else it is not a reasonable mode of arguing.

Douglas continues in the same strain to "lay down a few "general rules by which we may try those pretended miracles, "one and all, wherever they occur, and which may set forth "*the grounds on which we suspect them false*[a]." And then "by way of illustration," he selects three, telling us that "we suspect them false," or "we *may* suspect them false,"

[z] How much more cautious is Jortin! "Though miracles," he says, "*may* be "wrought in secret, and cannot be dis- "proved only because they were seen "by few, yet they *often* afford motives for "suspicion, and a wise inquirer would "perhaps *suspend* his assent in such "cases and pass *no judgment* about "them." (Eccl. History, Works, vol. ii. p. 3. ed. 1810.) Again, "As far as the "subsequent miracles mentioned by "Christian writers fall short of the dis- "tinguishing characters belonging to "the works of Christ and His Apostles, "*so far* they must fail of giving us *the "same full persuasion and satisfaction*." p. 20.

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when the existing accounts of miracles were not published till long after the time when, or not at the place where, they are said to have occurred; or, at least, if it seems probable that they were suffered to get into circulation without examination at the time and place. Here of course he does but act up to Middleton's bold principle which he has adopted; he considers himself at liberty to bid defiance and offer resistance to all evidence, till he is fairly subdued by it, till it is impossible to doubt and no merit to believe; while he would never reject or impute fraud to a record of ordinary events, merely because it was published in a foreign country, or a hundred years after the events in question, however he might justly consider such circumstances to weaken the force of the evidence.

In a subsequent page of his work he speaks still more pointedly: "When the reporters of miracles," he says, "con-
"tent themselves with general assertions and vague claims
"to a miraculous power, without ever attempting to corro-
"borate them by descending to particular facts, and leave us
"strangely in the dark as to the persons by whom, the wit-
"nesses before whom, and the objects upon whom these
"miraculous powers are said to be exercised, omitting every
"circumstance necessary to be related by them before any
"inquiry can be made into the truth of the pretension;
"when miracles, I say, are reported in this *unsatisfactory*
"manner, (and instances of miracles reported on the spot by
"contemporary writers, in such a manner, might be men-
"tioned,) in this case it would be *the height of credulity* to
"pay *any* regard to them in a distant age, because no regard
"could possibly be paid to them in their own [b]." Yet it does not appear how this "unsatisfactory manner" in the report can touch the events reported; if they took place, they were before and quite independent of the evidence at present

[b] Page 50.

existing for them, be it greater or less; our knowledge or ignorance does not create or annihilate facts.

Now these passages from Douglas have been drawn out, not with a view of criticising him, but in order to direct attention to the fact which he illustrates, viz. that our feeling towards the Ecclesiastical miracles turns much less on the evidence producible for them, than on our view concerning their antecedent probability. If we think such interpositions of Providence likely or not unlikely, there is quite enough evidence existing to convince us that they really do occur; if we think them as unlikely as they appear to Douglas, Middleton, and others, then even evidence as great as that which is producible for the miracles of Scripture would not be too much, nay, perhaps not enough, to conquer an inveterate, deep-rooted, and (as it may be called) ethical incredulity.

It shall here be assumed that this incredulity is a fault; and it is the result of a state of mind which has been prevalent among us for some generations, and from which we are now but slowly extricating ourselves. We have been accustomed to believe that Christianity is little more than a creed or doctrine, introduced into the world once for all, and then left to itself, after the manner of human institutions, and under the same ordinary governance with them, stored indeed with hopes and fears for the future, and containing certain general promises of aid for this life, but unattended by any special Divine Presence or any immediately supernatural gift. To minds habituated to such a view of revealed religion, the miracles of Ecclesiastical history must needs be a shock, and almost an outrage, disturbing their feelings and unsettling their most elementary notions and thoroughly received opinions. They are eager to find defects in the evidence or appearances of fraud in the witnesses, as a relief to their perplexity, and as an excuse for rejecting, as if on the score of reason, what their heart and imagination have rejected

already. Or they are too firmly persuaded of the absurdity, as they consider it, which such pretensions on the part of the Church involve, to be moved by them at all; and they content themselves with coldly claiming to know points which cannot now be known, or to be satisfied about difficulties which never will be cleared up, before they are asked to take interest in statements which they consider so unreasonable. And certainly they are both philosophical and religious in thus acting, granting that the Lord of all is present with Christians only in the way of nature, as with His creatures all over the earth. On the other hand, if we believe that Christians are under an extraordinary Dispensation, such as Judaism was, and that the Church is a supernatural ordinance, we shall in mere consistency be disposed to treat even the report of miraculous occurrences with seriousness, from our faith in a Present Power adequate to their production. Nay, if we go so far as once to realize what Christianity is, considered merely as a creed, and what stupendous overpowering facts are involved in the doctrine of a Divine Incarnation, we shall feel that no miracle can be great after it, nothing strange or marvellous, nothing beyond expectation.

All this applies to the view we shall take of the matter of the evidence which is laid before us, as well as of its character. If we disbelieve the divinity of the Church, then we shall do our best to deny that the facts attested are miraculous, even admitting them to be true. "Though our not knowing on "whom, or by whom, or before whom, the miracles recorded "by the Fathers of the second and third centuries were "wrought," says Douglas, "should be allowed not to destroy "their credit, (though this is a concession which very few will "make . . .) yet the facts appealed to are of so *ambiguous* a "kind, that, granting they did happen, it will remain to be de-"cided, by a consideration of the circumstances attending the "performance of them, whether there was any miracle in the

"case, or no[c]." Certainly it is a rule of philosophy to refer effects, if possible, to known causes rather than to imagine a cause for the occasion; and on the other hand, to be suspicious of alleged facts for which no cause can be assigned, or which are unaccountable. If then there is nothing in the Church more than in any other society of men, it is natural to attribute the miracles alleged to have been wrought in it, to natural causes, where that is possible, and to disparage the evidence where it is not so. But if the Church be possessed of supernatural powers, it is not unnatural to refer to them the facts reported, and to feel the same disposition to heighten their marvellousness as otherwise is felt to explain it away. Thus our view of the evidence will practically be decided by our views of theology. There are two providential systems in operation among us, the visible and the invisible, intersecting, as it were, each other, and having a certain territory in common; and in many cases we do not know the exact boundaries of each, as again we do not know the minute details of those facts which are ascribed by their reporters to a miraculous agency. For instance, faith may sometimes be a natural principle of recovery from sickness, sometimes a miraculous instrument; the application of oil may be a mere expedient of medical art, or parallel to the supernatural effects of Baptism. The Martyrs have before now found red-hot iron on its second application even grateful to their seared limbs; on the other hand similar cases are said to have occurred where religion was not in question, and where a Divine interposition cannot be conjectured. Sudden storms and as sudden calms on the lake of Gennesareth might be of common occurrence; and yet the particular circumstances under which the waters were quieted at our Lord's word, may have been sufficient to convince beholders that it was a miracle. The Red sea may have been ordinarily exposed to the influence of the East Wind, and yet the separation

[c] Page 228.

of its waters, as described in the Book of Exodus, may have required a supernatural influence. In these and numberless other instances men will systematize facts in their own way, according to their knowledge, opinions, and wishes, as they are used to do in all matters which come before them; and they will refer them to causes which they see or believe, in spite of their being referrible to other causes about which they are ignorant or sceptical. When then controversialists go through the existing accounts of Ecclesiastical miracles, and explain one after another on the hypothesis of natural causes, when they resolve a professed vision into a dream, a possession into epilepsy or madness, a prophecy into a sagacious conjecture, a recovery into an effect of imagination, they are but expressing their own disbelief in the Grace committed to the Church; and of course they are consistent in denying its outward triumphs when they have no true apprehension of its inward power. Those, on the other hand, who realize that the bodies of the Saints were in their lifetime the Temple of the Holiest, and are hereafter to rise again, will feel no offence at the report of miracles wrought through them; nor ought those who believe in the existence of evil spirits to have any difficulty at the notion of demoniacal possession and exorcism. And it may be taken as a general truth, that where there is an admission of Catholic doctrines, there no prejudice will exist against the Ecclesiastical miracles; while those who disbelieve the existence among us of the hidden Power, will eagerly avail themselves of every plea for explaining away its open manifestations. All that can be objected here is, that miracles which admit of this double reference to causes natural and supernatural, taken by themselves and in the first instance, are not evidences of revealed religion; but it has no where been maintained that they are. Yet, though not part of the philosophical basis of Christianity, they may be evidence still to those who admit the Divine Presence in the Church, and

in proportion as they realize it; they may be evidence in combination with more explicit miracles, or when viewed all together in their cumulative force; they may confirm or remind of the Apostolic miracles; they may startle, they may spread an indefinite awe over certain transactions or doctrines; they may in various ways subserve the probation of individuals to whom they are addressed more fully than occurrences of a more marked character. The mere circumstance that they do not carry their own explanation with them is no argument against them, unless we would surrender the most sacred and awful events of our religion to the unbeliever [d]. As the admission of a Creator is necessary for the argumentative force of the miracles of Moses or St. Paul, so does the doctrine of a Divine Presence in the Church clear up what is ambiguous in the miracles of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus or St. Martin.

The course of these remarks has now sufficiently shewn that in drawing out the argument in behalf of Ecclesiastical miracles, the main point to which attention must be paid is the proof of their antecedent probability [e]. If that is established, the task is nearly accomplished. If the miracles alleged are in harmony with the course of Divine Providence in the world, and with the analogy of faith as contained in Scripture, if it is possible to account for them, if they are referrible to a

[d] Μετὰ ταῦτα προσωποποιεῖ Ιουδαῖον αὐτῷ διαλεγόμενον τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐλέγχοντα αὐτὸν . . ὡς πλασαμένον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γένεσιν .... φησὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γήμαντος, τέκτονος τὴν τέχνην ὄντος, ἐξεῶσθαι, ἐλεγχθεῖσαν ὡς μεμοιχευμένην· εἶτα λέγει, ὡς ἐκβληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, καὶ πλανωμένη ἀτίμως σκότιον ἐγέννησε τὸν Ιησοῦν. Orig. contr. Cels. i. 28.

[e] "Men will be inclined to determine this controverted question according to their preconceived notions, and their accustomed way of thinking; for there appears to be a sort of fatality in opinions of this kind, which when once taken up are seldom laid down." Jortin, ibid. p. 24. Yet he says elsewhere of Theophilus, an Arian missionary, "I blame not Tillemont for rejecting all these miracles, which seem to have been rumours raised and spread to serve a party; but the true reason of his disbelief is, that they were Arian miracles; and if they had been reported concerning Athanasius, all difficulties would have been smoothed over and accounted of small moment." p. 219. As if a miracle wrought by Athanasius was not more likely than miracles wrought by an Arian, though a missionary.

known cause or system, and especially if it can be shewn that they are recognised, promised, or predicted in Scripture, very little positive evidence is necessary to induce us to listen to them or even accept them, if not individually, yet viewed as a collective body. In that case they are but the *natural* effects of supernatural agency, and Middleton's canon, which Douglas, as above quoted, adopts to their disadvantage, becomes their protection. Then "the history of miracles" instead of being "suspected always of course, without the strongest evidence "to confirm it," is at first sight almost "to be admitted "of course, without a strong reason to suspect it;" the suspicions which attach to it arising from the actual experience of fraud, not from difficulties in its subject matter. If "the "tabernacle of God is with men and He will dwell with "them;" if the Church is "the kingdom of heaven;" if our Lord is with His disciples "alway even unto the end of the "world;" if He promised His Holy Spirit to be to them what He Himself was when visibly present, and if miracles were one special token of His Presence when on earth; if moreover miracles are expressly mentioned as tokens of the promised Comforter; if St. Paul speaks of "mighty signs and wonders "by the power of the Spirit of God," and of his "speech and "preaching" being "in demonstration of the Spirit and of "power," and of "diversities of gifts but the same Spirit," and of "healing," "working of miracles," and "prophecy" as among His gifts; surely we have no cause to be surprised at hearing supernatural events reported in any age, and though we may freely exercise our best powers of enquiry and judgment on such and such reports as they come before us, yet this is very different from hearing them with prejudice and examining them with contempt or insult[f].

[f] No better illustration can be given of the point before us than the language used by a late writer in the course of his "Reasons for rejecting "the Nicene Miracles." After maintaining that the miraculous narratives of the fourth century "in their style "and circumstances exhibit the in-

In the train of thought which we have been pursuing, reference has been made to the general bearing of the theological portion of the New Testament upon the question of the Ecclesiastical miracles, a subject indeed of the utmost importance in the controversy, but one which could not be entered upon here at length without the introduction of doctrinal discussions, for which this is not the place. There is one text, however, to which attention may be drawn without this inconvenience, in consequence of what may be called its

" dubitable characteristics of fraud and " folly,"—(a ground of objection which it is most legitimate to take, and most necessary for believers in them carefully to consider,)—he proceeds to observe, that if there be any of a different character, rather than account them Divine works he attributes them to Satanic power; and that because they are mainly wrought in *sanction and encouragement of Saint-worship.* " We " will suppose that there are some in- " stances, which, as to the exterior facts, " must not be dismissed, if the prin- " ciples of historical evidence are to be " respected; and which baffle every " endeavour to explain them on any " known or imaginable physical prin- " ciples. We then appeal to the *ten-* " *dency,* or *drift* and *ulterior consequence* " of such miracles. If, in fact, and when " regarded in the calmest and most " comprehensive manner, such miracles " have constantly operated to debauch " the religious sentiments of mankind, " if they have confirmed idolatrous " practices, if they have enhanced that " infatuation which has hurried men " into the degrading worship of subor- " dinate divinities, we then boldly say " that, whether natural or preternatural, " such miracles are not from God, *but* " *from 'the Enemy.'* And let it be well " observed, that in any such case, just " in proportion as the evidence of a " preternatural agency is strong, the " presumption is also strengthened that " the system or scheme of religion " which rests on these miracles, is *of* " *Satanic origin.*" Ancient Christ. No. 7. p. 361. A parallel argument is adopted by others concerning those who do not hold the doctrine of justification by faith in their way, that the holier such men are, the more plainly are they instigated by Satan. Arguments such as these fall beyond the scope of this Essay, which is not of a theological character, not to say that they would involve the discussion of certain doctrinal points, on which the writer is resolved not to enter. Another ground taken against the Nicene miracles in the same work, is their *extreme improbability.* " Let " the reader say whether he finds it " *possible* to *believe* that this blood, " soaking the earth in which these skele- " tons were found, [of St. Gervasius and " St. Protasius,] was indeed the blood " which had belonged to the living " men. Very few would acknowledge " so ample a stretch of faith as this." Ibid. p. 264. He proceeds to mention a further reason against them, that it is *fatal to Protestantism:* " If there be " any such persons, they should con- " sider to what, and to how much they " implicitly pledge themselves in pro- " fessing to believe this miracle. The " blood miracles of this and the fol- " lowing centuries are countless; and " many of them are as well, or better " attested than is this one. The mo- " dern Romish Church, &c." Ibid. " This blood then is a decisive cir- " cumstance in the entire narrative. If " genuine, it carries all the accessories, " and not only so, but it establishes " Saint-worship, and *condemns,* as a " flagrant impiety, *the rejection of this* " *worship by the Protestant Churches.* " But if otherwise, then the whole is a " congeries of blasphemous knavery, a " 'lying wonder.'" Ibid. p. 267. Doctrinal and religious views of such character and intensity of course distort to an indefinite extent a writer's view of the *evidence.*

historical character, which on other accounts also makes it more to our purpose;—our Lord's charge to His disciples at the end of St. Mark's Gospel. It might indeed have been anticipated, that among the hopes and duties with which He animated His desponding disciples when He was leaving them, some mention might occur as to the future history of those supernatural powers, which had been the most ready proof of His own divinity, and the most awful of the endowments with which during His ministry He had invested them. Nor does He disappoint the expectation; for in the passage alluded to He distinctly announces a continuation of these pledges of His favour, and that without fixing the term of it. At the very time apparently when He said to them, "Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world," He also gave them two promises, one for this life, the other for the life to come. "He that believeth and is baptized "shall be saved," was for the future; and the present promise, which concerns us here, ran thus: "These signs shall follow "them that believe; In My Name shall they cast out devils, "they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up ser- "pents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt "them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall "recover." Now let us see what presumption is created or suggested by this passage in behalf of the miraculous passages of Ecclesiastical history, as we have received them.

First, let it be observed, five gifts are here mentioned as specimens of our Lord's bequest to His disciples on His departure; exorcism, speaking with new tongues, handling serpents and drinking poison without harm, and healing the sick. When our Lord first sent out the Apostles to preach during His ministry, He had specified four; "Heal "the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils." Comparing these two passages together, we find that two gifts belong to both in common, which thereby stand out as

the most characteristic and prominent of the supernatural powers imparted to them, viewed as an assemblage. It is observable again that these two gifts, of which there is this repeated mention, are not so wonderful or so decisively miraculous, as those of which mention occurs but once, in this or in that announcement. The power of exorcism and of healing is committed to the Apostles, both when they are first called and when they are left to themselves; but they are promised the gift of tongues only on their second mission, and that of raising the dead only on their first. This does not prove that they could not raise the dead when our Lord had left them; indeed we know in matter of fact that they had, and that they exercised, the power; but it is natural to suppose that a stress is laid on what is mentioned twice, and to form some idea, in consequence, of the character predominant in the promised gift when it was actually brought into exercise. In accordance with this anticipation, whatever it is worth in itself, St. Matthew heads his report of our Lord's charge to His Apostles on their first mission, with mention of these very two gifts, and these only. "And "when He had called unto Him His twelve Disciples, He "gave them power *against unclean spirits, to cast them out,* "and *to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease.*" And in like manner when the Seventy are sent, these two gifts and these only are specified by St. Luke as imparted to them; our Lord saying to them, "Heal the sick," and they answering, "Lord, even the devils are subject unto us "through Thy Name." Farther, when we turn to the history of the Book of Acts, we find the general tenor of the Apostles' miracles to be just such as these passages in the Gospels would lead us to expect; that is, were a Jew or heathen of the day, who had a fair opportunity of witnessing their miracles, to be asked what they consisted in, the general impression left on his mind, and the best

idea he could give of their pretensions to the inquirer, would be, that they healed the sick and cast out devils. We have indeed instances recorded of their raising the dead, but only two in the whole book, those of Tabitha and Eutychus; and of these the latter was almost a private act, and wrought expressly for the comfort of the brethren, not for the conviction of unbelievers; and though the former was the means of converting many in the neighbourhood, yet it was wrought at Joppa, among a number of "widows" and "saints," not in Jerusalem, where the jealous eyes of enemies would have been directed upon it. In the same book there are three instances of the gift of tongues, at Pentecost, in Cornelius's house, and at Ephesus on the confirmation of St. John's disciples. There is one instance of protection from the bite of serpents, that of St. Paul at Melita. There is no instance of cleansing leprosy, or of drinking poison without harm. With this frugality in the display of their highest gifts is singularly contrasted the bountifulness of the Apostles in their exercise of their powers of healing and exorcising. "They brought forth the *sick* into the streets, and laid them "on beds and couches, that *at the least the shadow of Peter* "passing by might overshadow some of them. There came "also a *multitude* out of the cities *round about* unto Jeru-"salem, bringing *sick* folks, and *them that were vexed with* "*unclean spirits;* and they were *healed every one.*" Again, when St. Philip went down to Samaria, and "the people "with one accord gave heed unto those things which Philip "spake, hearing and seeing the miracles which he did," what were the particular gifts which he exercised? the inspired writer continues, "for *unclean spirits,* crying with "loud voice, came out of *many* that were possessed with "them; and many taken with *palsies,* and that were *lame,* "were healed. And there was great joy in that city." Again we read of St. Paul in a later part of the same book, as has

been already quoted in another connection, that "from his "body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, "and the *diseases* departed from them, and the *evil spirits* "went out of them [g]."

If there is one other characteristic gift in the Book of Acts in addition to these, it is the gift of visions and Divine intimations. And as if to make up for our Lord's silence concerning it in the Gospel of St. Mark, St. Peter introduces the history of the Acts with a reference to the Prophet Joel's promise that the time was then come when "their sons and "their daughters should prophesy, and their young men should "see visions and their old men should dream dreams;" an announcement of which the narrative which follows abundantly records the fulfilment. St. Stephen sees our Lord before his martyrdom; the Angel directs St. Philip to go towards Gaza, and the Holy Spirit Himself bids him join himself to the Ethiopian's chariot; St. Paul is converted by a vision of our Lord; St. Peter has the vision of the clean and unclean beasts, and Cornelius is addressed by an Angel; Angels release first the Apostles, then St. Peter from prison; "a vision "appeared to Paul in the night, there stood a man of Mace-"donia;" at Corinth Christ "spake to Paul in the night by a "vision, Be not afraid;" Agabus and St. Philip's four daughters prophesy; in prison "the Lord stood by Paul and said, Be of "good cheer;" on board ship an Angel stood by him, saying, "Fear not Paul, thou must be brought before Cæsar [h]."

Such is the general character of the miracles of the Book of Acts; and next let it be observed, such is the character of our Lord's miracles also, as they would strike the bulk of spectators. He raises indeed the dead three times, He feeds the multitude in the desert, He cleanses the leprosy, He gives sight to the blind, on various but still definite occa-

[g] Acts v. 15, 16; viii. 6—8; xix. 12.

[h] Acts vii. 56; viii. 26. 29; ix. 3—6; x. 3. 10, &c.

sions; but how different is the language used by the Evangelists when His powers of healing and exorcising are spoken of! We read of "a great *multitude* of people out of all "Judea and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and "Sidon, which came to hear Him and to be healed of their "*diseases;* and they that were *vexed with unclean spirits;* "and they were healed. And the *whole* multitude sought "to *touch* Him; for there went *virtue out of Him* and healed "them *all.*" Again, "*Whithersoever He entered,* into villages, "or cities, or country, they *laid the sick in the streets* and be-"sought Him that they might touch if it were but the "corner of His garment; and *as many as touched Him,* "*were made whole.*" Again, "They brought unto Him *all* "*sick people* that were taken with divers *diseases* and *tor-*"*ments,* and *those that were possessed with devils,* and those "that were *lunatic,* and those that had the *palsy;* and He "healed them[i]." It may be added that of other miraculous occurrences in the Gospels none are so frequent as visions, from the Angel which appeared to Zacharias to the vision of Angels seen by the women after our Lord's resurrection; as is obvious without proof.

It appears then, that the two special powers which gave a character, as to our Lord's miraculous working, so to that of His Apostles after Him, were exorcism and healing; and moreover that these were in matter of fact the two gifts especially promised to the latter above other gifts. It appears also, that if one other gift must be selected from the Gospels and Book of Acts as of greater prominence than the rest, it will be the gift of visions: so that cures, exorcisms, and visions are on the whole the three distinguishing specimens of Divine power, by which our Lord authenticated to the world the religion He bestowed upon it. Now it has already been observed that these are the very three especially claimed by the Primitive

[i] Luke vi. 17—19. Mark vi. 56. Matt. iv. 24.

Church; while, as to the more stupendous miracles of raising the dead, giving sight to the blind, cleansing lepers and the like, of these she makes profession also, but very rarely, as if after the manner of Scripture. This surely is a remarkable coincidence; and is the rather to be dwelt upon, because those who consider the vagueness of language with which the Ecclesiastical miracles are attested, as a proof they were merely the fabrication of fraud or credulity, have to explain how it was, that, while the parties accused were exercising their powers of imagination or imposture, they did not embellish their pages with similar vague statements of miracles of a more awful character, even from the mere love of variety, instead of confining themselves to those which in appearance at least were shared with them by Jews and heathen.

Nor can it reasonably be urged that their acquaintance with Scripture suggested to them in this matter an imitation of the Divine procedure as there recorded; because Scripture does not on the face of it impress upon the reader the fact which has been here pointed out. The actual course of *events* related in Scripture is one thing, and the course of the *narrative* is another; for the sacred writers do not state events with that relative prominence in which they occurred in fact. Inspiration has interfered to select and bring into the foreground the most cogent instances of Divine interposition, and has identified them by a number of distinct details; on the other hand, it has covered up from us the "many other signs" which "Jesus did in the presence of "His disciples," "the which, if they should be written every "one, even the world itself," as St. John speaks, "could not "contain the books that should be written." And doubtless there are doctrinal reasons also for this circumstance, if we had means of ascertaining them. But so it is, that the *primâ facie* appearance of the Gospel miracles does not correspond to that of the Ecclesiastical miracles; as probably it

would have corresponded, had St. John, for instance, given us a description of the second and third centuries instead of St. Justin and Origen, or had Sulpicius described the miracles of the Apostles at Jerusalem or Ephesus.

And now, if this representation has any truth in it, if our Lord, in the passage of St. Mark which has led to these observations, promised five gifts to His disciples, two of which were those of exorcism and healing; if these same two, distinguished in other places of the Gospels above the rest, are the prominent external signs of power in the history both of our Lord and of His Apostles; if these particular miracles are the special instruments of the conversion of whole multitudes; if on account of the cures and exorcisms wrought by the twelve Apostles "believers were the more added to the Lord, multi-"tudes both of men and women;" if on St. Philip's casting out devils and curing palsy and lameness, "the people with "one accord gave heed," and "there was great joy in that "city;" if when an evil Spirit had confessed, "Jesus I know, "and Paul I know, but who are ye?" "fear fell on them "all," and "the Name of the Lord Jesus was magnified," and "the word of God grew mightily and prevailed;" what is to be said of those modern Apologists for Christianity who do their best to prove that these phenomena have nothing necessarily miraculous in them? So much is evident at once, that had they been the persons addressed by such miracles of the Apostles, had they been the Samaritans to whom St. Philip came, or the Ephesians who were addressed by St. Paul, they would have thought it their duty to have felt neither "much joy" with the one, nor "fear" with the other; and that, if Samaritans and Ephesians had acted on the modern view of what is rational and what is evidence, what sound judgment and what credulity, Christianity would not have made way and prospered, but we all should have been heathen at this day.

Douglas, for instance, observes, that the circumstance that the Fathers allow that "cures of diseases, particularly of de-"moniacs by exorcising them," "were exercised by pagans "with the assistance of their demons and gods," and admit "that there were exorcists among the Jews and Gentiles, "who by the use of certain forms of words, used as charms, "and by the practice of certain rites, cast out devils as well "as the Christian exorcists," that this circumstance "some "may think puts these feats of jugglers and impostors upon "the same footing of credibility with the works ascribed to "Christians[k]." Why not with the works ascribed to Apostles? Again he urges, that "the cures ascribed to the "prayers of Christians, to the imposition of their hands, &c. "in those early times, *might, for aught we know,* be really "brought about in a *natural* way, and be accounted for in "the same way in which we have accounted for those ascribed "to the Abbé Paris, and those attributed by the superstitious "Papists to the intercession of the Saints." Perhaps the acute unbelievers of Corinth or Ephesus by a parallel argument justified their rejection of St. Paul. At Ephesus, when the demoniac leapt on the Jewish exorcists "and overcame "them and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of "that house naked and wounded," "fear" in consequence "fell on all the Jews and Greeks also dwelling at Ephesus;" but Douglas would have taught them that "a few grimaces, "wild gestures, disordered agitations, and blasphemous ex-"clamations, suited to the character of the supposed infernal "inhabitants, constitute all we know of their disease; and "consequently, as *all* these symptoms are *ambiguous,* and "may be assumed at pleasure by an impostor, a collusion "between the exorcist and the person exorcised will account "for the whole transaction, and every one, who would avoid "the character of being superstitiously credulous, will na-

[k] Page 236.

"turally account for it in this manner, rather than by sup-
"posing that any supernatural cause intervened[l]." Such is this author's judgment of one of the two exhibitions of miraculous power, with which our Saviour specially and singularly gifted His Apostles, and by which they, in matter of fact, converted the world. The question is not, whether in *particular cases* its apparent exercise may not be suspicious and inconclusive, for Douglas is speaking against the gift as such; so that a heathen of Ephesus would have been justified on his principles, in demanding of St. Paul to see a man raised from the dead, before he believed in Christ. And such was the nature of the demand made by Autolycus upon St. Theophilus at the end of the second century, and Middleton and Gibbon justify it, and seem moreover to consider the mere silence of Theophilus a proof that such a miracle was utterly unknown in his days, as if resurrections abounded in the Acts[m].

Again, St. Peter cured Æneas of the palsy, "and all that "dwelt at Lydda and Saron saw him and turned to the "Lord;" but Douglas would have advised them to wait till they had seen Tabitha raised, because "palsies, it is well "known, arise from obstructions of the spirits that circulate "in the nerves, so that their influx into the muscles is im-
"peded; or from obstructions of the arterious blood. No-
"thing more, therefore, was required here, than to remove "that obstruction[n]."

[l] Page 146. Douglas is speaking here primarily of the Church of Rome; afterwards he apparently refers to the passage, when speaking of the Primitive Church, p. 236.

[m] Defecere etiam mortuorum excitationes. Certe Autolyco roganti vel unum ostenderet qui fuisset è mortuis revocatus, ita respondit Theophilus quasi vel unum demonstrare minime potuerit. Dodw. in Iren. Dissert. ii. 44. Jortin is more cautious. "It is pro-
"bable," he says, "from his [Theo-
"philus's] silence, that he had heard of
"no instance of such a miracle in his
"days; probable, I say, but not cer-
"tain: because, though he had heard
"of it, he might possibly have thought
"it to no purpose to tell his friend that
"there were Christians who *affirmed*
"such things, and he might suspect
"that Autolycus *would not have ad-*
"*mitted the testimony* of persons with
"whom he had no acquaintance, and
"for whom he had little regard." Eccl. Hist. (Works, vol. ii. p. 92. ed. 1810.) Vid. the striking statement of Origen. contr. Cels. i. 46. Greg. Nyss. tom. ii. p. 1009.

[n] Page 82.

We read in Scripture of the sudden cure of the dropsy; but Douglas observes, "That enthusiasm should warm its "votaries to a holy madness, and excite the wildest trans- "ports and agitations throughout their whole frame, is an "effect, which in a country so fruitful of this production as "is ours, (though enthusiasm be the product of *every* soil and "of *every* religion), must be consistent with the experience "of many[o]." Then he adds, speaking of some particular cases: "As one of the curative indications of a dropsy is an "evacuation of the water by perspiration, and as the medicines "administered by the physician aim to produce this effect, ". . . what could be more likely to excite such copious per- "spiration, than the enthusiastic transport with which they "prayed and the convulsive struggles which shook their "whole frame[p]?"

Peter's wife's mother was raised from her fever at once, so as even to be able to "minister" to the holy company; but Douglas would have suggested to the Pharisees that, had there been more raising of the dead, more restoring of sight to the blind, such cures might have been dispensed with, because where minds are "heated and inflamed, and every faculty of "their souls burning with the raptures of devout joy and "enthusiastic confidence," it is "far from being impossible . . . "that in some cases a change might be wrought on the "habit of the body[q];" for "in this case the nervous system "is strongly acted upon, and fresh and violent motions are "communicated to the fluids[r];" and "such agitations ne- "cessarily suppose that the velocity of the fluids" is "greatly "accelerated[s];" and "gouts, palsies, *fevers* of all kinds, and "even ruptures have been thus cured[t]." It certainly does not appear why a class of miracles which were, in matter of fact, the principal means of the conversion of the world in

[o] Page 104.
[p] Page 107.
[q] Page 102.
[r] Page 106.
[s] Ibid.
[t] Page 101.

the age of the Apostles, should in the second and third centuries be put aside on the ground that "powers were not "appealed to, less ambiguous in their nature," nor "other "works performed, which admit of no solution from natural "causes, and were incapable of being the effects of fraud and "collusion [u]."

This being the language of so respectable a writer as Bishop Douglas, the following sentiments from Middleton cannot surprise us. Of miracles of healing he says: "In truth this "particular claim of curing diseases miraculously, affords "great room for . . . delusion and a wide field for the exercise "of *craft*. Every man's experience has taught him, that "diseases thought fatal and desperate, are oft surprisingly "healed of themselves, by some secret and sudden effort of "nature impenetrable to the skill of man; but to ascribe "this presently to a miracle, as weak and superstitious minds "are apt to do, to the prayers of the living or the inter-"cessions of the dead, is what neither sound reason nor true "religion will justify [x]." Of exorcisms, that certain circumstances "concerning the speeches and confessions of the "devils, their answering to all questions, owning themselves "to be wicked spirits, &c. . . . may not improbably be ac-"counted for, either by the disordered state of the patient, "answering wildly and at random to any questions proposed, "or by the *arts of imposture and contrivance* between the "parties concerned in the act [y]." And of visions: "To "declare freely what I think, whatever ground there might "be in those primitive ages either to reject or to allow the "authority of those visions, yet from all the accounts of them "that remain to us in these days, there seems to be the "greatest reason to suspect that they were *all contrived*, or "*authorized at least, by the leading men of the Church* [z]."

[u] Page 236.
[x] Page 79.
[y] Page 82.
[z] Page 109.

Such then is the opinion of Christian Apologists concerning the nature of those miracles to which our Lord mainly entrusted the cause of His sacred truth; for however great the differences may be between the Scripture and Ecclesiastical miracles viewed as a whole, so far is certain, that the actual and immediate instruments by which the world was convinced of the Gospel were those which these writers distinctly discredit as of an ambiguous and suspicious character. And if it be asked, whether after all such miracles are not suspicious, whatever be the consequence of admitting it, I answer, that they are suspicious to read of, but not to see. The particular circumstances of an exorcism, which no narrative can convey, might bring home to the mind a conviction that it was a Divine work, quite sufficient for conversion; and much more a number of such awful exhibitions. Generalized statements and abstract arguments are poor representations of fact; but as they are used to serve the purpose of those who would disparage Saints, it is necessary to shew that they can be turned by unbelievers as plausibly, but as sophistically, against Apostles.

To proceed: the same words of our Saviour which have introduced these remarks in defence of the nature of the Ecclesiastical gifts, will suggest an explanation of certain difficulties in the mode of their exercise. Christ says, first, "He that be-"lieveth shall be saved;" and then, "these signs shall follow "them that believe." Here it is obvious to remark, that the power of working miracles is not promised in these words to the *preachers* of the Gospel merely, but to the *converts*[a]. It

[a] "Nec enim prædicantes illa secu-"tura signa pollicetur, sed credentes; "nec eos qui jam antea credidissent, "sed qui essent postea deinde credi-"turi. Responditque eventus accura-"tissimè; conversis enim, non con-"versoribus, gratias illas donatas esse "constat de quibus legimus in primis "Ecclesiarum conversionibus." Dodw. in Iren. Dissert. ii. 28. This is so fully taken for granted by St. Bernard, that he thinks it necessary to answer the objection why "credentes" did not work miracles in his day: "Quis enim ea, "quæ in præsenti loco scripta sunt, "signa videtur habere credulitatis, sine "quâ nemo poterit salvari, quoniam "qui non crediderit condemnabitur? et "sine fide impossibile est placere Deo." Serm. 1. de Ascens. 2. He answers to the

is not said, "Preach the Gospel to every creature, and these "signs shall follow your preaching," but "these signs shall "follow them that believe," the same persons to whom salvation is promised in the verse preceding[b]. And further, whereas final salvation is there represented as a personal gift, the gift of miracles is not granted here to "*him* that believeth," but to "*them* that believe." And the particular word used, which our version translates "follow," suggests or encourages the notion that the miracles promised were to *attend upon* or to be *collateral with* their faith, as general indications and tokens[c]; not that they were to be the result of every act of faith and in every person, but that on the whole, where men were united together by faith in the Name of Christ, there miracles would also be wrought by Him who was "in the "midst of them." Thus the gift was rather in the Church than of the Church.

An important text already quoted teaches us the same

question as St. Gregory does in the passage quoted, supr. p. xl. making the miracles now wrought by the faithful to be moral ones. Kuinoel says: "Per "τοὺς πιστεύοντες *non omnes* Christi "sectatores intelligendi sunt, nam non "omnes Christiani ejusmodi miracula "patrabant, qualia hoc loco descri-"buntur, sed agit Christus hoc loco ut "locis parallelis, Luc. 24, 48. John "20, 19. *cum legatis suis*, atque adeo "significantur imprimis Apostoli, et "præter eos alios tunc temporis præ-"sentes, qui haud dubiè è numero "septuaginta discipulorum erant. Vid. "Luc. 24, 33. coll. Luc. 10, 1; 9. 17. "Etiam infra v. 20. disertè comme-"moratur ἐκεῖνοι, illi Christi discipuli, "quibus ea dixit, quæ hoc loco le-"guntur, et ad hos σημεῖα referuntur. "Monuit præterea Storrius articulum "τοῖς sæpe *certos, quosdam*, non omnes "universos significare. Vid. Luc. 18. "15. coll. Marc. 10, 13. Matt. 21, 34. "36. 27, 62. 28, 12. Insignivit autem, "ut opinor, Christus discipulos suos, "futuros religionis suæ doctores, tunc "temporis præsentes, voce τοῖς πιστεύ-"σασι, quoniam paulo ante eorum in-"credulitatem vituperarat." In loc. This is such strange reasoning, that it is the best argument for shewing how futile the attempt is to wrest our Lord's words from their plain meaning. The elder school of Protestants was more candid. "Non omnibus omnia," says Grotius, "ita tamen ut cuilibet, ut "oportet, credenti, aliqua tunc data sit "admirabilis facultas, quæ se non "semper quidem, sed datâ occasione, "explicaret."

[b] Sulpitius almost grounds his defence of St. Martin's miracles on the antecedent force of this text. He says of those who deny them, "nec Martino "in hac parte detrahitur, sed fidei "Evangelii derogatur. Nam cùm Do-"minus ipse testatus sit istiusmodi "opera, quæ Martinus implevit, ab "omnibus fidelibus esse facienda, qui "Martinum non credit ista fecisse, non "credit Christum ista dixisse." Dial. i. 18.

[c] Σημεῖα ταῦτα παρακολουθήσει. "Ste-"phanus in Thes. hæc citat ex Dios-"coride in præf. lib. 6. τὰ παρακολου-"θοῦντα σημεῖα ἑκάστῳ τῶν φαρμάκων." Raphel. Annot. in loc. Vid. ibid. in Luc. i. 3. In the last words of the Gospel where the "signs following" are wrought by the *Apostles*, and in *confirmation*, the word is ἐπακολουθούντων.

thing: "I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh, and your "sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall "dream dreams, your young men shall see visions; and also "upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days, "will I pour out My Spirit." The young, the old, the bond and the free, all flesh, all conditions of men, were to be the recipients of the miraculous illumination of the Gospel. The event exactly accomplished the prediction. In the very opening of the New Dispensation not only Zacharias the Priest, but Mary the young maiden, Elizabeth the matron, Anna the widow of fourscore and four years, and just and aged Simeon, were inspired to bear witness to it. Again, in the Book of Acts, while Peter was preaching to Cornelius, "the "Holy Ghost fell on *all* them which heard the word." At Ephesus, when St. Paul had laid his hands on John's disciples, the Holy Ghost came on them, "and all the men were "about twelve." Moreover, we hear of St. Philip's "four "daughters, virgins which did prophesy." And the disorders of the Church of Corinth plainly shew that the miraculous gifts were not confined to one or two principal persons of high station or spiritual attainments, but were "dispersed abroad" with a bountiful hand over all the faithful. The same inference may be drawn from St. Peter's direction, "As every "man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one "to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God." Such is the Scripture account of the bestowal of the miraculous powers in the Apostolic age; and it serves to remove some misapprehensions and objections which have been made to their exhibition as instanced in the times that followed.

For instance, there seems a fallacy in the mode in which a phrase is used, which often occurs in the controversy. It has been contended, that there is no "standing gift of miracles" in the Church; and then concluded, that *therefore* no manifestation of Divine Power takes place in it but those

rare and solemn interpositions which we have reason to think actually occur even in heathen countries. "The position "which I affirm," says Middleton, "is that after the days of "the Apostles, no *standing power* of miracles was continued "*to* the Church, to which they might perpetually appeal for "the conviction of unbelievers. Yet all my antagonists treat "my argument as if it absolutely rejected *every thing* of a "miraculous kind, whether wrought within the Church by "the agency of men, or on any other occasion by the imme-"diate hand of God[d]." Now there is an ambiguity in the word "power," according as we take it to mean a capacity committed *to* Christians and exercised *by* them, or a Divine Agency generally operating *in* the Church and *among* Christians, as its Almighty Author wills. Middleton denies the standing power in its former sense; but in our Lord's promise, as well as in St. Paul's description of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church, the latter is the prominent idea. Middleton speaks, just after the passage above quoted, of "the Church *having* no standing power of *working*" miracles, and elsewhere of a "standing power of *working* "miracles, as *exerted openly* in the Church, *for* the conviction "of unbelievers[e]." Again, he speaks of the "opinion that "after the days of the Apostles, there resided still in the "primitive Church, through several successive ages, a Divine "and extraordinary *power of working miracles*, which was fre-"quently and openly *exerted*, in confirmation of the truth of "the Gospel, and for the conviction of unbelievers[f]." In like manner Douglas says of Middleton, that "his Free In-"quiry is not, whether any miracles were performed after "the times of the Apostles, but whether, after that period "*miraculous powers subsisted* in the Church; not whether "God interposed at all, but whether He interposed by making

[d] Vindic. p. 32. as quoted by Douglas, p. 224.

[e] Inquiry, p. 9.

[f] Introd. Disc. init.; but Pref. p. xxxii. he speaks more to the purpose.

"use of men as His instruments[g]." Here he makes "the "subsistence of miraculous powers" equivalent with "the in- "strumentality of men in their operation;" meaning by the latter the conscious exercise of them by inspired persons in proof of a Divine mission, as a former passage of his work shews[h]. The present Bishop of Lincoln takes the same view of the controversy, observing that Middleton's object "was to prove, "that, after the Apostolic age, no *standing power* of working "miracles existed in the Church, that there was *no regular* "*succession* of favoured *individuals* upon whom God conferred "supernatural powers, *which they could exercise* for the benefit "of the Church of Christ, whenever their *judgment*, guided "by the influence of the Holy Spirit, told them that it was "expedient so to do[i]." Certainly, if this is what Middleton set about to do, he had not a difficult task before him.

Yet Lord Barrington, before Middleton, had implied that the question lay between the same two issues. "There can- "not be much doubt," he says, "of these gifts lasting as "much longer as the oldest of those lived to whom St. John "imparted them . . . Irenæus, speaking of the prophetic "gifts, mentions the gift of tongues and the discernment of "spirits. And that these did not last longer, seems to "have been the case in fact, since Irenæus, who died about "the year 190, in a very old age, speaks of his having *seen* "these gifts, but says nothing of *his own* having them[k]." That is, he makes no medium between a definite transmission of the gift from Christian to Christian by imposition of hands or similar formal act, such as would involve Irenæus's own possession of it, and on the other hand the utter failure of it. Irenæus saw the gift, he had it not, therefore it was failing in his time; else he would have had it.

What Ecclesiastical history rather inculcates is the doctrine

[g] Page 224.
[h] Page 216.
[i] Kaye's Tertull. p. 104.
[k] Vol. i. p. 222. ed. 1828.

of an abiding presence of Divinity such as dwelt upon the Ark, shewing itself as it would, and when it would, and without fixed rules; which was seated primarily in the body of Christians, and manifested itself sometimes in persons, sometimes in places, as the case might be, in saintly men, or in "babes and "sucklings," or in the very stones of the Temple; which for a while was latent, and then became manifest again, which to some persons, places, or generations was an evidence, and to others was not[1]. The ideas of "regular succession," conscious "exercise" of power, objects deliberately contemplated, discretionary use of a gift, and the like, are quite foreign to a theory of miraculous agency of this kind; yet it cannot be denied that in one sense such an appointment may be called a "standing power," and that it is very much more than such rare "interpositions of Providence," and "miracles of invisible agency," as the above writers seem to consider the only alternative to the admission of a discretionary, and conscious, and transmitted gift.

The Ark was a standing instrument of miraculous operation, yet it did not send forth its virtue at all times, nor at the will of man. What was the nature of its mysterious powers we learn from the beginning of the first Book of Samuel; where we read of it first as stationed in the temple and the Almighty speaking from it to the child Samuel;

[1] Dodwell has a theory, which agrees with what is said in the text, except that he applies it only to the first ages, that miracles abounded or became scarce according to the need, the conversion of the nations being the chief object. "Promisit Dominus majora editurum, "qui in illum postea crediderit, mira- "cula quam quæ ipse Dominus ediderit. "Quod ego facile moderandum esse "concessero, ut et de certis Evangelii "propagandi temporibus promissio illa "fuerit intelligenda. Sed nec ita ad- "impleta est quin superesset adhuc "satis amplus locus futuris postea "conversionibus, futurisque adeo mi- "raculis. Trajano Imperante novas "Evangelii propagandi causâ susceptas "expeditiones memorat Eusebius, et "quidem id novâ Dei comitante gratiâ "atque *συνεργείᾳ*. Ortis jam sub Ha- "driano Hæreticis, unde factum est ut "miracula infidelium hæreticorum "causâ præstanda fuerint etiam et ipsa "frequentiora. A Marci temporibus "deficere cæperunt, cùm nullas aut "raras admodum per ea sæcula ex- "peditiones obirent Christiani ad gentes "ex professo convertendas; satis tamen "liberalem adhuc fuisse Deum multa "ostendunt," &c. &c. Dissert. in Iræn. ii. 28—45. &c.

next it is taken in battle by the Philistines; but next, when it is set up in the house of Dagon, the idol, without visible cause, falls down before it and its worshippers are smitten. Next, the cattle which are yoked to it are constrained against their natural instinct to carry it back to Israel. And then the men of Bethshemeth are smitten for looking into it. Was there or was there not, then, a standing power of miracles in the Jewish Church? There was not, in the sense in which Middleton understands the phrase; there was no "regular succession" of "individuals" who exercised supernatural gifts with a divinely enlightened discretion; even the Prophets were not such a body; yet the Divine Presence consisted in much more than an occasional and extraordinary visitation or intervention in the course of events. That such too should be the nature of the presence in the Christian Church is at least quite consistent with the tenor of the New Testament; and is almost implied when, in the text which has given rise to these remarks, our Lord bestows its miraculous manifestations upon the body at large. The supernatural glory might abide, and yet be manifold, variable, uncertain, inscrutable, uncontrollable, like the natural atmosphere; dispensing gleams, shadows, traces of Almighty Power, but giving no such clear and perfect vision of it as one might gaze upon and record distinctly in its details for controversial purposes. Thus we are told, "the wind bloweth "where it listeth;" "a little while and ye shall not see Me "and again a little while and ye shall see Me;" "their eyes "were holden," and "they knew Him, and He vanished;" "suddenly there came a sound from heaven;" "when they "had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled "together;" "all these worketh that One and the selfsame "Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will." At one time our Lord connects the gifts with special holiness, as when He says that certain exorcisms require "prayer and

"fasting;" at another He allows it to the reprobate, as when He says that those whom He never knew will in the last day appeal to the wonderful works they did in His Name. At one time St. Paul in evidence of his Divine mission says, "Truly the signs of an Apostle were wrought "among you;" at another he seems to ascribe the power to an imposture, "though an Angel from heaven preach any "other Gospel unto you, let him be accursed."

Another difficulty which the text in question enables us to meet is the indiscriminate bestowal of the miraculous gift, as we read of it in Ecclesiastical history. Its being in the Church not of the Church, implies this apparent disorder and want of method in its manifestations, as has been already observed. Yet Middleton objects, speaking of the Fathers, "none of these venerable Saints have any where affirmed, "that either they themselves, or the Apostolic Fathers before "them, were endued with any power of working miracles, "but declare only *in general*, that such powers *were actually* "*subsisting* in their days and openly existed in the Church; "that they had often seen the wonderful effects of them; "and that every body else might see the same, whenever they "pleased; but as to the persons who wrought them, they "leave us strangely in the dark; for instead of specifying "names, conditions, and characters, their general style is, "such and such works are done among us or by us; by our "people; by a few; by many; by our exorcists; by igno-"rant laymen, women, boys, and any simple Christian what-"soever[m]." That is, his objection is against the very idea of a gift, committed to the body of the Church, or abiding in the Church. Objectors are hard to please; sometimes they imply dislike of the notion of the gift as delegated to a ministerial succession and formally transmitted from individual to individual, and then, on the contrary, of its belonging to the

[m] Page 22.

Church itself without the intervention of rites of appropriation or definite recipients: what is this but saying that they will not entertain the notion of a continuance of miracles at all? As to Middleton's objection, it seems directed against the prophetic anticipation of the times of the Gospel made to the Jews, as quoted already, that "their sons and daughters "should prophesy, their young men see visions, and their old "men dream dreams," quite as much as against any seeming incongruities and anomalies which are found in the early Church.

Middleton's complaint, that the Fathers do not themselves profess a miraculous gift, is echoed by Gibbon. "It may seem "somewhat remarkable," he says, that "Bernard of Clair-"vaux, who records so many miracles of his friend St. Ma-"lachi, never takes any notice of his own, which, in their "turn, however, are carefully related by his companions and "disciples. In the long series of Ecclesiastical history, does "there exist a single instance of a Saint asserting that he "himself possessed the gift of miracles[n]?" The concluding question concerns our present subject, though St. Bernard himself is far removed from the period of history on which we are engaged. I observe then, first, that it is not often that the *gift* of miracles is even ascribed to a Saint[o]. In many cases miracles are only ascribed to their tombs or relics; or when miracles are ascribed to them when living, these are but single and occasional, not parts of a series. Moreover, they are commonly what Paley calls *tentative* miracles, or

[n] Ch. xv. note s.

[o] "Hoc intercedit discrimen inter "sanctos antiqui et Novi Testamenti, "quòd Deus, intercessione Sanctorum "V. T., miracula operari dignatus est "sæpius in vitâ, et rarius post obitum "eorum; et quoad Sanctos N. T. sæpius "post obitum et rarius in vitâ ipsorum; "cùm Sancti V. T. utpote à Deo ipso "canonizati, miraculis post obitum "non indigerent; sancti autem N. T. "ab Ecclesiâ canonizandi, miraculis "post obitum indigeant... Cùm nulla "[S. Joannes B.] in vitâ miracula "fecisset, putavit Herodes eum post "suam in Christo resurrectionem mi-"racula fuisse edituram, 'Ait pueris "'suis, Hic est Joannes Baptista, &c. "'et ideo virtutes operantur in eo.'" Bened. xiv. de Canon. Sanct. iv. I. § 26.

some out of many which have been attempted, and done accordingly without any previous confidence in their power to effect them. Moses and Elijah could predict the result; but the miracles in question were scarcely more than experiments and trials, even though success had been granted them many times before [p]. Under these circumstances, how could the individuals who wrought them appeal to them themselves? It was not till afterwards, when their friends and disciples could calmly look back upon their life, and review the various actions and providences which occurred in the course of it, that they would be able to put together the scattered tokens of Divine favour, none or few of which might in themselves be a certain evidence of a miraculous power. As well might we expect men in their lifetime to be called Saints, as workers of miracles. But this is not all; the objection serves to suggest a very observable distinction which holds between the conduct of those whose miracles are designed to be evidence of the truth of religion, and of others though similarly gifted. The Apostles, for instance, did their miracles openly, because they were intended to be instruments of conversion; but when the supernatural Power took up its abode in the Church, and manifested itself as it would, and not for definite objects which it signified at the time of its manifestation, it could not but seem to imply some personal privilege, when seen in an individual, who would in consequence be as little inclined to proclaim it aloud as to make a boast of his graces.

The same peculiarity in the gift will also account for that deficiency in the evidence, and other unsatisfactory circum-

[p] The present Bishop of London argues from Origen's expression, *οὓς ὁ θεὸς βούλεται*, (vid. p. ciii. note q), "that the attempts, which no doubt "were made to effect miraculous cures "were not always successful;" vid. Athan. v. Ant. 56, where this very thing is confessed: then he continues: "and *if so*, we may *safely infer* that "where they *did* succeed, they were to "be ascribed to the *ordinary* means of "healing under the Divine blessing." Bishop Blomfield's Sermons, p. 434. I cannot follow his Lordship in calling this inference a safe one.

stances of a like nature which have already been spoken of. Since the Divine manifestation was arbitrary, the testimony would necessarily be casual. What else could be expected in the cases of occurrences of which there was no notice beforehand, and in many cases no trace after, and where we are obliged to be contented with such witnesses as happened to be present, or, if they cannot be found, with the mere report which has circulated from them? and when perhaps, as was noticed in the last paragraph, the principal parties felt it to be wrong to court publicity, after our Lord's pattern, and perhaps shrank from examination? "There is no man," said His brethren to Him, "that doeth any thing in secret, and "he himself seeketh to be known openly; if Thou do these "things, shew Thyself to the world." In our Lord's own case there was a time for concealment, and a time for display; and as it was a time for evidence when miracles were wrought by the Apostles, so afterwards there was a time for other objects and other uses, when miracles were wrought through the Church; and as our Lord's miracles were true, though the Jews complained that He "made them so long to doubt," so it is no disproof of the miracles of the Church, that those who do not wish them true have room to criticise the character or the matter of the testimony which at this day is offered in their behalf.

One more remark is in point. Middleton in the extract above quoted finds fault with the Fathers for "declaring only "in *general*" that miracles continued, that they had seen them themselves, and that any one else might see them who would, while they made no attempt to specify the names, conditions, and characters, of the persons working them. Yet surely this is but natural, if such miracles were as frequent as Ecclesiastical history represents. Instead of its being an objection to them, it is just the state of things which must necessarily follow, supposing they were such and so wrought as

is described. When we are speaking of what is obvious, and allowed on all hands, we do not go about to prove it. We only argue when there is doubt; we only consult documents, and weigh evidence, and draw out proofs, when we are not eye-witnesses. If the Fathers had seen miracles of healing or exorcisms not unfrequently, and were writing to others who had seen the like, they would use the confident yet vague language which we actually find in their accounts. The state of the testimony is but in keeping with the alleged facts.

For instance St. Justin speaks of the Incarnation as having taken place "for the sake of believers, and for the overthrow "of evil spirits;" "and *you may know this now*," he continues, "*from what passes before your eyes;* for many de- "moniacs all over the world, and in your own metropolis, "whom none other exorcists, conjurers, or sorcerers have "cured, these have many of our Christians cured, adjuring "by the Name of Christ, and still do cure." Again: "With "us even hitherto are prophetical gifts, *from which* you Jews "ought to gather that what formerly belonged to your race is "transferred to us;" and soon after, quoting the passage from the prophet Joel, he adds, "and with us *may be seen* females "and males with gifts from the Spirit of God." And St. Irenæus; "In His Name His true disciples, receiving the "grace from Himself, work for the benefit of other men, as "each has received the gift from Him. For some cast out "devils certainly and truly, so that oftentimes the cleansed "persons themselves become believers and join the Church. "Others have foreknowledge of things future, visions, and "prophetical announcements. Others by imposition of hands "heal the sick and restore them to health. Moreover, as I "have said, before now even the dead have been restored to "life, and have continued with us for many years. *Indeed,* "*it is not possible to tell the number* of gifts which the Church

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" throughout the world has received from God in the Name " of Christ Jesus, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and " exercises day by day for the benefit of the nations, neither " seducing nor taking money of any." Shortly before he observes, that the heretics could not raise the dead, " as our " Lord did, and the Apostles by prayer; and in the brother- " hood *frequently* for some necessary object, (the whole " Church in the place asking it with much fasting and sup- " plication,) the spirit of the dead has returned, and the man " has been granted to the prayers of the Saints." And again, he speaks of his " *hearing* many brothers in the Church " who had prophetical gifts, and spoke by the Spirit in all " tongues, and brought to light the hidden things of men for " a profitable purpose, and related the mysteries of God." And in like manner Tertullian: " *Place some possessed person* " *before your tribunals;* any Christian shall command that " spirit to speak, who shall as surely confess himself to be a " devil with truth, as elsewhere he will call himself a god " falsely . . . What work can be clearer? . . . there will be no " room for suspicion; you would say that it is magic, or some " other deceit, if your eyes and ears allowed you, for what is " there to urge against that which is proved by its naked " sincerity?" Again, Origen speaks of persons healing, " with no invocation over those who need a cure, but that " of the God of all and the Name of Jesus, with some nar- " rative concerning Him." " By these," he adds, " we, too, " *have seen many* set free from severe complaints, and loss of " mind, and madness, and numberless other such evils, which " neither men nor devils had cured [q]."

[q] Justin. Apol. ii. 6. Tryph. 82, 88. Iren. Hær. ii. 32. § 4. 31. § 2. v. 6. § 1. Tertull. Apol. 23. Origen. contr. Cels. iii. 24. Vid. also Justin, "οἱ δαίμονες, " ὅσον ἐπ' αυτοῖς τήν τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ " τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐξουσίαν φυγεῖν " πειρῶνται." Apol. 1. 40. "πᾶν δαι- " μόνιον ἐξορκιζόμενον νικᾶται." Tryph. 85. "τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἴσχυν καὶ τὰ " δαιμόνια τρέμει." ibid. 30. " ἔφη, " δίδωμι ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν καταπατεῖν . . . " καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς οἱ πιστεύοντες τὰ δαι- " μόνια πάντα, κ.τ.λ." ibid. 76. Speaking of the μαθητευόμενοι; S. Justin says, that being enlightened through " the name of Christ, each has his

This is the very language which we are accustomed to use, when facts are so notorious that the *onus dubitandi* may fairly be thrown upon those who question them. All that can be said is, that the facts are not notorious *to us;* certainly not, but the Fathers wrote for contemporaries, not for the eighteenth or nineteenth century, not for modern notions and theories, for distant countries, for a degenerate people and a disunited Church. They did not foresee that evidence would become a science, that doubt would be thought a merit, and disbelief a privilege; that it would be in favour and condescension to them if they were credited, and in charity that they were accounted honest. They did not feel that man was so self-sufficient, and so happy in his prospects for the future, that he might reasonably sit at home closing his ears to all reports of Divine interpositions till they were actually brought before his eyes, and faith was superseded by sense; they did not so disparage the Spouse of Christ as to imagine

" gift of understanding, of counsel, of " strength, of *healing*," &c. ibid. 39. " (Dæmonia) de vobis sine præmio, " sine mercede depellimus." Tertul. Apol. 37; vid. also 43. Speaking of the sting of the scorpion, he says, " in re- " mediis naturalia plurima; aliquid et " magia circumligat; medicina cum " ferro et poculo occurrit. Nobis fides " præsidium, si non et ipsa percutitur " diffidentia signandi statim et ad- " jurandi et urgendi bestiæ calcem: " hoc denique modo etiam ethnicis " sæpe subvenimus, donati à Deo eâ " potestate, quam Apostolus dedicavit " quum morsum viparæ sprevit." Scorp. 1. " Enimvero cum dæmonia " affirmamus esse, sane quasi non et " probemus, qui ea soli de corporibus " exigimus." Test. Anim. 3. " Quanti " honesti viri (de vulgaribus enim non " dicimus) aut è dæmoniis aut valetu- " dinibus remediati sunt!" ad Scap. 4. And Minucius Felix, " Hæc omnia " sciunt plerique pars vestrum, ipsos " dæmonas de semetipsis confiteri, " quoties à nobis tormentis verborum " et orationis incendiis de corporibus " exiguntur. Ipse Saturnus, et Serapis, " et Jupiter, et quicquid dæmonum " colitis, victi dolore quod sunt elo- " quuntur," &c. 27. And Theophilus, " ἐκ τούτου δε σαφῶς δείκνυται, εἰ καὶ οἱ " δαιμονῶντες ἐνίοτε μέχρι τοῦ δεύρο " ἐξορκίζονται κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ " ὄντος θεοῦ, και ὁμολογεῖ αὐτὰ τὰ " πλάνα πνεύματα εἶναι δαίμονες." ad Autol. ii. 8. Origen says that the name of Jesus, " ἐκστάσεις ἀφίστησι καὶ δαι- " μόνας, ἤδη δὲ καὶ νόσους." Contr. Cels. i. 67; " γενναῖον δ' ἔργον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸ " μέχρι σήμερον θεραπεύεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι " αὐτοῦ, οὗς ὁ θεὸς βούλεται," ibid. ii. 33. " εἰ μὴ θεόθεν, οὐκ ἂν καὶ δαίμονες τῷ " ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἀπαγγελλομένῳ μόνον " εἴκοντες ἀνεχώρουν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν " πολεμουμένων." ibid. iii. 36. " Καὶ ἔτι " ἴχνη . . . . ἐξαγουσι δαίμονας καὶ " πολλὰς ἰάσεις ἐπιτελοῦσι καὶ ὁρῶσί τινα " κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ λόγου, περι μελ- " λόντων." ibid. i. 46. And so St. Cyprian, " ut per exorcistas voce humanâ " et potestate divinâ flagelletur diabo- " lum et uratur et torqueatur, &c." Ep. 76. ad Magn. circ. fin. Other passages from the same author are quoted above, p. xxxvi.

that she could be accounted by professing Christians a school of error, and a workshop of fraud and imposture. They wrote with the confidence that they were Christians, and that those to whom they transmitted the Gospel would not call them the ministers of Antichrist.

SECTION V.

ON THE EVIDENCE FOR PARTICULAR ALLEGED MIRACLES.

It does not strictly fall within the scope of this Essay to pronounce upon the truth or falsehood of this or that miraculous narrative as it occurs in Ecclesiastical history; but only to furnish such general considerations as may be useful in forming a decision in particular cases. Yet considering the painful perplexity which many feel when left entirely to their own judgments in important matters, it may be allowable to go a step further, and without ruling open questions this way or that, to throw off the abstract and unreal character which attends a course of reasoning, by setting down the evidence for and against certain miracles as we meet with them. Moreover, so much has been said in the foregoing pages in behalf of the Ecclesiastical miracles, antecedently considered, that it may be hastily inferred that all miraculous relations and reports should be admitted unhesitatingly and indiscriminately, without any attempt to separate truth from falsehood, or suspense of judgment, or difference in the degrees of reliance placed in them one with another, or reserve or measure in the open acknowledgment of them. And such an examination of particular instances, as is proposed, may give opportunity to one or two additional remarks of a general character, for which no place has hitherto been found.

An inquirer then should not enter upon the subject of the miracles reported or alleged in Ecclesiastical history, without being prepared for fiction and exaggeration in the narrative, to an indefinite extent. This cannot be insisted on too often; nothing but the gift of inspiration could have hindered it. Nay, he must not expect that more than a few can be ex-

hibited with evidence of so cogent and complete a character as to demand his acceptance; while a great number of them, as far as the evidence goes, are neither certainly true nor certainly false, but of very various degrees of probability viewed one with another; all of them recommended to his devout attention by the circumstance that others of the same family have been proved to be true, and all prejudiced by his knowledge that so many others on the contrary are certainly not true. It will be his wisdom then, not to reject or scorn accounts of miracles, where there is a fair chance of their being true; but to allow himself to be in suspense, to raise his mind to Him of whom they may possibly be telling, to "stand in awe and "sin not," and to ask for light,—yet to do no more; not boldly to put forward what, if it be from God, yet has not been put forward by Him. What He does in secret, we must think over in secret; what He has "openly shewed in the sight of "the heathen," we must publish abroad, "crying aloud and "sparing not." An alleged miracle is not untrue, because it is unproved; nor is it excluded from our faith because it is not admitted into our controversy. Some are for our conviction, and these we are to "confess with the mouth" as well as "believe with the heart;" others are for our comfort and encouragement, and these we are to "keep, and ponder "them in our heart," without urging them upon unwilling ears.

No one should be surprised at the admission that few of the Ecclesiastical miracles are attended with an evidence sufficient to subdue our reason, because few of the Scripture miracles are furnished with such an evidence. When a fact comes recommended to us by arguments which do not admit of an answer, when plain and great difficulties are in the way of denying it, and none, or none of comparative importance, in the way of admitting it, it may be said to subdue our reason. Thus apologists for Christianity challenge unbelievers to pro-

duce an hypothesis sufficient to account for its doctrines, its rise, and its success, short of its truth; thus Lord Lyttleton analyses the possible motives and principles of the human mind, in order to shew that St. Paul's conversion admits of but one explanation, viz. that it was supernatural; thus writers on Prophecy appeal to its fulfilment, which they say can be accounted for by referring it to a Divine inspiration, and in no other way. Leslie, Paley, and others have employed themselves on similar arguments in defence of revealed truth. I am not saying how far arguments of a bold, decisive, and apparently demonstrative character, however great their value, are always the deepest and most satisfactory; but they are those which in this day are the most popular, they are those, the absence of which is made an objection to the Ecclesiastical miracles. It is right then to remind those who consider this objection as fatal to these miracles, that the miracles of Scripture are for the most part exposed to the same. If the miracles of Church history cannot be defended by the arguments of Leslie, Lyttleton, Paley, or Douglas, how many of the Scripture miracles satisfy their conditions? Some infidel authors advise us to accept no miracles which would not have a verdict in their favour in a court of justice; that is, they employ against Scripture a weapon which Protestants would confine to attacks upon the Church; as if moral and religious questions required legal proofs, and evidence were the test of truth.

It is true that the Scripture miracles were, for the most part, evidence of a Divine revelation, when they were wrought; but they are not so at this day[r]. Only a few of them fulfil this

[r] "As the relative force of the separate evidences is different under different circumstances, so again has one class of miracles more or less weight than another, according to the accidental change of times, places, and persons addressed. As our knowledge of the system of nature and of the circumstances of the particular case varies, so of course varies our conviction .... From a variety of causes, then, it happens that miracles which produced a rational conviction at the time when they took

purpose now; and the rest are sustained and authenticated by these few. The many never have been evidence except to those who saw them, and have but held the place of doctrine ever since; like the truths revealed to us about the unseen world, which are matters of faith, not means of conviction. They have no existence, as it were, out of the record in which they are found; they are not found as facts in the world, influencing its course, and proving their reality by their power, but as sacred truths taught us by inspiration. Such are the greater number of our Lord's miracles viewed individually; we believe His restoration of the widow's son or His changing water into wine, as we believe His transfiguration, on the word of His Evangelists. We believe the miracles of Elisha, because our Lord has Himself recognised the book containing the record of them. The great arguments by which unbelievers are silenced, do not reach as far as these particular instances. As was just now noticed, one of the most cogent proofs of the miracles of Christ and His Apostles is drawn from their effects; it being inconceivable that a rival power to Cæsar should have started out of so obscure and ignorant a spot as Galilee, and have prevailed, without some such extraordinary and divine gifts: yet this argument, it will be observed, proves nothing about the miracles *one by one* as reported in the Gospels, but only that the Christian *story* was miraculous, or that miracles attended it. Paley's argument goes little beyond proving the fact of the resurrection, or, at most, that there were certain sensible miracles wrought by our Lord, such as cures, to which St. Peter alludes in his speech to Cornelius, yet without specifying what. Again, Douglas considers that "we may suspect

"place, have ever since proved rather "an objection to revelation than an "evidence for it, and have depended "on the rest for support; while others, "which once were of a dubious and "perplexing character, have in suc- "ceeding ages come forward in its de- "fence." &c. Vid. *Apollonius Tyan.* Encycl. Metrop.

"miracles to be false," the account of which was not published at the time or place of their alleged occurrence, or if so published, yet without careful attention being called to them; yet St. Mark is said to have written at Rome, St. Luke in Rome or Greece, and St. John at Ephesus; and the earliest of the Evangelists wrote some years after the events recorded, while the latest did not write for sixty years; and, moreover, true though it be that attention was called to Christianity from the first, yet it is true also that it did not succeed at the spot where it arose, but principally at a distance from it. Once more, Leslie almost confines his tests to the Mosaic miracles, or rather to certain of them; and though he is unwilling to exclude those of the Gospel from the benefit of his argument, yet it is not easy to see how he brings them under it at all.

On the whole then, it will be found that the greater part of the miracles of revelation are as little evidence for revelation at this day, as the miracles of the Church are evidence for the Church. In both cases the number of those which carry with them their own proof now, and are believed for their own sake, is small; and they furnish the grounds on which we receive the rest. The difference between the two cases is this:—that, since an authentic document has been provided for the miracles by which revealed religion was introduced, which are thus connected together into one whole, we know here exactly, what miracles are to be received on warrant of those which are already proved; but since the Church has never catalogued her miracles, those which are known to be such, do but create an indefinite presumption in favour of others, but cannot be taken in proof of any in particular.

On the other hand, that fables have ever been in circulation, some vague and isolated, others attached to particular spots or to particular persons, is too notorious to need dwelling on; it is more to the purpose to observe that the

fact of such pretences has ever been acknowledged even by those who have been the believers or the reporters of miraculous histories. We have seen above[s], that one of St. Martin's first miracles in his episcopate, as recorded by Sulpicius, was the detection of a pretended Saint and Martyr, whose tomb had been an object of veneration to the ignorant people. And in the very beginning of Christianity St. Luke, by speaking of the "many" who had "taken in hand to set "forth in order a declaration of those things which are most "surely believed among us," seems to allude to the Apocryphal Gospels[t], which ascribe a number of trifling as well as fictitious miracles to our Lord. And when St. Paul cautions the Thessalonians against being "soon shaken in mind or "troubled, by spirit or by letter, as from himself, as that the "day of Christ was at hand," he testifies both to the fact that spurious writings were then ascribed to him, and that they contained professedly supernatural matter. What is confessed by Apostles and Evangelists in the first century, and by Martyrologists in the fourth, would naturally happen both in the interval and afterwards. Hence Pope Gelasius, while warning the faithful against various Apocryphal works, mentions among them the acts of St. George, the Martyr under Dioclesian, which had been so interpolated by the Arians, that to this day, though he is the patron of England, and in Chapters of the Garter is commemorated with honours which even Apostles do not gain from us, nothing whatever is known for certain of his life, sufferings, or miracles[u]. Again, we are told by St. John Damascene, and in the Revelations of St. Bridget and St. Mathildis, that the Emperor Trajan was delivered from the place of punishment at the prayers of St. Gregory the First; but Baronius says, concern-

[s] Page xxxiii.

[t] Jones on the Canon, part i. ch. 2, has collected the ancient and modern authorities in proof that St. Luke was alluding to the Apocryphal writings. Wolf denies it. Cur. Phil. in loc.

[u] Baron. Annal. 290. 35. Martyrol. Apr. 23.

ing this and similar stories, "Away with idle tales; silence "once for all on empty fables; be they buried in eternal "silence. We excuse those, who accounting true what they "received as fact, committed it to writing; praise to their "zeal, who, when they found it asserted, discussed in scho- "lastic fashion, how it might be; but more praise to them "who scenting the falsehood, detected the error[v]." Melchior Canus, again, a Dominican and a Divine of Trent, uses the same language even of St. Gregory's Dialogues and the Ecclesiastical History of Bede. "They are most eminent persons," he says, "but still men; they relate certain miracles as com- "monly reported and believed, which critics, especially of this "age, will consider uncertain. Indeed, I should like those "histories better, if their authors had joined more care in "selection to severity in judgment[x];" though he adds that far more was to be retained in their works than was to be rejected. He does not, however, speak even in these measured terms of the Speculum Exemplorum, and the Aurea Legenda of Jacobus de Voragine; the former of which, he says, contains "monsters of miracles rather than truths;" and the latter is the production of "an iron mouth, a leaden "heart, and an intellect without exactness or discretion." Avowals such as these from the first century to the sixteenth, from inspired writers to the schools of St. Dominic and the Oratory, may serve to prepare us for fictitious miracles in Ecclesiastical history in no small measure, and to shew us at the same time that such fictions are no fair prejudice to others which possess the characters of truth[y]. And in like

[v] Emunctis naribus odorati. Annal. 604. 49.

[x] Loc. Theol. xi. 6.

[y] The illustration of this subject might be pursued without limit. Tillemont quotes from a writer of the thirteenth century the broad maxim: "Quand la raison se trouve contraire "à l'usage, il faut que l'usage cede à "la raison;" and proceeds to quote Papebrok as saying that we cannot too often repeat this excellent rule, "à "ceux qui trouvent mauvais qu'on ac- "cuse de fausseté diverses choses qui "se sont introduites dans l'Eglise par "l'ignorance de l'histoire." vol. vii. p. 640. The Bollandists say, "Nimiâ pro- "fecto simplicitate peccant qui scan-

manner, if it be necessary, exceptions might be taken to certain of the miracles recorded by Palladius in his Lausiac, and by Theodoret in his Religious History, and by the unknown collector of the miracles of St. Stephen, which a late writer has brought forward with the hope of thereby involving all the supernatural histories of antiquity in a general suspicion and contempt. That Palladius has put in writing a report of an hyena's asking pardon of a solitary for killing sheep, and of a female turned by magic into a mare, or that one of the Clergy of Uzalis speaks of a serpent that was seen in the sky, will appear no reason except to vexed and heated minds for accusing the holy Ambrose of imposture, or the keen, practised, and experienced intellect of Augustine of abject credulity [z].

Nor is there any thing strange or startling in this mixture of fable with truth, as appeared from what was said on the subject in a former page. It as little derogates from the supernatural gift residing in the Church that miracles should have been fabricated or exaggerated, as it prejudices her holiness that within her pale good men are mixed with bad. Fiction and pretence follow truth as its shadows; the Church is at all times in the midst of corruption, because she is in

" dalizantur quoties audiunt aliquid ex " jam olim creditis, et juxta Breviarii " præscriptum hodiedum recitandis, in " disputationem adduci." Dissert. Bolland. tom. ii. p. 140. Vid. also Alban Butler's Saints, Introd. Disc., p. xlvii, &c. ed. 1833. Bauer's Theolog. tom. i. art. ii. p. 487, and works there referred to. Benedict. XIV. de Canon. Sanct. iv. p. 1. c. 5, &c. Farmer on Miracles, p. 320; also the passages from various authors quoted in Geddes' Tracts, vol. iii. pp. 115—118. ed. 1730; who also furnishes, though not in a good spirit, a number of specimens of the sort of miracles which such authors condemn.

[z] " Ambrose occupies a high position " among the Fathers; and there was a " vigour and dignity in his character, " as well as a vivid intelligence, which " must command respect; but in pro- " portion as we assign praise to the " man individually, we condemn the " system which could so far vitiate a " noble mind, and impel one so lofty " in temper to act a part which heathen " philosophers would utterly have ab- " horred. . . Under the Nicene system, " Bishops in the great cities could " stand up in crowded churches, with- " out shame, and with uplifted hands " appeal to Almighty God in attestation " of that, as a miracle, which them- " selves had brought about by trickery, " bribes, and secret instructions." Ancient Christ. part vii. pp. 270, 271. " He [Augustine] was the dupe of his " own credulity, not the machinator of " fraud." p. 318.

the midst of the world and is framed out of human hearts; and as the elect are fewer than the reprobate and hard to find amid the chaff, so false miracles at once exceed and conceal and prejudice those which are genuine. Nor would the difficulty be overcome, even if we took on ourselves to reject all the Ecclesiastical miracles altogether; for the fictions which startle us must in fairness be viewed as connected, not only with the Church and her more authentic histories, but with Christianity, as such. Superstition is a corruption of Christianity, not merely of the Church; and if it discredits the Divine origin of the Church, it discredits the Divine origin of Christianity also. Those who talk even most loudly of the corruptions of the fourth and fifth centuries, seem, when closely questioned, still to admit that Christianity was not extinct but overlaid by corruptions. If then the Church herself and her miracles *in toto* are to be included in that corruption, then of course the corruption was only deeper and broader, than if she is to be accounted as in herself a portion of Apostolic Christianity; and if such greater corruption does not compromise the divinity of Christianity, so the lesser surely does not compromise the real power and gifts of the Church. On both sides fanaticism, imposture, and superstition are admitted as existing in the history of miracles; and on neither side must these evil agents be held to throw suspicion on miracles which have no direct or probable connection with them.

And now after these preliminary considerations, let us proceed to inquire into the evidence and general character of two or three of the miracles ascribed to that period of the Church in which the history which follows is included.

1. *The Thundering Legion.*

Claudius Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis, addressed an Apology for Christianity to the Emperor Marcus, about A.D. 176. It is lost, but an allusion to it, as it would appear, or

at least to one of his works, is made by Eusebius [a], in which he bore witness to a remarkable answer to prayer received a year or two before by the Christian soldiers of that very Emperor's army in the celebrated war with the Quadri. Tertullian, writing about A.D. 200, and also in a public Apology, urges the same fact upon the Proconsul of Africa whom he addresses.

The words of Eusebius introductory of the evidence of Apollinaris and Tertullian are these: "It is said that when "Marcus Aurelius Cæsar was forming his troops in order of "battle against the Germans and Sarmatians, he was re- "duced to extremities by a failure of water. Meanwhile the "soldiers in the so called Melitene [b] legion, which for its faith "remains to this day, knelt down upon the ground, as we are "accustomed to do in prayer, and betook themselves to sup- "plication. And whereas this sight was strange to the "enemy, another still more strange happened immediately;— "thunderbolts, which caused the enemy's flight and over- "throw; and upon the army to which the men were attached, "who had called upon God, a rain, which restored it "entirely when it was all but perishing by thirst." He adds, that this account was given by heathens as well as by Christians, though they did not allow that the prayers of Christians were concerned in the event. Then he quotes Apollinaris for the fact, that in consequence the legion received from the Emperor the name of "Thundering." Again, Tertullian speaks of "the letters of Marcus Aurelius, an Em- "peror of great character, in which he testifies to the "quenching of that German thirst by the shower gained by "the prayers of soldiers who happened to be Christian [c]." He adds, that "while he did not openly remove the legal "punishment from persons of that description, yet he did in

[a] Hist. v. 5.

[b] On the question of this Melitine or Melitene legion, vid. Vales. in Euseb. Hist. v. 5.

[c] Apol. c. 5.

" fact dispense with it, by placing a penalty, and that a more " fearful one, on their accusers." And in his ad Scapulam: " Marcus Aurelius in the German expedition obtained " showers in that thirst by the prayers offered up to God by " Christian soldiers [d]." The statement then, as given by two writers, one writing at the very time, the other about twenty years later, is this: that soldiers, in or of one of the Roman legions, gained by their prayers a seasonable storm of rain and thunder and lightning, when the army was perishing by thirst, and was surrounded by an enemy; and they add two evidences of it,—Apollinaris, that the legion in which these soldiers were found was thenceforth called the Thundering Legion, and Tertullian, that the Emperor in consequence passed an edict in favour of the Christians.

Here we are only concerned with the *fact*, not with its alleged *evidences*; and this is worth noticing, for it so happens that the fact is true, but the evidences, *as* evidences, are not true, that is, there is just enough incorrectness in the statement to hinder their availing as evidences. This, I say, is worth noticing, because it may serve in other cases to make us cautious of rejecting facts stated by the Fathers because we discredit (rightly or wrongly is not the question) the grounds on which they rest them. Did we know no other evidence than what Apollinaris and Tertullian allege for the sudden relief of the Roman legions in Germany, we should have rejected the fact, when we had invalidated the evidence; which, as the event shews, would have been a hasty proceeding. Sometimes facts are so notorious that proof is *ex abundanti*; and sometimes writers like those in question hurt a good cause by not leaving it to itself.

Now as to the corroborative statement made by Apollinaris, writers of great authority assume that he, or other early writers, speak as if a legion in the Roman army was com-

[d] c. 4.

posed *wholly* of Christians[e]. Yet even Eusebius does but speak of "the soldiers in the Melitene legion," which is an ambiguous form of expression; while Tertullian uses the phrase, "Christianorum *forte* militum precationibus," "Christiano- "rum militum orationibus," no mention being made of a legion at all, and the word "forte" strongly opposing the idea of the Christians forming an entire body of troops. As to Apollinaris, he, it is true, stated in his lost work, that in consequence of the miracle a legion was called "Thundering;" but we may not assume that he said more than that the Christians who prayed were *in* that legion, since there is nothing strange in the idea of a whole body obtaining a name from the good deed of some of them, nor strange again, considering that bodies of troops were drawn, then as now, from particular places, and were open to various local or other influences, that Christians should have been numerous enough in one particular legion to give a character to it. This difficulty, however, being disposed of, a more important objection remains; there was indeed a Thundering Legion, as Apollinaris says, but then it was as old as the time of Trajan, nay, of Augustus[f]. This circumstance of course is fatal to his argument. Moyle upon this observes, that "Apollinaris, the first broacher of the miracle, was grossly "mistaken, to say no worse[g];" but, though it was a mistake,

[e] Vales. in Euseb. Hist. v. 5. Moyle's Posthumous Works, vol. ii. p. 82. Jablonski's Opusc. tom. iv. p. 9.

[f] Moyle's Posthumous Works, vol. ii. p. 90. and Scaliger and Valesius before him. Baronius accounts for the fact by supposing that the Christian soldiers were in all parts of the army, and after this were incorporated into the existing Thundering Legion. "Par est credere, "ipsum eosdem ob tam egregium atque "mirandum facinus Fulminantium no- "mine nobilitasse, ac eosdem simul "ejusdem nominis legioni pariter ag- "gregasse." Ann. 176, 20; vid. also Witsius, Diatrib. 46. Mr. King too observes that Xiphilin is the only author who "absolutely affirms the soldiers "of the Melitenian Legion to be all "Christians." ap. Moyle, p. 116; vid. also Milman, Christ. vol. ii. p. 190. Moyle answers that King is the first person who has interpreted Eusebius, &c. otherwise, p. 212. Lardner, Testim. vol. ii. ch. 15. and Mosheim, ant. Constant. sec. 2. ch. 17. side with Moyle. Mosheim connects "forte" with "pre- "cationibus impetrato."

[g] He retracts and throws the blame on Eusebius, p. 221, almost denying that Apollinaris made the statement imputed to him. So does Neander, Church Hist., vol. 1. i. 2.

it surely is not grosser than if a country clergyman at this day were to commit a blunder in speaking of the Queen's regiments serving in India or Canada. In spite of our advantages from the present diffusion of knowledge, certainly our parish priests do not know much more of the constitution or history of the British army, than the Bishop of Hierapolis of the military establishments of Rome.

Tertullian, on the other hand, tells us that the Emperor Marcus, in a formal document, acknowledged the miracle as obtained by the prayers of the Christians; and favoured the whole body so far as, without repealing the laws against them, to put a heavier punishment on informers against them than on themselves. And it would appear, that the Emperor did issue a rescript in their favour in an earlier period of his reign, which Eusebius has preserved [h], to the effect that "the "parties accused of Christianity shall be pardoned, though it "be proved against them, and the informer shall undergo the "penalty instead;" and in the reign of Commodus, the son of Marcus, a Pagan actually had his legs broken and was put to death, for bringing an accusation against a Christian [i]. And further, that the Emperor about the time of the German war shewed a leaning towards "foreign rites," which might easily be mistaken by the Christians to include or even to imply Christianity, is made clear by one of the authors to whom reference has just been made at the foot of the page [k]. Moreover, that the Emperor recognised the miracle is very certain, as will appear directly; but, all this being undeniable, still there is no evidence for the very point

[h] Moyle denies the genuineness of this Rescript, and Dodwell suspects it. Dissert. Cypr. xi. 34. fin. Moyle adds, p. 337, that G. Vossius wrote a Dissertation to prove it a forgery. Pagi and Valesius maintain it; so does Jablonski in loc., assigning it with Pagi to the ninth year of Antoninus, while Valesius assigns it to the first.

[i] Jablonski, ibid. p. 18. Moyle suspects the story, yet without strong grounds, p. 249. It is found in Eusebius.

[k] Jablonski, ibid. Moyle, with a different purpose, gives instances of the Emperor's leaning towards Chaldeans, magicians, &c. p. 235: vid. also p. 356.

on which the force of Tertullian's proof depends, viz. that his act of grace towards the Christians was in *consequence* of his belief in the miracle, and his belief that they were the cause of it[l]. So far from it, he was in course of persecution against the Church both before and after its date. How severely that persecution raged a few years afterwards, the well known epistle of the Churches of Gaul informs us[m]; though its force must at least have been suspended as regards Asia Minor, or Apollinaris, writing at the time, could not have fancied that the Emperor had recognised the miracle as the result of Christian intercession.

Dismissing however these two statements, which, though they cannot be supported as they stand, are not necessary to the fact of the alleged miracle, and admit, as we have seen, of a very natural solution, we have the following decisive evidence in proof of the occurrence of some extraordinary and providential storm, when the Roman army were in very critical circumstances in the course of the German war.

Eusebius observes, that even the Pagans confessed the miracle, though they did not allow that it was attributable to the prayers of the Christians; and what is left of antiquity sufficiently confirms the assertion. Indeed, so certain was the fact, that nothing was left to the former but to account for it, and to record it. They accounted for it by referring it to their own divinities, they recorded it on medals and on monuments. Dio Cassius calls it a "wonderful and provi-"dential" preservation, and attributes it to an Egyptian magician, of the name of Arnuphis, who invoked "Mercury, "who is in the air, and other spirits." Julius Capitolinus attributes it to the Emperor's prayers. Themistius, who says

[l] Moyle maintains, p. 244, that Tertullian does not assert this connection of Antoninus's acknowledgment of the miracle and his edict, nor any other ancient writer.

[m] Witsius, to evade the difficulty, maintains that the persecution was the consequence of a riot and the hostility of local governors, Diatrib. c. 66. King maintains the same, ap. Moyle, p. 309. Eusebius certainly speaks of it as ἐξ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν δήμων. Hist. v. procem.

the same, adds that he had seen a picture, "in the middle of "which the Emperor was praying in the line of battle, and "his soldiers were catching the rain in their helmets, and "quenching their thirst with the draught providentially "granted." Moreover, the memorial of it is sculptured on the celebrated Antonine column at Rome, where is a figure of Jupiter Pluvius scattering lightning and rain, the enemy and their horses lying prostrate, and the Romans sword in hand rushing on them. A medal too is or was extant, of the very year of the occurrence, with the head of Antoninus crowned with laurel on one side, and a figure of Mercury on the reverse.

The mere circumstance of this event being recorded with such formality on the column of Antoninus, is a sufficient proof of its importance; but perhaps the reader will be more impressed by the pagan Dion's description of it, which runs as follows: "When the Barbarians would not give them "battle, in hopes of their perishing by heat and thirst, since "they had so surrounded them that they had no possible "means of getting water, and when they were in the utmost "distress from sickness, wounds, sun and thirst, and could "neither fight, nor retreat, but remained in order of battle "and at their posts in this parched condition, suddenly "clouds gathered and a copious rain fell, not without the "mercy of God. And when it first began to fall, the "Romans, raising their mouths towards heaven, received it "upon them; next turning up their shields and helmets they "drank largely out of them, and gave to their horses. And "when the Barbarians charged them, they drank as they "fought; and numbers of them were wounded, and drank out "of their helmets water and blood mixed. And while they "were thus incurring heavy loss from the assault of the "enemy, because most of them were engaged in drinking, a "violent hail-storm and much lightning were discharged

"upon the enemy. And thus water and fire might be seen "in the same place falling from heaven, that some might "drink to their refreshment, and others be burned to death; "for the fire did not touch the Romans, or if so, it was at "once extinguished; nor did the wet help the Barbarians, "but burned like oil; so that drenched with rain they still "needed moisture, and wounded their own selves, that blood "might put out the fire[n]." This of course is rhetorically written, but men do not write rhetorically without a cause, and the effort of the composition shews the marvellousness of the occurrence.

We are sure, then, of the providential deliverance of the army, as Eusebius and the others state it. And that there were Christians in the army we may be quite sure, from what we gather from the general history of the times[o], even independently of what these writers state. And further, we may be sure also, even before we have definite authority for it, that they offered up prayers for deliverance.

[n] This is translated from Baronius, but it agrees with the original in all important points, though not always literal. Dion. Hist. lxxi. p. 805. Vid. also Themist. Orat. 15.

[o] Moyle indeed contends "that there "were few or none at all in the army," and observes, "Considering the passive "principles of the age, I would as soon "believe my Lord Marlborough had a "whole regiment of Quakers in his "army as that Antoninus had a whole "legion of Christians in his." pp. 84, 85. He argues from the testimonies of the early Fathers, of Celsus, &c. and from the oaths and other idolatrous acts to which soldiers were obliged to submit, adding, "that it was impossible for "a Christian to serve in them unless "it were by the help of Occasional Con-"formity. At least in such a case "the prayers of such mock Christians "would hardly work wonders." p. 87. This is an objection which, if valid, strikes deeper than any of those which I have noticed in the text; but is obviously out of place here. Mr. Milman observes of the alleged apparition of the Cross to Constantine, "This irreconcilable incongruity between the symbol of universal peace and the horrors of war, in my judgment, is conclusive against the miraculous or supernatural character of the transaction." Hist. of Christ. vol. ii. p. 354. He adds, "This was the first advance to the military Christianity of the middle ages." He refers in a note to Mosheim for similar sentiments, "for which," he says, "I will readily encounter the charge of Quakerism." He then refers to the Empress Helena's turning the nails of the Cross into a helmet and bits for Constantine's war-horse. "True or false," he observes, "this story is characteristic of the "*Christian* sentiment then prevalent." This Essay not professing a doctrinal character, it is sufficient to specify what points of doctrine require to be considered in judging of the miracles which are discussed. Mr. Isaac Taylor objects other doctrinal considerations, as has already been noticed.

Under these circumstances I do not see what remains to be proved. Here is an army in extreme jeopardy, with Christians in it; the enemy is destroyed and they are delivered. And Apollinaris, Tertullian, and Eusebius, attest[p] that these Christians in the army prayed and that the deliverance was felt at the time to be an answer to their prayers; what remains but to accept their statement? We who are Christians as well as they, can feel no hesitation on the score that pagan writers attribute the occurrence to another cause, to magic or to false gods. Surely we may accept the evidence of the latter to the fact, without taking their hypothetical explanation of it. And we may give our own explanation to it for our own edification, in accordance with what we believe to be divine truth, without being obliged to go on to use it in argument for the conversion of unbelievers. It may be a miracle, though not one of evidence, but of confirmation, encouragement, mercy, for the sake of Christians.

Nor does it concern us much to answer the objection that there is nothing strictly miraculous in such an occurrence, because sudden thunder clouds after drought are not unfrequent; for in addition to other answers which have been made to such a remark in other parts of this Essay, I would answer, Grant me such miracles ordinarily in the early Church, and I will ask no other; grant that upon prayer benefits are vouchsafed, deliverances are effected, unhoped for results obtained, sicknesses cured, tempests laid, pestilences put to flight, famines remedied, judgments inflicted, and there will be no need of analyzing the causes, whether supernatural or natural, to which they are to be referred[q]. They may or they may not,

[p] Moyle indeed maintains that the Christians in general did not believe it to be a miracle; he argues from the silence of St. Theophilus, St. Clement, Origen, St. Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius, p. 277. W. Lowth however refers to a passage in St. Cyprian, ad Demetrian, Routh, t. i. p. 153. It really seems unreasonable to demand that every Father should write about every thing.

[q] Moyle is obliged to allow so much as this, saying of the defeat of the Philistines by a storm on Samuel's

in this or that case, follow or surpass the laws of nature, and they may do so plainly or doubtfully, but the common sense of mankind will call them miraculous; for by a miracle is popularly meant, whatever be its formal definition, an event which impresses upon the mind the immediate presence of the Moral Governor of the world. He may sometimes act through nature, sometimes beyond or against it, but those who admit the fact of such interferences will have little difficulty in admitting also their strictly miraculous character, if the circumstances of the case require it; and those who deny miracles to the early Church will be equally strenuous against allowing her the grace of such intimate influence (if we may so speak) upon the course of Divine Providence, as is here in question, even though it be not miraculous.

On the whole then we may conclude that the facts of this memorable occurrence are as the early Christian writers state them; that Christian soldiers did ask, and did receive, in a great distress, rain for their own supply, and lightning against their enemies; whether through miracle or not we cannot say for certain, but more probably not through miracle in the philosophical sense of the word. All we know, and all we need know is, that "He made darkness His "secret place, His pavilion round about Him, with dark "water and thick clouds to cover Him; the Lord thundered "out of heaven and the Highest gave His thunder; hail "stones and coals of fire. He sent out His arrows and "scattered them, He sent forth lightnings and destroyed "them."

prayers, "This fact, though it cannot "properly, in the strict and genuine "sense of the word, be called a mira-"cle, yet well deserves a place in "the lower form of miracles, because "it was *preternatural*, and not per-"formed by the ordinary concurrence "of second causes, but by the imme-"diate hand of God." p. 286. Vid. Benedict. xiv. de Can. Sanct. iv. part i. 11. who instances the hail-stones in Joshua's battle as "præter naturam." Vid. infr. pp. cxxxiii, cxxxiv.

2. *The change of water into oil by St. Narcissus of Jerusalem.*

Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, when oil failed for the lamps on the vigil of Easter, sent the persons who had the care of them to the neighbouring well for water. When they brought it, he prayed over it, and it was changed into oil[r]. Narcissus was made Bishop about A.D. 180, at the age of eighty-four; he was at a Council on the question of Easter 195, and lived for some years of the third century, dying at the unusual age of a hundred and sixteen, or more.

It is favourable to the truth of this account, that the instrument of the miracle was an aged, and, as also was the case, a very holy man. It may be added that he was born in the first century before St. John's death, and was in some sense an Apostolical Father, as Jortin observes.

But there are certain remarkable circumstances connected with him, which, as persons regard them, will be viewed in opposite lights, as making the miracle more or as less probable. Eusebius informs us that Narcissus was for some years the victim of a malignant calumny. Three men, disliking his strictness and the discipline he exercised, accused him of some great crime, with an imprecation on themselves if they spoke falsely; the first that he might perish by fire, the second that he might be smitten with disease, and the third that he might lose his eyesight. Narcissus fled from his Church and lived many years in the wild parts of the country, as a solitary. At length the first of his three accusers was burned in his house with all his family; the second was covered from head to foot with the disease which he had named; and the third confessed his crime, but, overcome with shame and remorse, lost his eyes by weeping. Narcissus was restored and died in possession of his see.

[r] Euseb. Hist. vi. 9.

Now it may be said that the extraordinary nature of this history only increases the improbability of the miracle. It reads like a made story; there is a completeness about it; and there is an extravagance in the notion of the loss of sight by weeping. Yet the same thing happened to St. Francis. "His eyes," says Butler, "seemed two fountains of tears, "which were almost continually falling from them, insomuch "that at length he almost lost his sight." He was seared with red-hot iron from the ear to the eye-brow with the hope of saving it. In his last illness "he scarce allowed himself any "intermission from prayer, and would not check his tears, "though the physician thought it necessary for the preserva- "tion of his sight; which he entirely lost upon his death- "bed[s]." However, even though we allow that the history in question is embellished, still the general outline may remain, that Narcissus was unjustly accused and by a wonderful providence vindicated. In this point of view it surely adds to the probability of the miracle before us, that it is attributed to a man, not only so close upon Apostolic times and persons, so holy, so aged, but in addition so strangely tried, so strangely righted. It removes the abruptness and marvellousness of what at first sight looks like "naked history," as Paley calls it, or what we commonly understand by a legend. Such a man may well be accounted "worthy for whom Christ should do this." And if the foregoing circumstances are true, not only in outline, but in detail, then still greater probability is added to the miracle.

Jortin objects that "the change of water into oil to supply "the church lamps has the air of a miracle performed upon "an occasion rather too slender[t]." But Dodwell[u] had already observed that the mystical idea connected with the sacred lights gives a meaning to it, and particularly at that

[s] Lives of the Saints, Oct. 4.
[t] Vol. ii. p. 103.
[u] Dissert. in Iren. ii. 49.

season; and Eusebius tells us that the people were in much consternation[x] at their failure.

Jortin also observes that "in the time of Augustus, a "fountain of oil burst out at Rome and flowed for a whole "day. In natural history there are accounts of greasy and "bituminous springs, when something like oil has floated on "the water. Pliny, and Hardouin in his notes, mention many "such fountains, 'qui explent olei vicem,' and 'quorum aquâ "'lucernæ ardeant.'" This circumstance perhaps adds probability to the miracle, both as lessening its violence, (if the word may be used,) as the accompanying history of the Bishop's trials lessens it in another way, and because in matter of fact Almighty Wisdom seems, as appears from Scripture, not unfrequently to work miracles beyond, rather than against nature.

Eusebius notices pointedly that it was the *tradition* of the Church of Jerusalem[y]. It should be recollected, however, that the tradition had but a narrow interval to pass from Narcissus to Eusebius,—not above fifty or sixty years, as the latter was born about A.D. 264.

On the whole then there seems sufficient ground to justify us in accepting this narrative as in truth an instance of our Lord's gracious presence with His Church, though the evidence is not so definite or minute as to enable us to *realize* the miracle. This is a remark which is often in point; belief, in any true sense of the word, requires a certain familiarity or intimacy of the mind with the thing believed. Till it is in some way brought home to us and made our own, we cannot properly say we believe it, even when our reason receives it. This occurs constantly as regards matters of opinion and doctrine. Take any point of detail in the religious views of a person whom we revere and follow on the whole; do

[x] Δεινῆς ἀθυμίας διαλαβούσης τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος.

[y] Ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀδελφῶν.

we believe this particular doctrine or opinion of his, or do we not? We do not like to pledge ourselves to it, yet we shrink from saying that it is not true, and we defend it when we hear it attacked. We have *no doubt* about it, yet we cannot bring ourselves to say positively that we *believe* it, because belief implies an habitual presence and abidance of the matter believed in our thoughts, and a familiar acquaintance with the ideas it involves, which we cannot profess in the instance in question. Here we see the use of reading and studying the Gospels in order to true belief in our Lord; and, again, of acting upon His words, in order to true belief in them. This being considered, I do not see that we can be said actually to *believe* in a miracle like that now in question, of which so little is known in detail, and which is so little personally interesting to us; but we cannot be said to disbelieve it, there being sufficient grounds for conviction in the sense in which we believe the greater part of the accounts of general history.

3. *The Miracle wrought on the course of the River Lycus by St. Gregory Thaumaturgus.*

Douglas, in his great earnestness to prove that no real miracles were wrought by the Fathers and Saints of the second and third centuries, tells us that the miracles of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, some of which have been detailed above, "are justly rejected as inventions of a later age, and "can be believed by those only who can admit the miracles "ascribed to Apollonius, or those reported so long after his "death, of Ignatius. Gregory of Nyssa" [the biographer of Thaumaturgus], "according to Dr. Cave's character of him, "was apt to be too credulous. No wonder, therefore, he "gave too much credit to old women's tales, as the anecdotes "of the Wonder-worker must be allowed to be, when related, "as we learn from St. Basil, by his aged grandmother

"Macrina[z]." This is not respectful either to St. Macrina or to St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, to say nothing of his treatment of Nyssen; plainly, it can mean nothing else but that St. Gregory did no miracles, and that it is weak, nay, even heathenish, to believe he did. Otherwise thinks a very careful and learned writer, not a member of the Church, and his statement may fitly be placed in contrast with the opinion of one who was a Bishop in it. "His history," says Lardner, speaking of Thaumaturgus, "as delivered by authors of the "fourth and following centuries, particularly by Nyssen, it is "to be feared, has in it somewhat of fiction; but there can be "no reasonable doubt made but he was very successful in "making converts to Christianity in the country of Pontus "about the middle of the third century; and that, beside his "natural and acquired abilities, he was favoured with extra-"ordinary gifts of the Spirit, and wrought miracles of sur-"prising power. The plain and express testimonies of Basil "and others, at no great distance of time or place from "Gregory, must be reckoned sufficient grounds of credit with "regard to these things. Theodoret mentioning Gregory, "and his brother, and Firmilian, and Helenus, all together, "ascribes miracles to none but him alone. They were all "Bishops of the first rank; nevertheless Gregory had a dis-"tinction even among them. It is the same thing in Je-"rome's letter to Magnus; there are mentioned Hippolytus, "Julius Africanus, Dionysius of Alexandria, and many others, "of great note and eminence for learning and piety. But "Theodore, afterwards called Gregory, is the only one who "is called a man of Apostolical signs and wonders[a]."

These remarks of Lardner should be kept in mind by those who would examine the miracles attributed to St. Gregory. For it is obvious to reflect, that if we once believe that he did work miracles, it is the height of improbability

[z] Page 327. note.

[a] Credib. ii. 42. § 5.

that in the course of a century all of these should be forgotten, and a set of pretended miracles substituted in their place, and that among a people who are noted for a particular attachment to their old customs, and especially to the rites and usages introduced by St. Gregory. "The people of Neo-"cæsarea," says Lardner, "retained for a long while re-"markable impressions of religion; and they had an affection "for the primitive simplicity, very rare and uncommon, "almost singular at that time, when innovations came into "the Church apace[b]." And if reasons can be given for believing one, a favourable hearing will be gained for the rest, which belong to one family with it, and are conveyed to us through the same channels. All are of the romantic kind, all come to us on tradition committed to writing by St. Gregory Nyssen. That is, we shall have reason for believing his narrative in its *substance*, for still there is nothing to prevent misstatement in its detail. Against this, indeed, inspiration alone could secure us.

This absence of a perfection, which only attaches to inspired documents, has often been made an objection to receiving the miracles which Ecclesiastical history records[c]. But there is another peculiarity about its existing materials, which applies in particular to Nyssen's Life of Thaumaturgus. That Life does not answer the purpose for which critics and controversialists require it at this day; it is very unsatisfactory as an *attestation* of miracles, and would not read well in a process of canonization. For in truth the author did not set himself to attest them at all; he wrote a sacred panegyrical discourse,

[b] Vid. also above, p. xxvi.

[c] "The miracles of Christ and His "Apostles have not escaped the adulte-"rations of monkery; and if this were "sufficient to discredit truth, there is "not a fact in civil history that would "stand its ground. As to those who "expect a certain innate virtue in it, "of force to extrude all heterogeneous "mixture, they expect a quality in "truth which was never yet found in "it, nor, I fear, ever will. Nay, the "more notorious a fact of this kind is, "that is to say, the more eye-witnesses "there are of it, the more subject it "is to undesigned depravation," &c. Warburton, Julian, § 2. n. 3. p. 96. ed. 1750.

and from the nature of the composition he left out names, dates, places, particulars, all of them necessary indeed for critical proof, but he was not engaged in furnishing evidence. He was an encomiast of a departed Saint; and why not, if he found it fitting for his people? he even omits particulars which he certainly knew well, and every one else; as the name of Gregory's see, and of the Emperor under whose persecution he fled from it; why then need we be suspicious of other omissions, as if they necessarily reflected on the general authenticity of his narrative? Why may he not put off a secular style and manner, when he is treating a religious subject? Why is he to be compelled to turn the Church into a court of law, and to introduce a prosaic phraseology into the hymns, the anthems, and the lessons of the Euchology? Yet what but this is implied in the following complaints of Lardner on the character of his Oration? as if a Bishop might not write homilies or panegyrics, or read martyrologies, or as if inspired Scripture itself were so precise in dating, locating, and naming the sacred persons and sacred things which it introduces. Would not St. Gregory's simple answer to such criticism be, that he did not write for Dr. Lardner? That candid writer seems to forget this, when he speaks of his Oration as follows:—"It is plain it is a pane-"gyric, not a history. Nyssen is so intent upon the mar-"vellous, that he has scarce any regard to common things; "he relates distinctly the mysterious faith which Gregory "received one night from John the Evangelist; but he "despatches in a very few words the instructions which "Gregory received from Origen; though he was five years "under his tuition, and had before him excellent materials "to enlarge upon concerning that part of our Bishop's "history. Then he takes little or no notice of circumstances "of time and place, or the names of persons; these he omits "as things of no moment. Indeed, he has been so good as

"to inform us of Gregory's native city and country, and "that he studied some time, as he says, at Alexandria; but "he does not let us know where Gregory was acquainted with "Origen, whether at Alexandria or at Cæsarea. He does "not inform us of the Temple where Gregory lodged and "silenced the demon; neither where it stood, nor to what "god it was dedicated. He has not so much as once men- "tioned the name of the Priest who was converted in so ex- "traordinary a manner; nor has he mentioned the name of "any one of the many persons, subjects of Gregory's mi- "raculous works." "Possibly it will be said," he continues, "that it was contrary to the rules of rhetoric to be more "particular in an oration. If that be so, and all that Nyssen "aimed at was to entertain his hearers or readers with a fine "piece of oratory, we must consider it as such; but then "though it may afford us some good entertainment, it will "hardly be a ground for much faith; for a story to be "amusing is one thing, to be credible another." But is there no refuge from the rostrum on the one hand, and the witness-box on the other? Must a style be either rhetorical or controversial? May it not be Ecclesiastical? However, Lardner grants that the miracle wrought upon the Lycus is at least particularized by the name of the river, and as some may think that it even approaches to fulfil Leslie's celebrated criterion of a miracle, a few words shall be given to it here.

Leslie's tests of the truth of a miracle are these; that it should be sensible; public; verified by some monument and observance; and that, set up at the very time when it was wrought. Now St. Gregory is said by his biographer, as we have seen above [d], to have restrained a mountain-stream within its mounds, which had been accustomed to flood the plain country into which it descended. He tells us the place, as well as the river, and the mountains from which it flowed; he describes

[d] Pages xxvii, xxviii.

its impetuosity as recurring, according as it was swollen by the waters from the mountains, and its ravages as very serious. But he adds, that after Gregory had visited the spot and prayed, the calamity was stopped once for all, though the stream descended with fury as before, and came up to the very place which St. Gregory had marked as its limit. He specifies this place by referring his readers to a monument standing upon it, and that from the time of the miracle, and moreover, a monument which in its history involves an additional miracle. He says, that the Saint took his staff and fixed it at the opening of the mound which the current had forced; that the staff grew into a tree, and that the waters swept it, but never passed it, and that it remained to his own day, being known by the people of the country as "the "staff." Moreover, it may be said there was an observance instituted at the time of the miracle, as well as a monument; for surely the conversion of the people benefited upon the receipt of the benefit, is, in its results, of the nature of a standing observance, and well fitted to preserve and continue the knowledge of the supernatural act. And further, as some immediate extraordinary occurrence is necessary to enable us to account for so extraordinary an event as the conversion of a whole people, but the success of St. Gregory's restraint upon the stream could not be known till after an interval, or rather only in a course of years, some probability is thereby added to the idea that in the manner or circumstances of his action itself there was something impressive and convincing, as the miracle wrought upon the staff would have been in an eminent way.

Further, Nyssen not only lived too near the times to allow of a spurious tradition fastening itself on the history, whether of the tree or of the people, but he was a native and inhabitant of that part of Asia Minor, and his family before him. His grandmother, Macrina, was brought up at Neo-

cæsarea, Gregory's see, by his immediate disciples. Should the account be false, it will be somewhat of a parallel to suppose a person, at this day, in high Ecclesiastical station, born and educated and writing in the Isle of Man, and assuring us that Bishop Wilson once laid a storm for the fishermen, and that a lighthouse was built at the time, and still remains, in commemoration of the event; and writers, moreover, of this day in England, Scotland, and Ireland, confirming the testimony, by incidentally observing, without allusion to the particular story, that Bishop Wilson had the gift of miracles. We should say it was impossible that such evidence could be offered in behalf of a fiction now; and why not say the same of a similar case then? "But a fiction was possible "then," it may be argued, "because the age was more super-"stitious than now." I answer, and so was a miracle; because the Church was more Catholic and Apostolic.

Of course an objection may be raised on the score of the miracle not being of such a kind as to preclude the possibility of referring it to physical causes in a country where earthquakes were not uncommon. But miracles of degree, which admit *abstractedly* and *hypothetically* of being explained by the joint operation of nature and of exaggeration in the informant, are among the most common in Scripture, and may be cogent and convincing in the particular case, as has been already observed. No east wind could raise the waters of the Red sea, as Scripture describes them to be raised at the time of the Exodus; no supposition of earthquake or other physical disturbance will suffice to deprive Nyssen's narrative, as it stands, of its miraculous character. Nor may we take on ourselves to mutilate or deface either it or the Book of Exodus, or any other professed statement of fact, without first assigning reasons for our proceeding.

4. *Appearance of the Cross in the sky to Constantine.*

When Constantine was on his march to Rome to attack Maxentius, at a time when he was as yet undecided about the truth of Christianity, a luminous Cross is said to have appeared in the sky at mid-day, in sight of himself and his army, with the inscription "In this conquer[e]." His victory and his conversion followed. The date of these transactions is A.D. 311 and 312.

Now, here the fact reported is plainly miraculous; no known physical cause could have formed a sentence of Greek or Latin in the air. It has sometimes been supposed, indeed, that letters were not really exhibited, but only some emblem, such as a crown, which denoted conquest[f]; and that then what remains of the phenomenon may be resolved into meteoric effects. But since such an appearance at such a juncture, whatever be its physical cause, or whether it have one or no, is undeniably the result of an immediate Divine superintendence, it is not easy to see what is gained by an hypothesis of this nature. If in matter of fact our Lord was then really addressing Constantine, it seems trifling to make it a grave point to prove that He did so in this way, and not in that. In such a case nature either would be made to minister, or would be no impediment, to His Will; and His Will to address Constantine is sufficient surely by itself to account for a contravention or suspension of the laws of nature, and to overcome the presumption which *primâ facie* lies against the miracle. That He *should* address Constantine intelligibly is a miracle already. And surely to sway and overrule the

[e] Nicephorus and Zonaras say that the inscription was in Latin. Eusebius gives the impression that it was in Greek. So says the Emperor Leo expressly; vid. Grets. de Cruc. tom. ii. p. 37. who, mentioning this difference of statement, *ibid.*, also determines against Brentius that the apparition was that of the Cross with the monogram of Χρ, and not merely of the monogram. Rivetus too contends for the monogram only. Cath. Orth. ii. 19. p. 168.

[f] Fabric. Dissert. de Cruce 10.

physical system towards a moral object, is a miracle only different in degree from an interference with it for such an object. For this is to impose on it a constraint *beyond and above itself*, i. e. a *supernatural* constraint; and if it is subordinate to moral laws, why should it not sometimes give way to them? In short, does the case ever stand thus, if it may be reverently said, that the Almighty *would* address man, *did not* nature stand in the way? Does He fetter Himself with its laws, who even in the days of His flesh did but submit to them, in order in the event to dispense with them? Such explanations then either imply that the inviolability of creation is more sacred than a Purpose of the Creator, or they tamper with historical evidence for an insufficient end. To mutilate the evidence is to incur all the difficulty of denying it, with none of the gain. So this question may be passed over.

In the next place the *à priori* aspect of the reported miracle, if it is so to be called[g], is in its favour. The approaching conversion of the Roman empire, in the person of its head, was as great an event as any in Christian history. Constantine's submission of his power to the Church has been a pattern for all Christian monarchs since, and the commencement of her state establishment to this day; and on the other hand the fortunes of the Roman Empire are in prophecy apparently connected with her in a very intimate manner, which we are not yet able fully to comprehend. If any event might be said to call for a miracle, it was this; whether to signalize it or to bring it about. Again, portents in the sky preceded the final destruction of Jerusalem, and are predicted in Scripture as forerunners of the last day. Moreover our Lord's prophecy of "the Sign of the Son of Man in heaven[h]" was anciently

[g] "Confudit Danæus apparitiones "Crucis cum miraculis Crucis; etsi "enim apparitiones Crucis possunt mi- "racula appellari, Bellarminus tamen "apparitiones à miraculis distinxit, "miracula vocans ea, quæ per Crucem "supra naturæ vim et ordinem patrata "sunt." Gretzer de Cruce, iv. 12. p. 253. ed. 1734.

[h] On the sign of the Son of Man being understood of the Cross by the Fathers, vid. G. Voss. Thes. Theolog. xvi. 9.

understood of the Cross. And further, the sign of the Cross was at the time, and had been from the beginning, a received symbol and instrument of Christian devotion, and cannot be ascribed to a then rising superstition. Tertullian speaks of it as an ordinary rite for sanctifying all the ordinary events of the day; it was used in exorcisms; and what is still more to the point, it is regarded by St. Justin, Tertullian, and Minucius as visibly impressed upon natural forms and on the arts of social life, as well as introduced into the types of the Old Testament.

One should be inclined then to receive the wonderful event in question on very slight evidence, if that were good as far as it went; and now let us see what, and of what kind, is producible in its behalf. It is on the whole sufficient, yet not without its difficulties.

In the panegyrical oration delivered immediately upon the victory the speaker, who is a Pagan, asks, "What God, what "Divine Presence encouraged thee, that when nearly all thy "companions in arms and commanders not only had secret "misgivings but had open fears of *the omen*, yet against the "counsels of men, against the warnings of the diviners, thou "didst by thyself perceive that the time of delivering the "city was come[i]." Now here an omen is mentioned of a public nature, which dismayed the heathen priests and soldiers; it is remarkable too that *what* it was is not mentioned. All this would be sufficiently accounted for, if it was the sign of the Cross which they had seen; a spectacle of all others of bad augury with the hierarchy of the pagan city[k]. And in corroboration of this interpretation, Eusebius in his own account of the miracle, tells us that on sight of the

Cornel. à Lapid. in loc. Matt. and Maldonat. in loc.

[i] Baron. Ann. 312. 14.

[k] Julian is said to have found a cross upon the entrails of a victim he was offering in sacrifice; the sight φρικὴν παρέσχε καὶ ἀγωνίαν. Naz. Orat. iv. 54. He upbraids the Christians with their worship of the wood of the Cross, and signing it upon their foreheads and sculpturing it upon their dwellings. Cyril. contr. Julian, p. 194.

apparition Constantine, who was still fluctuating between Christianity and Paganism, was at first much distressed from a doubt what it portended.

Next, about the year 314 or 315, that is, three years after the event, Constantine erected his triumphal arch at Rome which still remains, with an inscription testifying that he had gained the victory "*instinctu divinitatis*, mentis magni-"tudine[l]."

Further, before[m] 314, Lactantius or Cæcilius, as we determine the author, published his De Mortibus Persecutorum; in which he asserts, not in any rhetorical tone or in form of panegyric, but in the grave style of history, that Constantine, in consequence of a dream, caused the initial letter of the word Christ to be inscribed on the shields of his soldiers and that he thereby gained the victory. "Constantine," he says, "was "admonished in sleep to mark the heavenly sign of God "on the shields, and so to engage the enemy. He did as "he was bidden, and marks the name of Christ on the "shields, by the letter χ drawn across them, with the top "circumflexed. Armed with this sign his troops take up "arms. The enemy marches to meet them without their "imperial Commander, and passes over the bridge," &c.[n] Here is no mention of an *apparition*, but still the author speaks of "the *heavenly* sign."

On the first of March 321, Nazarius, a pagan orator of celebrity, pronounced, apparently at Rome, and not in Constantine's presence, a panegyrical oration upon the Emperor. In this he speaks of the assistance which the latter had received against Maxentius in the following terms:—"Thou "didst fight, O Emperor, by compulsion; but it was thy best

[l] Burton, however, tells us that "the "words *instinctu divinitatis* are sup-"posed to have been added afterwards, "as the marble is there rather sunk in, "and the holes for the bronze letters "are confused." Rome, p. 215. Yet the inscription reads oddly without them.

[m] i. e. before the first breach between Constantine and Licinius. Vid. Gibbon, ch. 20. note 10.

[n] De M. P. p. 44.

" claim upon victory, that thou didst not seek it. Peace was " denied to him for whom victory was destined. . . . In short " it is the common talk of all the Gallic provinces, that hosts " were seen, who bore on them the character of divine mes- " sengers. And though heavenly things use not to come to " sight of man, in that the simple and uncompounded sub- " stance of their subtle nature escapes his heavy and dim " perception, yet those, thy auxiliaries, bore to be seen and to " be heard, and when they had testified to thy high merit " they fled from the contagion of mortal eyes. And what " accounts are given of that vision, of the vigour of their " frames, the size of their limbs, the eagerness of their zeal! " Their flashing bosses shot an awful radiance, and their " heavenly arms burned with a fearful light; such did they " come, that they might be understood to be thine. And " thus they spoke, thus they were heard to say, 'We seek " 'Constantine; we go to aid Constantine.' Even divine " natures have their boastings, and heavenly natures are " touched by ambition. Warriors who had glided down " from heaven, warriors who were divinely sent, even they " did glory that they were marching with thee. Their " leader, I suppose, was thy father Constantius," &c.[o]"

It is impossible to doubt from these contemporaneous witnesses, witnesses more exactly contemporaneous than are commonly producible, that some remarkable portent appeared, or was generally believed in, when Constantine was in anticipation of his engagement with Maxentius, and about the time he first professed Christianity. After all allowances for the rhetoric of Nazarius, his story surely must have had some foundation; by it he is virtually doing homage to a religion which he disowns, though he adroitly converts it to the service of Paganism, by recurring to the old heathen prodigies, such as the appearance of Castor and Pollux, and seeking to

[o] Ap. Baron. Ann. 312. 11.

authenticate them by the recent apparition. Even if the Cross appeared, he could not be expected to mention it; he could not have done more than he has done. The same may be said for the still earlier orator, who is obliged to allude to the Emperor's Christianity, while he is complimenting him on having rightly interpreted what his friends thought an omen of evil. Lactantius, though he adds nothing to the evidence of the apparition in the sky [p], testifies to the general idea of some wonderful occurrence having attended the conversion of the Emperor. He testifies also to a fact which from its boldness requires accounting for, Constantine's marking the symbol of the Cross upon the arms of his soldiers. Nor is this the only indication of some extraordinary influence then exerted upon the Emperor's mind. Not to dwell on the words already quoted from his arch, which make no express mention of the Cross, we find him even going so far as to form a new military standard, and that is the Labarum, or Standard of the Cross. And on his entering Rome in triumph he forthwith erected a statue of himself with a Cross in his hand, and an inscription to the effect that "with that saving "sign" he had delivered the city from a tyrant. But the most remarkable evidence in point is a medal, extant in the last century, which bears the figure of the Labarum with the very words "In this sign thou shalt conquer [q]." Thus his assaults upon Paganism and the supernatural explanation of them go together; one and the same auspicious omen is repeated, whether in ensigns, medals, or monuments. And indeed, if we may dare to judge of the course of Providence in this instance by its general laws, it is scarcely possible to think that

[p] Socrates, Philostorgius, Gelasius, Nicephorus say, that the Cross was in the sky. Sozomen first speaks of it as seen in a dream, and then on the authority of Eusebius describes the apparition in the sky. Rufinus also gives both accounts.

[q] So says Gibbon, referring to the Abbé du Voisin and a Jesuit, the Pere de Grainville. Such a medal is not described in Baronius, Gretser, or Lipsius. Fabricius says, "nullus extat nummus, "nullum vetus monumentum, quo "crux, in cœlo a Constantino visa, "diserte confirmatur." Script. Græc. lib. v. c. 40. [t. 6. p. 706. ed. Harles.]

no divine direction was given to such an instrument of its purposes on so great an occasion. In junctures of such awful moment, nay, in far inferior ones, men are not left alone, but strange impressions come over them, without which they would not have nerve for bold deeds. It was an act surely of no ordinary courage to introduce the Labarum into the Roman armies to the virtual disparagement of those standards which had carried them to victory through so many fights, whether we regard the feelings of his soldiers or the misgivings of his own mind.

From this strictly contemporaneous testimony, little or no part of which can be called Ecclesiastical, we seem to gather thus much, that an omen happened to Constantine and his army, which most men thought bad, but which he trusted;—there was some appearance in the heavens visible to all;—some vision granted to himself;—and a Cross,—but where seen does not appear, whether in his dream, or as part of the visible appearance, and in connection with the omen spoken of;—we are but able to discern it in its reflection,—upon the shields, helmets, and standards of his forces, and in his public commemorations of his victory.

Thus rests the evidence of the miracle in Constantine's lifetime; after his death Eusebius gives the Emperor's own account of it, which certainly does in a remarkable way explain those acts of his which we have been recounting, and combine the scattered rumours which accompanied them. Eusebius declares on the word of Constantine, who confirmed it with an oath, that Constantine on his march saw, together with his whole army, a luminous Cross in the sky above the midday sun, with the inscription, "In this conquer;" and that in the ensuing night he had a dream, in which our Lord appeared with the Cross, and directed him to frame a standard like it as a means of victory in his contest with Maxentius. Such is the statement ascribed by Eusebius to Constantine;

and it must be added that the historian had no leaning towards over-easiness of belief, as many passages of his history shew [r].

This then is the state of the argument in behalf of the miracle; on the other hand, there are these two difficulties in the way of receiving it. First, Constantine's testimony, which alone is direct and trustworthy, is not given till many years after the event; moreover, it is given with an oath and in private, though it concerns an occurrence of public notoriety; and it is not published in his lifetime, nor till twenty-six years after the time to which it refers [s]. And next, it is supported by no independent and by no Ecclesiastical testimony. "The advocates for the vision," says Gibbon, "are unable to produce a single testimony from the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who in their voluminous writings repeatedly celebrate the triumph of the Church and of Constantine [t]." It is remarkable too that even Eusebius does not mention it in his History, but in his Life of Constantine, as if instead of its being a public event, it were but a visitation or providence personal to the Emperor.

This, however, may be said in reply:—It has already been shewn that rumours of some or other extraordinary occurrence abounded from almost the time of the Gallic march [u]; Nazarius says that it was the talk of the whole of Gaul; and we see from his own account of it that it was mixed up with fiction, as such popular reports are sure to be. An army is

[r] e. g. he omits mention of the dove in the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, of the miracles of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, &c. In such miracles as he does record, he is careful not to commit himself to an absolute assent to them but commonly introduces qualifying phrases. And his answer to Hierocles is written in a very sober tone. Vid. Kestner. de Euseb. Auct. et Fid. § 56, 57.

[s] This objection is urged by Gibbon, ch. 20. Lardner. Credib. ii. 70. § 3. Hoornebeek ap. Noris. Hist. Donat. App. 8.

[t] Ch. xx. note 52.

[u] It is remarkable, however, as is observed by Gothofred. Diss. in Philostorg. i. 6. that Optatianus Porphyrius in his Panegyric. ad Constant. written in the year 326, does not mention the apparition, though he calls the Cross "cœleste signum." He wrote, however, from banishment, though the place is not known.

not like a neighbourhood, or a class of society; it is cut off from the world, it has no home, it acts as one man, it is of an incommunicative nature, or at least does not admit of questioning. The troops of Constantine saw the vision and marched on; they left behind them a vague testimony, which would fall misshapen and distorted on the very ears that heard it, which would soon be filled out with fictitious details because the true were not forthcoming, and which took a pagan form in a country of Pagans. It was not unnatural that under such circumstances Constantine should have been led formally to impart to Eusebius the fact as it really took place; nor, considering the misstatements that abounded, and the apparent unbelief of intelligent Pagans [x], that he should have confirmed his account of it with an oath. Nor is it wonderful that Eusebius should not appeal to living witnesses of it, an omission which Gibbon urges, as if an army, or the constituent parts of an army, had a residence and an address, and that at the distance of twenty-six years; or as if an Ecclesiastic, a native of Palestine, must have had many acquaintances among the veterans of Gaul [y]. Nor is it any great difficulty that in a work professedly panegyrical and not historical, and written with much oratory of phrase and circumlocution, and continual vagueness and indeterminateness in statement [z], the writer should not have mentioned the time and place of the miraculous occurrence.

It is a more serious difficulty that Eusebius's statement is not supported by other Fathers of his own and the following century; yet this is not so great as at first sight appears. It is not pretended that any of them contradicts or interferes with his account of the matter; and at the very time, there were no great Ecclesiastical writers to speak one way or the other. The miracle is said to have taken place in 311 or

[x] Eusebius says that he *once* or *sometimes* happened to see the Labarum. ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτὲ συνέβη παραλαβεῖν. V. Const. i. 30.

[y] Vid. infr. p. 144. note f.

[z] Vid. Gelas. Conc. Nic. i. 4.

312; the only writer of note extant during the first fifty years of the century, besides Eusebius, is Athanasius; and his writings are taken up with later transactions and a far different subject. Nor does there seem any special reason why later writers should mention it[a]. The real miracle was encompassed with even heathen fables; the classical or philosophical description contained in the panegyric of Nazarius had been almost coeval with its occurrence, and was not likely to prejudice the Church in its favour, and yet, as far as we know, was the only testimony by which it was conveyed to the Fathers of the fourth century. At least Gibbon himself grants that they were not acquainted with Eusebius's statement, and that for the very reason that they did not avail themselves of it. He confirms this opinion by the fact of St. Jerome's ignorance of his Life of Constantine, a work which he considers "was recovered by the diligence of those "who translated or continued his Ecclesiastical History[b]." Nor does it appear why the Fathers of the Church should have mentioned the miracle, even had they known it. It was not a miracle especially addressed to them, or wrought for the uses of the Church at large. It was, first, a fitting rite of inauguration when Christianity was about to take its place among the powers to whom God has given rule over the earth; next, it was an encouragement and direction to Constantine himself and to the Christians who marched with him; but it neither seems to have been intended, nor to have operated, as a display of Divine power to the confusion of infidelity or error. In like manner, while the Fathers appeal to the fiery eruption at the Jewish Temple, because it was the

[a] Columbus however, in Lactant. de Mort. Pers. 44. refers to St. Gregory Nazianzen's second invective against Julian, where he speaks of the Cross seen in the air when the works at the Temple were miraculously stopped, and observes that he certainly would have alluded to Constantine's cross, had he known of it. Yet surely he would have been going out of his way to do so, considering it was but one portent out of many which he was recounting, and another Cross had been seen over Jerusalem in St. Cyril's time.

[b] Ibid. ch. xx. note. 52.

means of a signal triumph over an enemy; on the other hand, they refer to the destruction of Jerusalem without mentioning the prodigies which attended it. The distinction is clear. First, the taking of Jerusalem and the conversion of Constantine were events of a past day; Julian's antichristian attempt was of their own day. Again, the portents in the sky and the luminous Cross did but concur with and, as it were, illustrate the march of events, which was evident to all men without them; but the fire which burst forth when Julian would rebuild the temple, was in opposition to the apparent course of things, and arrested them and defeated them. It did a deed, whereas the luminous Cross did but herald one.

It may be added, that there is a beautiful harmony and contrast in the omens by which the overthrow of Judaism and Paganism were respectively preceded. The omens in the former instance were only evil, for the chosen people were falling away; but since the nations were to be brought into the Church who had hitherto been outcasts, the sign in the heavens in the latter case was the Cross itself, a terror indeed and dismay at first sight to the ignorant Pagan beholders, but their redemption and salvation under the awful compulsion of Him who suffered on it [c].

5. *The Discovery of the Holy Cross.*

In the year after the Nicene Council, A.D. 326, St. Helena, mother of Constantine and then nearly eighty years of age, went on, what was afterwards called, pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and especially to Jerusalem. Her purpose was to visit the scene of the wonderful events recorded in Scripture, and the spots consecrated by the presence of our Lord. Among other objects of her pious search was the Cross upon which

[c] With the miraculous characters "In this conquer," cf. "Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin."

He suffered. It was the custom of the Jews to bury the instruments of death with the corpses of the malefactors[d]; and, considering their eagerness to remove the bodies both of Christ and of His two companions before the approaching Feast, there seemed no reason to doubt that, after Joseph had begged His body of Pilate, and placed it in the neighbouring tomb, His Cross, and those of the two thieves, as well as their corpses, had hastily been thrown into the ground on the very place of crucifixion. But where that place was, at first sight was not so easy to determine. The city had been destroyed and its soil ploughed up in punishment for the very deeds, the memorial of which Helena was seeking to recover. Our Lord had suffered outside the walls; but the population driven from Mounts Sion and Acra, which it had hitherto occupied, had overflowed toward the north, and without as yet covering Calvary itself[e], had obliterated the features of the immediate neighbourhood. And Hadrian, by erecting statues of the Pagan divinities over the sacred spots which were in question[f], had driven away worshippers, and at length effaced all general recollections of their respective localities. But what had destroyed the tradition of them with the many might reasonably be expected to be the means of preserving it with the few; nor did it seem difficult, even

[d] "Accedit consuetudo Judæorum "quibus solemne instrumenta sup- "pliciorum juxta cadavera sontium "obruere." Gretser de S. Cruc. tom. 1. i. 37, he refers to Baronius and Velser. S. Basnage agrees, Annal. 326. g.

[e] St. Cyril says of Calvary, that "it "was before a garden, and the tokens "and traces thereof remain." Catech. xiv. 5.

[f] St. Jerome mentions Hadrian by name. Eusebius, in the vague way which he adopts on other occasions, (as not writing a history but a panegyric, V. Const. i. 11), says, "Ungodly men "formerly, or rather the whole race of "demons by means of them." V. Const. iii. 26. In like manner he speaks of "tyrants of our days who essayed to "fight against the God of all, and op- "pressed His Church," i. 12, meaning Diocletian; "the Emperor who had "first rank," i. 14, meaning the same; "tyrannical slavery," i. 26, i. e. the sovereignty of Maxentius; vid. also i. 33, &c. "news came that some dread- "ful beast was attacking, &c." viz. Licinius. i. 49, "news came of no "small disturbance having possessed "the Churches," ii. 61, meaning the Arian controversy; "a man well ap- "proved by Constantine for the sobriety "of faith," &c., meaning Hosius, ii. 63; "the ruling city of Bithynia," mean- ing Nicomedia, iii. 50, &c. &c.

without such accidental advantage, to recover, with proper pains, at least the general position of the spot where so great and memorable a deed had been done. The Empress availed herself of the assistance of the most learned both of Christians and of Jews [g]; and she seems to have been animated by a hope, surely not presumptuous, that she was under a guidance greater than human [h]. At length there is said to have been a general agreement as to the place; it was covered first with a vast quantity of earth, next with the Pagan edifices; the place of Crucifixion and Burial lay beneath. Helena gave the word, and the soldiers, who attended her, began to clear away both buildings and soil.

Hitherto the main outlines of the history are confirmed by Eusebius, though he speaks of Constantine, his Imperial Patron, instead of St. Helena, and only of the Holy Sepulchre, not of the Holy Cross. And though Constantine seems, during the years 326, 327, to have remained in the parts of his Empire between Thessalonica, Sirmium, and Rome, yet under his direction or authority Helena doubtless acted. Eusebius attests the intention of Constantine to build a Church over the Holy Sepulchre; its desecrated state; the huge mound and stone-work which covered it; the shrine of Venus which had been raised at the top; and then the demolition of the whole mass of heathenism at the Emperor's command, statues, altars, buildings, mound, and the earth which lay under it. He then continues thus: "And when another "level appeared instead of the former, viz. the ground which "lay below, then at length the solemn and all-holy memorial "of the Saviour's Resurrection appeared beyond all hope; "and thus the cave, a holy of holies, imaged the Saviour's

[g] This consideration answers, as far as the present question is concerned, Professor Robinson's remark, that "the "Fathers of the Church in Palestine, "and their imitators the Monks, were "themselves for the most part not "natives of the country." Palestine, vol. i. p. 373.

[h] Calvin considers that St. Helena was urged by "stulta curiositas," or "ineptus religionis zelus." De Reliqu. p. 276.

"revival, and after being sunk in darkness, came to light "again, and to those who came to the sight presented a "manifest history of the wonders which had there been done, "witnessing by facts more eloquently than by any voice the "Resurrection of the Saviour[i]." Here Eusebius ends his narrative; he proceeds indeed to speak of the Church which Constantine built upon the spot, but he says nothing of any discovery besides that of the Sepulchre itself. As to the Cross on which our Lord suffered, judging from the course of his narrative, we should conclude, not only that it was not found, but that it was not even sought after, nay, according to his literal statements, that St. Helena did not come to Jerusalem, only to Mount Olivet and Bethlehem[k].

Yet, though he is silent himself, he has preserved Constantine's Letter to Macarius, Bishop of that see, on occasion of the proposed Martyry or Church of the Resurrection. This letter does not contain any express mention of the Cross; and yet, did we read it without knowing the fact of the historian's silence when writing in his own person, we certainly should have the impression that of the Cross Constantine was speaking. He says that "the *token* of the "Saviour's most holy *passion*," had been "buried under the "earth for many years;" and he speaks of it as a discovery "surpassing all human *calculation* and all *amazement*," and again and again of the *miracle* which it involved or had effected[l].

[i] V. Const. iii. 28.

[k] Dallæus objects that St. Cyril "nihil addit de Helenâ." Rel. Cult. Obj. v. 1. p. 709. Yet we shall see Professor Robinson's reluctant admission presently, note p. As to Eusebius, his object was to praise Constantine. In V. Const. iii. 41, he first speaks as if Constantine founded the Churches at Bethlehem and Mount Olivet, and then corrects himself.

[l] V. Const. iii. 30. Mr. Taylor says, that "the phrases he [Eusebius] employs [i. e. in Constantine's Letter] "clearly imply the invention of the "Cross, although apart from other "evidence they would leave us in the "dark as to the facts." Anc. Christ. part vii. p. 296. I should say the same; but it is not granted by the Centuriators, (who say that St. Ambrose is the first to mention the discovery), Dallæus, S. Basnage (who speaks of the "intoleranda "Bellarmini sive inscitia sive audacia" in maintaining it, Annal. 326, 9), Hospinian, &c. The elder Protestants wish

It is remarkable too that Eusebius also, though silent about the Cross, makes mention of miracles as attending the discovery of the Sepulchre, in a passage of his Commentary upon the Psalms. Treating of the words, 'Dost Thou shew 'wonders among the dead?' he says, "If any one will give "his attention to the marvels which in our time have been "performed at the Sepulchre and the Martyry of our Saviour, "truly he will perceive how the prediction has been fulfilled "in the event[m]." Yet, commenting on the 108th (109th) Psalm, he mentions the honours paid to "the Sepulchre of "Him who was delivered over to the Cross and death," without saying a word of honours paid to the Cross itself. Eusebius died about A.D. 338, i. e. eleven years after St. Helena's visit to Jerusalem; and this is all the evidence which we have on the subject, whatever is its value, for about the first twenty years.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem is our next informant concerning the discovery of the Cross. He was one of the Clergy of the Church of Jerusalem, and delivered his Catechetical Lectures about A.D. 347, in the very Church of the Resurrection which by that time Constantine had built; and in the first year of his Episcopate, A.D. 351, he wrote his Letter to Constantius concerning a luminous Cross which had just then appeared in the air over Jerusalem. As he died A.D. 386, and was a Priest and (as St. Jerome says) a young man in 347, he must have been in his boyhood at the time of St. Helena's visit; whether in Jerusalem is not known. In his Catechetical Lectures he speaks of the Holy Cross as discovered, though he does not mention the circumstances or the time of its discovery. Speaking of our Lord's crucifixion,

to put the "cultus reliquiarum" as late as possible; Mr. Taylor as early. Tillemont understands Constantine to speak of the Cross, but Zaccaria, Dissert. t. 1. v. 4. § 5, is disposed, at least for argument's sake, to give up the point.

[m] Psalm lxxxvii. 13. Thus Montfaucon, but Zaccaria strangely denies the allusion.

he says, "Shouldest thou be disposed to deny it, the very "place which all can see refutes thee, even this blessed Gol- "gotha, in which, on account of Him who was crucified on "it, we are now assembled; and further, the whole world is "filled with the portions of the Wood of the Cross." Again speaking of the witness borne in such manifold ways to Christ, he says, "The Holy Wood of the Cross is His witness, which "is seen among us to this day, and by means of those who "have in faith taken thereof, has from this place now almost "filled the whole world." Once more, speaking against the heretics who denied the reality of our Lord's passion, "Though "I should now deny it, this Golgotha confutes me near which "we are now assembled; the wood of the Cross confutes me, "which has from hence been distributed piecemeal to all the "world[n]." Considering then that we hear nothing of the Wood of the Cross in Ecclesiastical history before this date, and that this date follows close upon the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, it does not need further proof, though St. Cyril said nothing else, that there is some connection between this alleged discovery of the Cross, and that of the Sepulchre. It does not need St. Cyril's express statement to that effect in his Letter to Constantius a few years later, as we there read it; and it does not matter, even though that Letter be spurious, as some Protestant critics, though without strong reason, contend[o]. His words are these; "In the time of thy "father, the divinely-favoured Constantine of blessed me- "mory, the salutary Wood of the Cross was found in Jeru- "salem, Divine grace granting the discovery of the hidden "holy places to one who laudably pursued religious objects."

[n] Cat. iv. 10; x. 19; xiii. 4.

[o] The authenticity of this Epistle is denied from its omission in St. Jerome's list of his works, and its mention of the ὁμοούσιον; e. g. by Dallæus Rel. Cult. Obj. v. 1. p. 707. J. Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, p. 3. xviii. 13. § 2. Mr. Taylor seems to grant it, Anc. Christ. part vii. p. 292. The mention of the ὁμοούσιον would be decisive against it, did it not occur at the end, in a sort of doxology which will admit of being considered an addition. The question is discussed at length by Zaccaria, ibid. in answer to Oudinus.

From the evidence of St. Cyril and the passages of Eusebius, we gain, then, as much as this; that the discovery of the Holy Cross was a received fact twenty years after St. Helena's search for the Holy Sepulchre; that it was by that time notorious throughout the world, because portions of the Cross had been sent in all directions; hence, that the professed discovery must have taken place some years before the end of the twenty years when St. Cyril mentions it, to allow of such a general publication and dispersion of it; and that it must have been well known to Eusebius, who wrote his Life of Constantine A.D. 337, only ten years before St. Cyril's Lectures, whether he believed it or not; further, that his silence about it did not necessarily proceed from disbelief, because he is silent about St. Helena's search after it, nay even about her visiting Jerusalem, an historical fact which cannot be gainsayed [p], and again, because in his Comment on the Psalms, he speaks also of miracles wrought at the Sepulchre, of which nevertheless he says nothing at a later date in his Life of Constantine; lastly, that Constantine recognised the discovery of the Cross at the very time, because while the terms [q] he employs in his Letter to Macarius are more suitable to denote the Cross than the Sepulchre, the strong expressions of his amazement and awe are more suitable to the discovery of the former than of the latter, a discovery which, as we have seen, was certainly reported and generally believed a few years later.

[p] "Such is the account which Eusebius, the contemporary and eye-witness, gives of the Churches erected in Palestine by Helena and her son Constantine. Not a *word*, not a *hint*, by which the reader would be led to suppose that the mother of the Emperor had any thing to do with the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, or the building of a Church upon the spot. But . . all the writers of the *following* century relate as with one voice that the mother of Constantine" &c. &c. Robinson, Palestine, vol. ii. p. 14. Yet this same writer says in the very next page, "Leaving out of view the obviously legendary portions of this story, it would seem *not improbable*, that Helena *was* the prime mover in searching for and discovering the sacred Sepulchre!"

[q] Γνώρισμα τοῦ πάθους, V. C. iii. 30; whereas Eusebius calls the Sepulchre τῆς ἀθανασίας μνῆμα, 26; τῆς ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον, 28.

I conceive then, that the evidence already set down, is conclusive of the fact of the alleged discovery of the Cross about the time of St. Helena's visit to Jerusalem, and in connection with that visit. Eusebius's silence is of course a difficulty, and, as it would appear, cannot satisfactorily be accounted for[r]. Yet he is silent at other times about facts which he cannot be said to disbelieve[s]. We should also ask ourselves *what* it is that his silence is to be taken to prove; not that he had not *heard* of the alleged discovery, for that it was alleged is undeniable; it can only be taken to shew that he did not *believe* in it[t]. Yet his statement elsewhere, that certain miracles occurred at the Sepulchre, while it suggests some further story which he does not relate, is favourable, as far as it goes, to his belief in the received one. Moreover, if the discovery was not really made, there was *imposture* in the proceeding[u]; an imputation upon the Church of Jerusalem, nay in the event on the whole Christian world, so heavy, as to lead us to weigh well which is the more probable hypothesis of the two, so systematic and sustained a fraud, or the discovery of a relic, or in human language an antiquity, three hundred years old.

Now let it be observed that hitherto this passage of history

[r] "Notwithstanding the silence of "Eusebius, there would seem to be "hardly any fact of history better ac- "credited than this alleged discovery "of the True Cross." Robinson's Polest. vol. ii. pp. 15, 16: vid. also "However difficult, &c., p. 76.

[s] He does not mention St. Antony, or Methodius of Tyre, or the Martyrdoms of Perpetua and Felicitas, &c. &c.

[t] Dallæus contends Eusebium *nescivisse* quod taceat. Rel. Cult. Obj. v. 1. p. 706. The Centuriators are vague, so is J. Basnage Hist. de l'Egl. p. 3. xviii. 13. § 2. S. Basnage implies Eusebius's *knowledge* but *disbelief* of the story. Annal. 326. 9. Jortin says that Eusebius "*either* knew nothing *or* believed nothing of it." Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 223.

[u] S. Basnage considers it a pious fraud of St. Cyril's. Annal. 326. 9. Mr. Taylor prefers to impute it to Macarius to imagining "Cyril and his "colleagues to have hatched the fraud "coolly and at leisure twenty years "afterwards." Anc. Christ. part vii. p. 297. "Cyril of Jerusalem and Augustine are the two Fathers who may "be believed to have been the *dupes* "of, rather than the actors in, the "frauds of their times." Ibid. p. 292. "It would perhaps not *be doing injustice* to the Bishop Macarius and his "clergy," says Professor Robinson, "if we regard the whole as a *well-laid* "and *successful* plan for restoring to Jerusalem its former consideration, and "elevating his see to a higher degree of "influence and dignity." p. 80.

has had nothing miraculous in it. It does but relate to the discovery by ordinary methods of inquiry, of an instrument of death used by Roman executioners three centuries before. And perhaps it is right to draw a line between the above testimony and the evidence which follows at a later date, and which is next to be considered, except so far as the later evidence happens to be confirmatory of the earlier. It would seem impossible but that the original story would receive a colour or an exaggeration[x] when taken up as a matter of popular belief, and that in countries far removed from the scene to which it belongs. While, then, we may be prepared for additions which will not compromise the original evidence, those additions, when we find them in subsequent writers, whether true or false, are exposed *primâ facie* to a suspicion which does not attach to the particulars which we have hitherto been reviewing.

Now St. Ambrose in his discourse upon the death of Theodosius, (A.D. 395,) and St. Chrysostom in his Homilies upon St. John, (about A.D. 394,) speak of three Crosses, not one; and say that the True Cross was known by the title which Pilate fixed on it.

St. Paulinus, St. Sulpicius, and Theodoret, agreeing in the main in the additional circumstances related by St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom, differ from them in assigning a miracle as the test by which our Lord's Cross was ascertained. Paulinus writes to Sulpicius, and the latter reports in his history, that it was distinguished from the other two by its restoration of a corpse to life. These two authors write about A. D. 400, Paulinus in Italy, Sulpicius in Gaul. Theodoret, who wrote his Church History, about A.D. 440,

[x] We have an instance of such exaggeration in the report of the Samaritan woman, "Come, see a man which told "me *all* things that ever I did." If the men of her city had been instructed in Protestant divinity, they would have cross-examined her as to what she meant by *all*, and then said, that there was evident inaccuracy, and grounds for suspicion, that they were not called upon to stir, that they were not obliged to believe her, &c. &c.

in Syria, speaks, not of a corpse restored to life, but of a sick woman restored to health.

Again, Rufinus, (about A.D. 400,) and Socrates and Sozomen, (both about A.D. 440,) say that the inscription was detached from the Cross, and that the female, who was the subject of the miracle, was only on the point of death. Moreover St. Ambrose, Rufinus, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen speak of the nails as found at the same time. A further miracle is spoken of by Paulinus; that the portion of the Cross kept at Jerusalem gave off fragments of itself without diminishing[y]; and he adds, that "it has imbibed "this undecaying virtue and this unwasting solidity from "the blood of that Flesh, which underwent death yet saw "not corruption[z]." This is mentioned here, as being one of the alleged miracles which followed upon the discovery of the Cross, though it has no connection with the discovery itself, which is our proper subject.

Such is the evidence arranged in order of time, in behalf of this most solemn and arresting occurrence[a], which is kept in memory, even to this distant generation in the Greek, Latin, and English Calendars on the 3rd of May and the 14th of September. It seems hardly safe absolutely to deny what is thus affirmed by the whole Church[b]; whether however miracles accompanied the discovery, must ever remain un-

[y] Jortin, Eccles. Hist. (Works, vol. ii. p. 222), translates Tillemont as believing this miracle, and as saying that "St. Paulinus relates a very *singular* "thing," putting the words in italics, and prefacing his extract with observing that "the words of Tillemont "are full of what the French call "*unction*, and the English *canting*;" whereas in fact Tillemont at the least doubts Paulinus's account. Mem. Eccles. vol. vii. p. 8.

[z] Ep. 31. fin.

[a] St. Jerome too says of St. Paula, A.D. 386, "Prostrataque ante Crucem, "quasi pendentem Dominum cerneret, "adorabat." Ep. 108. n. 9.

[b] "This history of the discovery of the "Holy Cross," says W. Lowth in Socr. i. 17. ed. Read., "is not found in Eu-"sebius. But Cyril, Bishop of Jeru-"salem, who lived in the same age, "openly witnesses that the Wood of "the Holy Cross was divinely shewn "to the Emperor Constantine; also in "his Catechetical Lectures he speaks "of its discovery, as of a thing known "to all. Wherefore of the faith of this "history we cannot doubt." Upon this Jortin asks, "What did this Protestant "Divine of ours mean? Could he be-"lieve that the True Cross was found? "or would he only say that a pretended "one was discovered?" Ibid.

certain. That a sick, dying, or dead person was restored by means of the Cross, rests on the authority of Latins writing at the distance of seventy years after the discovery, and of Greek authors of forty years later still; not on any testimony given with particularity or at the time. Moreover such an occurrence is inconsistent with the account, taken in the letter, of St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom, who say that the True Cross was recognised by its title. On the other hand, whether there was one Cross or three[c], some *mode* of recognising it is implied in the very idea of recognition; and a miraculous recognition is perhaps the most natural and obvious hypothesis. Nay the very fact that a beam of wood should be found undecayed after so long a continuance in the earth would in most cases be a miracle[d]. And perhaps there are few imaginations which are once able to surmount the shock of hearing that the very Cross on which our Lord suffered was really recovered, but will be little sensitive of difficulty in the additional statement, that miracles were wrought by means of it. It must not be forgotten too, that Eusebius himself, though silent about the Cross, alludes to the occurrence of miracles at the Sepulchre; and these of course become more credible, if we suppose some great object, such as the recognition of the Cross, to account for them.

An objection, however, has from time to time been urged with much earnestness by several writers, which, if substantiated, would altogether overthrow the history of the discovery of the Cross; viz. that Helena chose a wrong site for the Holy Sepulchre. This was Dr. Clarke's opinion, whose reasons

[c] S. Basnage urges however, "vero "non esse proximum, latronum cruces "cum illa Christi, uno eodemque loco "fuisse conditas;" Annal. 326. 9. *because* crosses were always buried with the bodies, *but* no bones were found with the Cross,—an assumption. There were too many bones surely in "the place of "a skull," to discriminate, or to mention the fact.

[d] "Quæri et illud potest, num annis "pænè trecentis in solo absque putredine "cessante miraculo," &c. S. Basnag. Ann. 326. 9.

were discussed and answered by a writer, it is believed Bishop Heber, in the Quarterly Review for March 1813. It has lately been revived with some additional considerations by one or two controversialists, one of them at least with the view, not simply of disproving the fact, which is a point of secondary importance, but of fixing upon the Fathers and Church of the fourth century the imputation of deliberate imposture, and that for selfish ends. Indeed a drift of this kind is the only intelligible explanation of the earnestness which such writers manifest[e]. It might not seem to be worth any great exertion to construct a proof that the Holy Sepulchre was not found by St. Helena, if no conclusion is to follow but that we need not pay attention to the festivals of the Cross, or to the claims of particular pieces of wood professing to be fragments of it. Even admitting the True Cross was discovered, it would be still open to Protestants to refuse to regard it with interest or reverence, and they would doubtless exercise their right. The Cross on which Christ suffered would be in their eyes but a piece of wood; or again, as they sometimes speak both of it and of the sign of it, it would be a something loathsome and hateful, bringing our Lord under the curse rather than sanctified by Him; and that the more, because, like the Brazen Serpent, it had been the occasion of superstition and idolatry. When then writers set themselves to oppose passages of history such as that now before us, it is for a far bolder purpose than is directly implied in their opposition; it is of course in order to depreciate or destroy the authority of the Church. It is an attempt to transfer the quarrel between her religion and their own, from the province of opinion to the ground of

[e] The Quarterly Reviewer of December, 1841, professes to consider it only a question of "poetic statement," "fond "reminiscences," "reverential feel-"ings," "pleasing visions," and the like; and contrasts with them "the "stern voice of truth," &c. &c., whereas the simple question is whether we shall consider the Church of the fourth century very credulous or very profligate. Mr. Taylor is far more perspicacious.

matter of fact; nor can there be a fairer procedure towards the Church, or one of which her children have less cause to complain.

Nay, perhaps such controversialists are fairer to the Church than to themselves; and though undoubtedly, if they once prove their point, they will but gain the greater credit and the more decisive victory, by so frank a procedure, yet it is plain there is at first sight a very strong probability *against* their proving it. The chance is, that they have undertaken more than they can accomplish. For it stands to reason, which party is the *more likely* to be right in a question of topographical fact, men who lived three hundred years after it and on the spot, or those who live eighteen hundred, and at the Antipodes? Granting that the fourth century had very poor means of information, it does not appear why the nineteenth should have more ample. There are indeed branches of knowledge in which we have decidedly the advantage of the early Church. If it were a point of philology which was under review; or a question about the critical interpretation of the Hebrew text, or the etymological force or derivation of a Greek term; or a problem in physics, such as whether or not such and such an occurrence were beyond, or beside, or according to the laws of nature, and properly miraculous; or if it required some subtle analysis, and could only be wrought out by a mathematical formula; or if, though a question of history, or chronology, or topography, it was disputed by writers of the fourth century one with another, so that we must oppose this great name or that, and choose a side; or if it was advanced by some one Father, and him unsupported, and of no great authority, the attempt to contradict him would be plausible; but in such a matter and under such circumstances as the present, when Calvary is the spot and Eusebius the informant, when a very learned and not over-credulous writer, whose silence about the Cross is thought so

ominous of his disbelief, reports and assents to the unanimous decision of the local Church in favour of the discovery of the Sepulchre, and is supported, not by the silence only, but by the concurrence of the literature of his own century[f], the presumption is very great, before going into the case, that such acute and ingenious persons as now for the first and only time in their lives traverse Jerusalem with their measuring tape are wrong, and those who were natives of the place fifteen hundred years ago are right. Of course such presumption constitutes no plea at all for declining to examine their argument; it weighs nothing against an overwhelming proof, when they have brought it; but to use the language of their school, when speaking of the miracles of the Church, unless the proof is overwhelming we are not "obliged" to accept it; when there is but a balance of arguments, "we may suspect it" to be fallacious, and may pronounce it "unsatisfactory." It may be entered upon with a just prejudice, listened to with suspicion, criticised with fastidious

[f] The main *authority* for the present site of the Holy Sepulchre is Eusebius; and the *warrant* for its preservation or recovery is the Pagan Temple raised over it upon the destruction of the city by Hadrian, which became a lasting record of the spot. What is to be urged against Eusebius I know not; but it is urged against the argument from the Temple, first, that only St. Jerome, and not Eusebius, attributes its erection to Hadrian. But why is not St. Jerome, a learned Father, well acquainted with Palestine, and no friend at all (as Mr. Taylor allows) to the superstitions and pollutions of which in his time Jerusalem was the scene, why is he not a sufficient authority? whereas Eusebius, *after his manner*, does but say, "ungodly "men;" vid. supr. p. cxliv, note f. Next, it is objected that there was no *continual tradition* of the spot, because St. Helena had to *search* for it, and to summon learned Jews and Christians to her assistance: but it does not follow, because there was no popular tradition, that therefore there was no historical and antiquarian knowledge of the fact, or, again, no means of recovering it, though forgotten. Further, it is urged that it was unlike Hadrian's character to insult the Christians, when he was but punishing the Jews. But, granting his general leniency towards the former, what Sulpitius says, Hist. Sacr. ii. 45, suggests the conjecture that from the circumstance of the Jewish Bishops not only being natives and inhabitants of the place, but practising *circumcision*, he confused them and their flocks and the objects of their veneration with the Jews. From these three considerations, (1) that St. Jerome is the first informant that Hadrian placed a Temple over the Sepulchre; (2) that there was no continuous public local tradition to that effect; and (3) that it is a deed unlike Hadrian, if they are found valid, it is proposed to infer that the Temple which was taken to be the site of the Sepulchre was pitched upon at random, as any other place might be taken. As to the actual Sepulchre found under the mound, that of course is the work of *fraud*.

precision, and rejected on the ground of counter arguments in themselves of inferior cogency.

Let it carefully be observed that a point of evidence like this has nothing to do with the question of honesty or dishonesty in the parties who give it. Were Macarius or St. Cyril and the Clergy of Jerusalem the most covetous and unprincipled of hypocrites, why should this lead them to fix on a false site for our Lord's crucifixion and burial? Why should they not do their best to fix on the right one? why should they subject themselves to an additional chance of detection, and give to persons like their present impugners a gratuitous advantage; as if it were not enough to fabricate a Cross, but they must hazard a superfluous mistake in respect to the Sepulchre? Were they then knaves and impostors of the most appalling die, this would be no reason for their omitting, nay the strongest reason for their taking, all possible pains to find the very and true spot where our Lord suffered. And therefore the question returns to the issue on which it has already been put,—which is the more *likely*, that inhabitants of Jerusalem in the fourth century, or of New York in the nineteenth, should be able rightly to determine Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre[g]. I mean no disrespect to the traveller to whom I

[g] As if to meet this presumption, Dr. Robinson and Mr. Taylor set themselves to prove incontrovertibly that St. Helena did fix the site of the Ascension on Mount Olivet wrongly; and if she was wrong in one case, she might be in another. And their proof is as follows: 1st. St. Luke in his Gospel says that our Lord led out His disciples as far as *Bethany*, therefore He ascended from Bethany; (in spite of his saying in the Acts, that they returned from *Olivet*;) 2nd. St. Luke says, that from Mount Olivet to Jerusalem is a Sabbath-day's journey: but the Church of the Ascension is only half a mile from Jerusalem. Then Dr. Robinson concludes, "the "tradition is *unquestionably false, since* "it is contradicted by the *express de-* "*claration* of Scripture." p. 311. There are a number of difficulties in this proof. E. g. One does not see how a tradition can be said to *contradict* Scripture, which on the face of the matter does but take one text *instead* of another, and contradict a point of Jewish *antiquities*, viz. the length of a Sabbatical journey. Next it does not seem fair in Mr. Taylor to take "Mount "Olivet" in the Acts *for* the place of Ascension, when he would prove that the place of Ascension was a Sabbatical distance, and *not* for the place of Ascension, when he would insist on that spot being Bethany. Further, it is not fair to object that the Church of the Ascension *falls short* of a Sabbath-day's journey, without accounting for the circumstance that Bethany *exceeds* it. But if the Evangelist in stating the distance

allude, which is not due to one who accuses the Church of Jerusalem of the fourth century of deliberate fraud. And I make a great distinction between a learned person like himself, who writes with gravity and temper, and the English writer who has made use of his statements, in a work to which reference has been several times made at the foot of the page. Yet I do not see why weak arguments should be treated with indulgence, when they are directed against sacred persons and better times. In order to form a due estimate of them, we must now consider with some attention the site of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem in our Lord's time occupied four hills:—Sion, on

of Mount Olivet from Jerusalem, does not mean the distance of the place of Ascension when that place is taken to be Bethany, why should he mean it, when it is taken to be the site of the present Church? Surely it is no confutation of an unsatisfactory interpretation (if so) of certain Scripture texts, to bring another which is more unsatisfactory; and that seems to be the sort of process to which these writers have in this instance confined themselves. Those who adopt the interpretation they condemn, have been accustomed (1) to consider Bethany, not only a village but a district, which extended over a portion of Olivet. This may be a theory, but at least it *reconciles* the two texts; whereas to deny, with Dr. Robinson, that our Lord ascended from Olivet is to *run counter* to the obvious meaning of one of them. Bethany is considered a district by Lightfoot, Chorogr. in Matt. 37; ibid. 4; Chorogr. in Marc. 4; Hor. Hebr. in Luc. xxiv. 50. ad in Act. Ap. i. 12. In a previous work he had thought otherwise, vid. Comment. in Act. Ap. on the ground that names of towns and names compounded with "Beth" never were extended to a district. He gets over this difficulty, in his later work, by saying that the town was called from the district, not the district from the town. The same explanation of "Bethany" is given by Beza, Grotius, Sanctius and de Dieu in Poole's Synopsis. Again, Spanheim calls it "tractus montis Oliveti." Geogr. Sacr. part. i. fin.; vid. note at end of Essay. (2) As to the alleged difficulty of the Sabbatical distance, it is not really such, till critics are agreed *what* that distance is. "Iter Sabbaticum *orto* "*stadia* excepit aut totum milliare." Lightfoot, Chorogr. in Matth. 40. Elsewhere he says, "iter Sabbaticum ex "septem et dimidio." in Luc. xxiv. 50. adding, that it was "bis mille cu-"bitorum." Yet Comment. in Act. i. 12. he says that while the Sabbatical distance is nine stadia if the cubit is three feet, it is but four and a half stadia if it be a foot and a half; and that the latter is the true calculation. "What space is a Sabbatical jour-"ney?" says Drusius in Poole's Synopsis; "in the number two thousand "most agree; but some say cubits, "others paces, Jerome feet, Origen "ells, which Origen's translator calls "cubits." De Dieu (ibid.) with Lightfoot in Act. makes the cubit a foot and a half, or the Sabbatical journey about five stadia, which is the distance of Mount Olivet, according to Josephus, and the actual distance of the Church of the Ascension, from Jerusalem. Grotius considers it eight stadia. Reland quotes Origen for its being eight, (Palæst. i. 52. fin.) but thinks this too much; and quotes Epiphanius for its being six, which according to him (vid. Wolf in Act. Ap. i. 12.) would make the Sabbatical journey a quarter of an hour's walk. Some of these calculations, as has been observed, make the Sabbatical journey coincide with the actual distance of the Church of the Ascension from Jerusalem.

which was the city of David or the upper city, on the south (A); above it, Acra, the site of Jerusalem proper, or the lower city (B); to the east of Acra, Moriah, on which was the Temple (C); and to the north of Moriah, Bezetha (D), on which lay the new city or the overflowings of the population, which were at that time very considerable. Denoting them by the four letters, A, B, C, and D, we shall have the nearest idea of their relative position, by considering B and C on a line running from west to east; A under B, and D above C. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is in the space between B and D, and the question, roughly stated, is whether the city wall which went across from B to D fell within or without its site.

The first and most ancient wall, which included A and C, Mounts Sion and Moriah, ran nearly in a straight line, on its north side, which alone it concerns us here to consider, from the north-west corner of Sion, where Herod afterwards built a tower called Hippicus, to the western portico of the Temple on Moriah. Accordingly the lower city (B) was exterior to it, or if any part was included, it was whatever lay in the angle between Sion and Moriah, A and C. This wall is supposed to be as early as David's time; and in its northern line, which thus divided Sion and Acra (A and B), stood the gate Gennath, from which in process of time was drawn a second wall, across or around Acra, terminating in the tower Antonia, which stood at the north-west corner of the Temple, opposite Bezetha (D.) After our Lord's death a third wall was drawn by Agrippa, which inclosed Bezetha also; but with this we are not concerned. At the time of His crucifixion the second wall was the limit of the city; and the question in controversy is, whether that second wall went across Acra or outside it. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is nearly upon the descent of Acra on the north[h]; if then the

[h] Clarke and Maundrell make it on the edge of Mount Moriah; Dr. Robinson "directly on the ridge of Acra." vol. i. p. 391.

wall traversed the hill, it fell without the wall; if it inclosed the hill, within it.

The argument advanced by the learned writer in question for the latter of these alternatives, is of the following kind; he admits that a straight line drawn from Gennath to Antonia would fall short of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but he observes truly that Josephus expressly says that the wall had a curvature in the interval between its extreme points. Next he draws attention to a certain pool called the pool of Hezekiah, which is situated only a little to the south-west of the Church of the Sepulchre, and which he remarks Hezekiah formed inside the city. If then the pool was within the wall, the Church must have been within the wall too; for the wall could not include the former and exclude the latter, without making a short turn at their point of contact, which we have no warrant for supposing. Further, unless we suffer the wall to extend beyond the alleged site of the Holy Sepulchre, we shall not allow room enough for the lower city, which in our Saviour's time was extensive and populous. And lastly there are certain circumstances in the ground which interfere with the supposition of a narrower circuit; and there are some large hewn stones far to the north, near the gate of Damascus, which, being masonry probably of an age long anterior to that of our Lord, cannot belong to the third, and therefore are probably a part of the second wall.

Now of these arguments it is obvious that not much stress can be laid upon the last. The ground on which Jerusalem stands, has gone through many alterations at various times; valleys have been filled up, summits have been levelled. If the surface was so much changed that Helena could not at once find the Holy Sepulchre, surely its changes are great enough to hinder a modern traveller from determining by its present appearance the course of the second wall. Nor does it

follow, though the ruins at the Damascus gate are as early as the date of the Jewish Kings, as this writer implies, that therefore they belong to the second wall, for he does not prove that the second wall existed so early as that time, as will be noticed presently; and they may be remains of some other ancient work, even if it did.

Nor surely is it any great objection, that the lower city will be much straitened, if we draw its boundary short of the present Holy Sepulchre; for Josephus expressly speaks of the scantiness of the limits of the city, and of the population exceeding them in consequence. The population covered the north side of the Temple Mount, and then crossing the deep trench which bounded it, overflowed upon the opposite hill Bezetha, where it formed two large suburbs, one or both of which were called the "New City [i]," and both of which were external to the then walls. Mount Sion itself also contained ample room for a population, the original city of David being but a citadel upon it. And, for what appears, the eminence or ridge Ophel to the south of Moriah afforded additional accommodation [k].

[i] Josephus in one place speaks of "Bezetha *and* the new city;" Bell. Jud. ii. 19. § 4: at another of "ἡ κατ-" "ωτέρω καινόπολις." v. 12. § 2. If this second suburb was to the west of Bezetha, it must occupy the north of the present Sepulchre; which would almost be a proof that the latter space was without the second wall.

[k] Sion seems to have been covered with streets and private houses, in spite of its public buildings. Josephus says, that "the houses" on Sion and on Acra "*ended* in the ravine between them:" v. 4; and says that Sion was called "the Upper Agora," which implies a population. De Bell. Jud. v. 4. In the sacking of Sion, he speaks of small houses on it (δωμάτια), and lanes or alleys, στενωποὶ, ibid. vi. 8. § 5. Indeed, we might infer a population from the length of the Hill, which was far beyond the needs of a citadel, palace, and public buildings. Manasseh too seems to have taken in a space beyond the city of David to the south; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. Bezetha seems to have been very thickly inhabited; Josephus speaks of the shops of mercers and braziers, the clothes-market, and the alleys running upon the city wall. De Bell. Jud. v. 7. fin. The lower city, too, was full of alleys or narrow lanes, as appears by the following chapter. The Tyropœum, or deep valley between Acra and Sion was "ædificiis densa." Spanheim's Geograph. p. 49. The height of the houses too in such localities should be considered. At Rome a law was passed by Augustus that houses should not be above seventy feet high. The poor inhabited them in floors. Vid. Gibbon, ch. xxxi. It is a question too, whether a portion of the inhabitants did not live in the excavations under Sion and Moriah. The deeper caves were used for the purposes of concealment in the sack of the city by Titus. Lightfoot tells us, Chorogr. in Luc. 1. § 6, that both Iturea and Idumæa were remarkable for their caverns, and he even derives the name of the former from this

But however this be, the simple question for us to consider is, whether the *deduction* from the supposed larger area of the city which adherence to the present site of the Sepulchre requires, will materially lessen that area. I conceive not[1]. If the area be too scanty for the population with this reservation, will it be sufficient without it? Sion, the greater part of Acra, and Moriah, within the walls, and Bezetha outside of them, remain; and if we suppose the wall, which is in question, on starting from Gennath, first to run north, and then to curve round, when it came over against the site of the present Latin convent, very little of Acra will be lost. Dr. Robinson refers to a passage in Josephus, in which that historian speaks of a northern and a southern portion of the second wall, a mode of expression which requires some such change of direction to account for it.

Nor is it easy to see how the New City can be altogether excluded from the second wall, as we know it to have been, if the second wall is extended any great way beyond the present Holy Sepulchre; and if it is not extended, how any great increase of room will be obtained merely by including the Holy Sepulchre. Nor is it natural in Josephus to speak of the population overflowing across the trench of Moriah upon Bezetha, if it lay all along the west of the latter hill already, and had thence extended itself upon Bezetha eastward. In short, if

circumstance. Strabo speaks of two caverned mountains, one of which would hold four thousand men; lib. xvi. p. 1074. The cave of Zedekiah, according to a Rabbinical authority, whom Lightfoot quotes, held eighteen thousand. And according to William of Tyre there was a cave on the other side of Jordan, sixteen miles from Tiberias, with different stories in it. Vid. also Joseph. Antiqu. xv. 10. § 1. It is the Ecclesiastical tradition that a cave was the place of the Nativity; S. Justin Martyr notices it, and Origen says that in his day it was visited by pilgrims. However, Dr. Robinson brings this tradition specially as a sample of the spuriousness of traditions about sacred history in general, because a cave or grotto is introduced. Nothing, he says, is done without grottoes. As if too, some might not be true and some false; the latter imitations of the former.

[1] The Quarterly Reviewer for December, 1841, says: "One argument "appears to us absolutely insuperable. "To exclude the Church of the Holy "Sepulchre, the ancient city, that is, "*the part between the western wall and* "the hill of the Temple, must be nar- "rowed to less than a quarter of a mile." This is an inexplicable statement. It assumes that the second wall always continued *at the same distance* from the Temple Mount which it had over against the Sepulchre.

there be a difficulty in accommodating the population, it lies in this, that the hill of Acra, from Hippicus to the Temple, is little more than the third of a mile across, as Dr. Robinson measures it[m]. No theory about the north wall of the city can dispose of this fact[n].

Putting aside then considerations such as these, which might be useful to corroborate a proof, but have very little intrinsic force to create one, we come to the *main circumstance* on which the author's argument depends, and which certainly deserves a careful consideration,—viz. the position of the pool of Hezekiah. To judge from his plan, this pool nearly joins the Holy Sepulchre on the south-west; and was once even considered as attached to it, and was called from it. Now Hezekiah formed his pool or reservoir within the city; either then the Holy Sepulchre lay within the city also, or the wall ran between the pool and the Sepulchre.

Now, first I would observe that there is no absurdity in the latter supposition. Let us allow that it would involve a sharp bend in the second wall[o], which is our author's objection to it; yet Josephus, as we have seen, expressly speaks of a

[m] Dr. Robinson says that "the *breadth* "of the city is the same now as an- "ciently," vol. ii. p. 67; i. e. to shew that it could spare nothing in length; now he says elsewhere, that the breadth from the brow of the valley of Hinnom near the Yaffa gate to the brink of the valley of Jehoshaphat is 1020 yards; while the length, measured on his map, from Herod's Gate to the limit of the ancient city on the south is 1700 yards, or short of a mile. Therefore an area of a mile by $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile is *greater* than the site of the old city and makes no allowance for the Temple, fort, &c. &c., yet even this is little more than half a square mile. Here then is a fixed limit agreed on by all who do not adopt the random hypothesis of Dr. Clark that the Hill of Evil Counsel is Sion. Might not an objection be made to the smallness of even such an area by those who do not consider how the population of fortified cities *packs*? Nothing seems known for certain about the *ordinary* population of Jerusalem. Mr. Greswell makes several calculations, Dissert. xxiii., which exceed what at first sight the space could seem possibly to admit.

[n] Such difficulties are of frequent occurrence in history; e. g. Oxford in the middle ages is said to have had 30,000 students.

[o] Mr. Milman has no difficulty in such a supposition; "the second wall," he says, "began at a gate in the old or "inner one, called Gennath, the gate "of the gardens; it intersected the "lower city, and having struck north- "ward for some distance, *turned* to the "East, and joined the north-west "corner of the town of Antonia." Hist. of Jews, vol. iii. p. 16. And he even represents it on his plan of the city as turning at an acute angle. Dr. Robinson, as is said over-leaf, cannot escape a bend. When he has brought his supposed second wall near Bezetha, he speaks of its "*bending* southward to "the corner of Antonia." vol. i. p. 468.

northern and southern portion of the wall, which implies a change of direction somewhere; and, even though a range be supposed for the wall beyond the present Sepulchre, it could not materially change its direction without considerable abruptness. Dr. Robinson observes that the wall could not exclude the Holy Sepulchre, unless it "made an angle ex- "pressly in order to exclude" it; but let it be observed, the angle *must* be made any how in order to arrive at Antonia; nay, and such an angle he himself makes in his own conjectural description of it.

Again, it is obvious to remark that, supposing Calvary was a place used for the execution and burial of criminals, as is not unnatural to suppose and as its name may be taken to mean, there was a reason why the wall should avoid it. And we know that, wherever it was, it was close upon the wall, both from the expression of the Apostle that it was "without the "gate," and from the custom of the Jews to fix their places of execution on the outside of their cities [p].

But, next, dismissing this question, we come to this most important and remarkable circumstance, which will strike most readers even at first sight; viz. that the author under review, whose learning none can question, and whose zeal for Scripture all must honour, has fixed the site of Hezekiah's pool by *tradition*, and *tradition alone*. He says that Hezekiah "built within the city a pool, apparently the same which now "*exists under his name*;" and upon this traditionary determination of the pool of Hezekiah he proceeds to deny the faithfulness of the tradition concerning the site of the Holy Sepulchre. Yet it does not at all appear why the latter

[p] Deut. xvii. 5; Luke iv. 29; also 2 Kings x. 8: vid. also Lev. xxiv. 14; Numb. xv. 35. Zorn. Opusc. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 193, upon Heb. xiii. 12, refers to 1 Kings xxi. 13; Acts vii. 59. And for the like custom among the Romans, to Plaut. Mil. Act. ii. sc. 4; Tac. Ann. ii. 32; Hor. Epod. 5. 99. On the Jewish cemeteries as without the cities, vid. Lightfoot Chorograph. in Matt. 100. However, they were far enough to be out of sight of the inhabitants. The cemeteries of the Levitical cities were two thousand cubits off. Ibid. Chorograph. in Marc. 8. § 8.

tradition is not as good as the former, especially since far greater pains have been taken to ascertain the site of the Sepulchre than that of the pool. Nor can it here be urged that springs of water are not of a nature to be formed at will; that they have a perpetuity and a possession of the soil which mounds, or walls, or sepulchres have not; that they are not of common occurrence in Jerusalem, and that there is no great choice of pools between which the tradition might err. This, indeed, would be an argument, if the pool were any more than a reservoir; and that too, as Dr. Robinson himself observes, in part at least of modern workmanship; but as the case stands, of course it is quite inapplicable. Nor can he intend to make a distinction between Christian tradition and Jewish, as if the Jews were deserving of more consideration and credit than the interested Clergy or the superstitious laity of the Christian Church. For he candidly admits, that the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian involved the destruction of all their local recollections. "It may perhaps be asked," he says, "whether there does not exist a Jewish tradition, "which would also be trustworthy? *not in respect to Jeru-* "*salem itself;* for the Jews for centuries could approach the "Holy City only to weep over it[q]." By a law of Hadrian they were forbidden to approach within some miles of the city, and Constantine did but permit them to view it from the neighbouring hills.

It seems then that our author's argument against the alleged site of the Holy Sepulchre depends on a definite and single fact, and for that single fact he offers no proof whatever, except that very kind of proof, and that not so good in its kind, as that on which the site of the Holy Sepulchre is at present received. He cannot tell how long the reservoir has been called Hezekiah's Pool, though he

[q] Vol. i. p. 376, note: vid. also p. 350.

does tell us that it used to be called by the Monks the Pool of the Sepulchre; while we know, on the other hand, that the Sepulchre was fixed in its present site as much as fifteen hundred years ago. He does not know under what circumstances the pool was determined to be Hezekiah's; whereas we do know that the site of the Sepulchre was settled after a public formal examination, and, as it is reported, with the united aid of learned Jews and Christians, and with a unanimous decision. Yet, if the real pool was within the wall, and the real Sepulchre without it, and if their professed sites are so close to each other that both must have been without or both within, (a point which itself, as we have seen, is not at all clear), he asserts that the tradition concerning the Sepulchre must be the false, and the tradition concerning the pool must be the true[r].

To proceed: it will be observed that Dr. Robinson takes for granted another point, besides that of the pool being really Hezekiah's; viz. that it was within the second wall. Certainly it was within the city wall, as it ran in Hezekiah's time; but it is obvious to ask, why was it only within the *second* wall, and not within the *first?* But if it was within the first wall, then Dr. Robinson will have proved too much; for he will have brought up the city of David all across the

[r] Professor Robinson, after speaking of Hippicus, Antonia, and Hezekiah's pool, says: "We have then three points "for determining the probable course "of this wall," (the second); "we re- "paired *personally* to *each* of these *three* "*points*, &c." vol. ii. p. 67. Now of the first he does but say himself, "it "early *occurred* to us that [the tower of "David] was *very probably* a remnant "of the tower of Hippicus," vol. i. p. 455; "this *impression* was strengthened," &c.; of the second Lami says, "I have "set down several places in the map, "whose true situation is *not known;* "as for instance the castle Antonia;" App. Bibl. p. 76, ed. 1723, London, though Dr. Robinson considers he has ascertained it. And what reliance is to be placed on the site of the pool we have seen in the text. In like manner Dr. Robinson can but say of Gennath "*apparently* "near Hippicus," p. 411; "*doubtless* "near Hippicus," p. 461. And of the second wall, "Josephus's description "of the second wall is very short and "*unsatisfactory*," p. 461. And he locates the Tyropœum differently from other writers. Yet on these private inferences from doubtful conjectures on probable assumptions from unsatisfactory testimony, the Catholic Church is to be convicted of fraud and folly.

valley of the Tyropœum to the ridge of Acra on which the Holy Sepulchre stands, and within "less than a quarter of "an English mile" of the north-west corner of the Temple.

It is necessary then for his argument that he should clearly shew, not only that the pool really was Hezekiah's, but also that the second wall was built in Hezekiah's time. On this point, however, he does but speak as follows; "Of the date of "this erection," i. e. the second wall, "we are *no where in-* "*formed;* but it must *probably* have been *older* than the time "of Hezekiah, who built within the city a pool, *apparently* "the same which now exists under his name[s]." That is, Hezekiah's pool need only be within the second wall, because the second wall, not the first, was in Hezekiah's time the boundary of the city; and the second wall, not the first, was in Hezekiah's time the boundary of the city, because Hezekiah's pool is only within the second wall. Such is the author's proof of the second fact by which he shews that the Church of the Sepulchre was built upon a pretended site.

But it may be asked whether Scripture throws no light upon the position of the pool; for in this way perhaps the tradition respecting it may gain an authority which it has not in itself. No tradition certainly is tenable which contradicts Scripture; but many a tradition deserves attention or commands assent about which Scripture is silent, or to which it devotes but a few words or a passing allusion. Dr. Robinson is more rigorous on this point than I should be myself; "this is the point," he says, "to which I would "particularly direct the reader's attention, that all Eccle- "siastical tradition respecting the ancient places in and "around Jerusalem and throughout Palestine *is of no value*" (and he prints the words in capitals,) "except so far as it is "supported by circumstances known to us from the Scriptures "or from other contemporary testimony[t]." It would seem

[s] Vol. ii. p. 67.

[t] Vol. i. p. 374.

then, as if according to his deliberate principle, distinctly and formally avowed, some Scriptural argument ought to be forthcoming in favour of the traditionary settlement of the site of Hezekiah's pool;—what Scripture does say, may be told in a very few words.

In the Second Book of Chronicles we simply read as follows: "This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of "Gihon, and brought it straight down to the *west-side* of the "city of David[u]." Now, what Gihon is, and where, is not here the question; Dr. Robinson has some very interesting remarks on the subject, on its concealment by Hezekiah, and on the subterraneous channels by which he fed the reservoirs in Jerusalem. All that here concerns us to observe in this passage are two distinct statements, each of them quite inconsistent with the tradition that the supposed pool of Hezekiah is really the work of that king. First, the inspired writer tells us that Hezekiah brought the water into *the city of David*, and the pretended pool is *not* in the city; and next, that he brought it to the *west* side of the city, and the pool is on the *north*. What then can be said, but that this author's argument against the truth of the alleged site of the Holy Sepulchre is based, not only on a blind Jewish tradition, the like of which he elsewhere reprobates, but on a disregard of the sacred text which it is the special object of his work to consult?

In conclusion I will but draw attention to the light which this discussion has thrown upon the extreme improbability, which was noticed before entering into it, that the parties who aided St. Helena in her search should have placed the Sepulchre where we find it, unless it were the true site. If

[u] 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. If it is necessary to appeal to authority, Calmet considers Hezekiah's pool to have been in the western quarter of the city of David, in 2 Paralip. xxxii. 30, and fed by Gihon, in 2 Esdr. ii. 14. So does Lightfoot, Chorograph. in Matt. 25, and in Joan. 5. §§ 2, 3. Reland places the fount of Gihon from which it was fed at the south-west. Palest. iii. p. 859.

facts are as clear as Dr. Robinson would consider them, they were too clear for any one to miss them[x]. If the present pool of Hezekiah was then acknowledged to be such, close upon the present Sepulchre, is it credible that, with that intimate knowledge of the letter of the inspired writings which no one denies to their times, the Clergy of Jerusalem should have fixed on a site for the Sepulchre in the very heart of the city of David? Did the pool escape their eyes, or its title their ears, or the sacred text their memory, or the conclusion from these data their reason? Could it be, that a pool which Scripture says was within the walls, should be situated upon a place of execution which Scripture as surely places without them? And in like manner we might ask, were it worth while, if the stones near the Damascus gate wear an antique look now, were they not likely to tell their own story better, if they were on the spot then? and have traces of the old wall become fainter or stronger in the course of years? and had the disposition of the ground undergone more alteration then than now, or less, considering Hadrian rebuilt the city on the site on which he found it[y]? But it is needless to dwell on the improbability of an hypothesis, which has been shewn to be altogether gratuitous.

On the whole, then, I cannot doubt that the Holy Sepulchre

[x] Dr. Robinson begins by speaking of the "difficulty arising from the *pre-* "*sent* location" of the Sepulchre "in "the heart of the city," which "has "been felt by many pious minds." Yet, what so natural, as Maundrell observes, as that the Sepulchre, when found, should attract the city round it? Again, why is it not a difficulty that Sion is now so deserted? Is not this extension, if not change, of site, what happens to all cities of any standing? was Dr. Robinson sceptical about St. Giles's in the Fields when he came to London? Pope Gregory was perfectly aware of the change of site of the city. "Hoc "quoque quod additur," he says, "'Non relinquant in te lapidem super "'lapidem,' etiam ipsa jam ejusdem "civitatis *transmigratio* testatur; quia "dum nunc in eo loco constructa est, "ubi *extra portam* fuerat Dominus "crucifixus, prior illa Jerusalem, ut "dicitur, funditus est eversa." Hom. in Evang. 39. init.

[y] Those who deny that the Pagan Temple was built on the site of the Sepulchre, have to account for the utter oblivion, to which on their hypothesis the place of our Lord's crucifixion was consigned; whereas the circumstances attendant on that profanation which the Temple occasioned will explain such partial ignorance concerning it as seems to have obtained among the Christians of Jerusalem.

was really discovered, as Eusebius declares it to have been; and I am as little disposed to deny that the Cross was discovered also, as that the relics of St. Cuthbert or the coffin of Bishop Coverdale have been found in our own day.

6. *The Death of Arius.*

Constantine being gained over by the Arian party, called Arius to Constantinople, with the intention of obliging Alexander, the Bishop of that see, to restore him to the communion of the Church. The old man, who was at that time ninety-seven years of age, betook himself with his people to prayer and fasting. He shut himself up in the church and continued in supplication for several days and nights. The coming Sunday was appointed for the reception of Arius, and on the preceding day Alexander was summoned before Constantine, and commanded to comply with his wish. On his refusal the Emperor grew angry, and Alexander withdrew in silence to urge the cause of Catholic truth with greater earnestness in a more suitable Presence. He fell on his face before the Altar, and he conjured Christ, the Lord of all and King of kings, to deliver the Church from the danger and disgrace which threatened it. One of the persons attendant on him was Macarius, from whom St. Athanasius relates it. Macarius followed his prayer as he spoke it, and it ran thus:—"If Arius communicates to-morrow, let Thou Thy "servant depart, and destroy not the righteous with the "wicked. But if Thou sparest Thy Church, and I know "Thou sparest it, have respect unto the words of the Euse- "bians, and give not Thine heritage unto ruin and reproach; "and take Arius away, lest if he enter into the Church, his "heresy seem to enter with him, and henceforth religion "be counted as irreligion[z]." This prayer is said to have been offered about 3 P.M. on the Saturday; that same even-

[z] De Mort. Ar.

ing Arius was in the great square of Constantine, when he was suddenly seized with indisposition. On retiring, he was overtaken by what is commonly considered to be the fate of Judas, as described in the Book of Acts. The building where this event took place became a record of it to future times, and, as Socrates tells us, "rendered the manner of his death "ever memorable, all passers-by pointing the finger at it[a]."

Now of this occurrence it is obvious to remark first of all, that it is strictly of an historical character. It enters into the public transactions of the times, and is one of a chain of events which are linked together, and form a whole. It has a meaning, and gives a meaning to the course of action in which it is found. It is in no sense what Paley calls "naked history," and in this respect differs from certain other extraordinary occurrences, such, for instance, as are recorded in the lives of the Monks; nay from certain miracles of Scripture, such as St. Paul's preservation from the viper, of which nothing comes, and still more the resurrection wrought by Elisha's bones. "It has been said," says Paley, "that if the pro-"digies of the Jewish history had been found only in frag-"ments of Manetho or Berosus, we should have paid no "regard to them; and I am willing to admit this. If we "knew nothing of the facts, but from the fragment; if we "possessed no proof that these accounts had been credited and "acted upon from times, probably, as ancient as the accounts "themselves; if we had no visible effects connected with the "history, no subsequent or collateral testimony to confirm it; "under these circumstances I think that it would be unde-"serving of credit." He goes on to say that this is not the case as regards the introduction of Christianity; nor, as we may add, as regards the history of Arius.

Again it must be observed that this is more strictly a miracle of the Church, than many which occur within her

[a] Hist. i. 38.

pale and among her members; that is, it is done by the Church, as the Church. Though it bears a tentative character, it is the result of a solemn intercession, a solemn anathema, of the Church. Miracles happened in the kingdom of Israel, where there was no Church; but here is a contest between an Emperor and a heresy on the one side, and the Church on the other; the Church speaks through her constituted authorities, and the judgment which is inflicted on her enemy is an attestation to her divinity.

Further, it was done in the presence of hostile power, which was awed by it, and altered its line of action in consequence. Paley observes, when arguing for the miracles of the Gospel, "We lay out of the case those which come merely in affirm-"ance of opinions already formed. It has long been ob-"served that Popish miracles happen in Popish countries, "that they make no converts. In the moral, as in the "natural world, it is change which requires a cause. Men "are easily fortified in their old opinions, driven from them "with great difficulty[b]." Now the event in question was a Catholic miracle in an Arian city, before an Arian court, amid a prevalent Arianism extending itself all through the East.

"But after all, was it a miracle? for if not, we are labouring "at a proof, of which nothing comes." The more immediate answer to this question has already been suggested several times. When a Bishop with his flock prays night and day against a heretic, and at length begs of God to take him away, and when he is suddenly taken away almost at the moment of his triumph, and that by a death awfully significant, from its likeness to one recorded in Scripture, is it not trifling to ask whether such an occurrence comes up to the definition of a miracle? the question is not whether it is formally a miracle, but whether it is an event, the like of which persons, who

[b] Evidences, part ii. ch. 1.

deny that miracles continue, will consent that the Church should be considered still able to perform. If they are willing to allow to the Church such extraordinary protection, it is for them to draw the line to the satisfaction of people in general, between these and strictly miraculous events; if on the other hand they deny their occurrence in the times of the Church, then there is sufficient reason for our appealing here to the history of Arius in proof of the affirmative. This is what suggests itself at first sight; however, that it was really miraculous, Gibbon surely is a sufficient voucher. "Those," he says, "who press the literal narrative of the death of "Arius, must make their option between poison and miracle." Now, considering that this awful occurrence took place in an Arian city and court, and in the face of powerful and quick-sighted adversaries, who had every means and every interest to detect an act of such dreadful wickedness, as Gibbon insinuates, surely, putting aside all higher considerations, there are insuperable difficulties in the theory of poison; while those who do not deny the moral governance of God and the heretical and ungodly character of Arianism, will have no difficulty in referring the catastrophe to miracle.

One other question may be asked, though it is of a doctrinal nature, and therefore hardly needs to be considered here; whether so solemn a denunciation as that adopted by Alexander, and so positive a reference of the event which followed to that denunciation as a cause, are not modes of acting and judging uncongenial to the Christian religion. One passage there certainly is in the New Testament, which at first sight seems in opposition of it. When James and John wished to be allowed to call down fire from heaven upon the Samaritans, as Elijah had done upon Ahaziah's messengers, Christ answered, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of: For the Son "of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." However, it is obvious to reply first, that Elijah, in the pas-

sage in question, called down a miraculous punishment on the soldiers of Ahaziah in his own defence; and it is observable, that the Apostles asked leave to do the same, when the Samaritans had refused to receive their Lord and them: whereas the great rule of the Gospel is to "avenge not ourselves, but "rather give place unto wrath," as our Lord exemplified when "they went to another village." But whether there be any force in this distinction or not, certain it is that in the Acts, in which we surely have the principles of the Gospel drawn out into action, two precedents occur in justification of the conduct of St. Alexander, one given us by St. Peter and the other by St. Paul; St. Peter's denunciation of Ananias and Sapphira was followed by their instantaneous deaths; St. Paul's denunciation of Elymas by his immediate blindness. These instances, moreover, suggest that our Lord's earthly ministry might probably be conducted on different laws from those which belonged to His risen power, when the Spirit had descended and light was spread abroad; according to the text in which blasphemy against the Son of man and blasphemy against the Spirit are contrasted. Hence St. Paul calls Elymas, who was "seeking to *turn away* the deputy from the faith," an "*enemy* "of all righteousness," and a "*perverter* of the right ways of "the Lord;" and St. Peter still more expressly accuses Ananias and his wife of "lying against the Holy Ghost," and "tempting the Spirit of the Lord." It is obvious also to refer to St. Paul's imprecation on Alexander, the coppersmith, that the Lord would reward him according to his works. Here St. Paul, who had the gift of inspiration, speaks of Alexander personally; but the Bishops of the Church did not venture so much as this; they did but contemplate her enemies *in* their opposition, *as* heretics or rebels, and dealt with them accordingly, without any direct reference to their real and absolute state in the sight of God.

7. *The fiery eruption on Julian's attempt to rebuild the Jewish Temple.*

Bishop Warburton, as is well known, has written in defence of the miraculous character of the earthquake and fiery eruption which defeated the attempt of the Emperor Julian to rebuild the Jewish Temple. Though in many most important respects he shews his dissent from the view of the Ecclesiastical miracles taken in these pages, yet the propositions which he lays down in the commencement of his work are precisely those which it has been here attempted to maintain; first, "that all the miracles recorded in Church history are "not forgeries or delusions;" next, "that their evidence "doth not stand on the same foot of credit with the miracles "recorded in Gospel history." In drawing out the facts and the evidence of the miracle in question, I shall avail myself of the work of this learned and able writer, with which I agree in the main, though of course there is room for difference of opinion, both as regards the details of the one and the other, and the view to be taken of them.

In the year 363 Julian in the course of his systematic hostilities against Christianity, determined to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. The undertaking was conducted on a magnificent scale, large sums being assigned out of the public revenue for its execution. Alypius, an intimate friend of Julian, was set over the work; the Jews aided him with a vast collection of materials and of workmen. Both sexes, all ranks, took part in the labour, entering upon the ruins, clearing away the rubbish, and laying bare the foundations[c]. What followed, is attested by a number of authorities, who agree with each other in all substantial respects, though, as was to be expected,

[c] It was quite an enthusiastic movement. We are told that the spades and pickaxes were of silver, and the rubbish was removed in mantles of silk and purple. Vid. Gibbon, ch. 23.

no single writer relates every one of the particulars. First, we have the contemporary testimony of the Pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus, and we may add of Julian himself; then of St. Gregory Nazianzen[d], St. Ambrose, and St. Chrysostom, who were more or less contemporaries; and of Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret of the century following. They declare as follows:—the work was interrupted by a violent whirlwind, says Theodoret, which scattered about vast quantities of lime, sand, and other loose materials collected for the building. A storm of thunder and lightning followed; fire fell, says Socrates; and the workmen's tools, the spades, the axes, and the saws, were melted down. Then came an earthquake, which threw up the stones of the old foundations of the Temple, says Socrates; filled up the excavation, says Theodoret, which had been made for the new foundations; and, as Rufinus adds, threw down the buildings in the neighbourhood, and especially the public porticoes, in which were numbers of the Jews who had been aiding the undertaking, and who were buried in the ruins. The workmen returned to their work; but from the recesses laid open by the earthquake, balls of fire burst out, says Ammianus; and that, again and again, as often as they renewed the attempt; the fiery mass, says Rufinus, ranged up and down the street for hours; and St. Gregory, that, when some fled to a neighbouring church for safety, the fire met them at the door and forced them back with the loss either of life or of their extremities. At length the commotion ceased; a calm succeeded; and, as St. Gregory adds, in the sky appeared a luminous Cross surrounded by a circle. Nay, upon the garments and upon the bodies of the persons present Crosses were impressed, says St. Gregory; which were luminous by night, says Rufinus; and at other times of a dark colour,

[d] Orat. v. 4—7.—The Oration was composed the very year of the miracle.

says Theodoret; and would not wash out, adds Socrates. In consequence, the attempt was abandoned [e].

There is no reason for doubting any part of this narrative; however, enough will remain if we accept only the pagan and contemporaneous account given us by Ammianus, who, to use the words of Warburton, was "a contemporary writer, of "noble extraction, a friend and admirer of Julian, and his "companion in arms, a man of affairs, learned, candid, and "impartial, a lover of truth, and the best historian of his "times," and "a Pagan professed and declared."—"Though "Julian," says this writer, "with anxious anticipation of con-"tingencies of every kind, was keenly engaged in the prose-"cution of the numberless arrangements incident to his "[Persian] expedition, yet that no place might be without "its share in his energy, and that the memory of his reign "might continue in the greatness of his works, he thought "of rebuilding at an extravagant expense the proud Temple "once at Jerusalem, which after many conflicts and much "blood shed, in the siege under Vespasian first and then "Titus, was with difficulty taken; and he committed the "accomplishment of this task to Alypius of Antioch, who "had before that been Lieutenant of Britain. Alypius there-"fore set himself vigorously to the work, and was seconded "by the governor of the province; when fearful balls of fire, "breaking out near the foundations, continued their attacks, "till the workmen, after repeated scorchings, could approach "no more; and thus the fierce element obstinately repelling "them, he gave over his attempt [f]."

[e] "Did the Emperor relent? did his "agents fail in their obedience? or were "the Jews on better thoughts intimi-"dated? was the purpose diverted by "a foreign invasion or by domestic "tumults? did some hostile barbarian, "at that juncture, break in upon the "empire; or some rebellious province "suspend and weaken its authority? "or lastly, did the Christians them-"selves defeat this insult by opposing "force to force? One or other of these "causes must be given to account in a "natural way for the defeat." Julian, p. 75.

[f] Hist..... "Why need I insist on "the conduct of so fair an adversary as "Marcellinus, when Libanius, and the

Julian too seems awkwardly to allude to it in a fragment of a letter or oration, which Warburton has pointed out, and which is so curious an evidence of his defeat and its extraordinary circumstances, that it may be fitly introduced in this place. He is encouraging the zeal of the Pagans for the honour of their divinities, and he says: "Let no one dis- "believe the gods, from seeing and hearing that their statues "and their temples have been insulted in some quarters. "Let no one beguile us by his speeches, or unsettle us on "the score of Providence; for those who reproach us on this "head, I mean, the Prophets of the Jews, what will they say "about their own Temple, which has been thrice overthrown, "and is not even now rising[g]? This I have said with no wish "to reproach them, inasmuch as I myself, at so late a day, "had in purpose to rebuild it for the honour of Him who "was worshipped there. Here I have alluded to it, with the "purpose of shewing, that of human things nothing is im- "perishable, and that the Prophets who wrote as I have men- "tioned, raved, and were but the gossips of canting old "women. Nothing, indeed, contradicts the notion of that

"rest of Julian's sophists, those bigots "to Paganism, and inflamers of their "master's follies, dared not so much "as mutter the least suspicion of this "nature. Nor was their silence the ef- "fect of fear, or want of goodwill. In "more dangerous and offensive matters "they spoke freely, and with insolence "enough; for when the Christians "every where gave out that the death "of Julian was miraculous, these "friends of his publicly maintained "that he was basely assassinated by a "Christian soldier; and undertook to "make good the charge, at their own "peril, if the Emperor would appoint "commissaries to examine the fact." Julian, p. 280.

[g] Fabricius and De la Bleterie consider the "three times" to include Julian's own attempt to rebuild, yet it is harsh, as Warburton observes, to call a hindrance in rebuilding, an actual destruction of the building, though the hindrance was a destruction as far as it went. But Lardner and Warburton seem to mistake when they argue against Fabricius that ἐγειρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν means "not *raised again* to this day," whereas it must rather be construed "not *rising*" or "in *course of building*." Warburton reckons the alterations and additions under Herod as by implication a destruction of the second Temple; and as another hypothesis he suggests the profanation under Antiochus. Lardner thinks Julian spoke vaguely or rhetorically, or that he referred to the calamities which came upon Jerusalem in the time of Adrian. "Julien loin de "conclure de ce qui étoit arrivé à Je- "rusalem la vérité de la religion Chré- "tienne, en inferoit que le revelation "judaïque étoit fausse." De la Bleterie. Julian. v. p. 399.

"God being great, but He is unfortunate in His Prophets "and interpreters; I say that they did not take care to "purify their souls by a course of education, nor to open their "fast-closed eyes, nor to dissipate the darkness which lay on "them. And, like men who see a great light through a mist, "not clearly nor distinctly, and take it not for pure light, but "for *fire*, and are blind to all things around about it, they cry "out loudly, 'Shudder and fear; fire, flame, death, sword, "'lance,' expressing by many words that one destructive pro-"perty of *fire*[h]." When it is considered that Julian was, as it were, defeated by the Prophets of that very people he was aiding; that he desired to rebuild the Jewish Temple, and the Christians declared that he could not, for the Jewish Prophets themselves had made it impossible; we surely may believe, that in the foregoing passage this was the thought which was passing in his mind, while the prophetic emblem of fire haunted him, which had been so recently exhibited in the catastrophe by which he had been baffled.

The fact then cannot be doubted[i]; it may be asked, however, whether the perpetual ruin of the Temple was actually predicted in the Prophets; and if not, what was the drift of this miracle, and how it was connected with the Church. It

[h] Page 295. Ed. Spanh. Lardner contends that this letter from its tone must have been written *before* any attempt to rebuild the Temple; which indeed he considers Julian never to have put into execution. This is a paradox more in the style of Warburton whom he is opposing, than of so sensible and sober a writer.

[i] It is objected by Lardner that St. Jerome, Prudentius, and Orosius, are silent about the miracle. Others have alleged the silence of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. But if, as a matter of course, good testimony is to be overborne because other good testimony is wanting, there will be few facts of history certain. Why should Ammianus be untrue, because Jerome is silent? Sometimes the notoriety of a fact leads to its being passed over. Moyle is "unwilling to "reject all [miracles since the days of "the Apostles] without reserve, for the "sake of a very remarkable one which "happened at the rebuilding of the "Temple," &c. Posth. Works, vol. i. p. 101. He professes to be influenced by the testimony and the antecedent probability. Douglas speaks of Warburton's defence of it as "a work written "with a solidity of argument which "might always have been expected "from the author, and with a spirit of "candour which his enemies thought "him incapable of." These admissions are very strong considering the authors. Mosheim takes the same side. J. Basnage, Lardner, Hey, &c. take the contrary.

is connected with the Church and the Prophets by one circumstance, if by no other, and that a remarkable one; that before the actual attempt to rebuild, a Bishop of the Church had denounced it, prophesied its failure, and that from the light thrown upon the subject by the Prophets of the Old Testament. "Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem," says Socrates, "bearing in "mind the words of the Prophet Daniel, which Christ had "confirmed in the Holy Gospels, declared to many before-"hand, that now the time was come, when stone should not "remain upon stone for that Temple, but the Saviour's pro-"phecy should be fulfilled [k]." St. Cyril seems to have argued that since our Lord prophesied the utter destruction of the Temple, and since that destruction was not yet fully accomplished, but only in course of accomplishment, for the old foundations at that time still remained, therefore Julian was reversing the Divine order of things and building up when God was engaged in casting down, and in consequence was sure to fail. And as Julian probably understood Daniel's and our Lord's words in the same way, and did set himself deliberately and professedly to contravene them, as apparently fulfilled in the fortunes of the Temple, he was evidently placing himself in open hostility to Christ and His Prophet, and challenging Him to the encounter. No circumstances then could be more fitting for the interposition of a miracle in frustration of his undertaking.

The same conclusion may be argued from our Lord's words to the Samaritan woman. He does not indeed mention the Temple by name, but He must be considered to allude to it,

[k] Hist. iii. 20. Lardner (Testimonies, ch. 46. 3.) says, that "it is very absurd "for any Christians to talk in this man-"ner. Christ's words had been fulfilled "almost 300 years before;" and refers to Rufinus as giving the true account of St. Cyril's words, viz. that "it could "not be that the Jews should be *able* "to lay them stone upon stone;" but St. Cyril himself expressly says what Socrates reports of him, Catech. xv. 15: "Antichrist shall come *at a time when* "there shall not be left one stone upon "another in the Temple." This was written before Julian's attempt; and St. Chrysostom, after it, pronounces the prophecy of "not one stone upon an-"other" not fulfilled even then. Hom. 75. in Matth.

when He says that men should not "*worship* at Jerusalem." They were indeed to worship there, as every where, but to worship without the Temple; and that because they were to worship "in spirit and in truth." A spiritual worship was incompatible with the Judaic services; so that when Christianity appeared the Temple was destroyed. Julian then, in building again the Temple, was doing what he could to falsify Christianity.

But again, the Jewish Temple was confessedly the *centre* of the Jewish worship and polity; to rebuild the Temple then, was to establish the Jews, *as Jews,* in their own land, an event, which, if prophecy is sure, never is to be. "The "building of [the Temple,]" says Mr. Davison, "was directed "for this reason, that God had given '*rest* to His people,' "and henceforth would not suffer them to *wander* or be dis- "turbed; so long as they enjoyed the privilege of being His "people at all. 'Moreover, I will appoint a *place* for My "'people Israel, and will plant them, that they may *dwell* "'in a place of their own, and *move no more.*' This promise "of rest was connected with the Temple, for it was spoken "when God confirmed and commanded the design of building "it." He continues presently, "Their national estate was "henceforth attached to this Temple. It fell with them; "when they returned and became a people again, it rose "also . . Excepting around this Temple, they have never been "able to settle themselves as a people, nor find a public "home for their nation or their religion . . So that the long "desolation of their Temple, and their lasting removal from "the seat of it, are no inconsiderable proofs that their *polity* "*and peculiar law* are come to an end in the purposes of "Providence, and according to the intention of the Temple- "appointment, as well as in the fact[1]." Julian then, in proposing to rebuild the Jewish Temple, aimed at the re-

[1] Discourses on Prophecy, v. 2. § 2.

establishment of Judaism,—of that ceremonial religion, which in its day indeed had been the instrument of Divine Providence towards higher blessings in store, and those for all men, but which, when those blessings were come, forthwith was disannulled in the Divine counsels "for the weakness " and unprofitableness thereof."

And next the question may be asked whether there was after all any miracle in the case, as in the instance of most of the other extraordinary occurrences which have passed under review. The luminous Crosses upon the garments and bodies of the persons present, were apparently of a phosphoric nature[m]; the Cross in the air resembled meteoric phenomena; the earthquake and balls of fire had a volcanic origin; and other marvellous circumstances are referrible to electricity. This all may be very true[n], and yet it may be true also that the

[m] "What has a stronger appearance " of contradiction than one of them " affirming that these crosses were " shining and radiated, and another " that they were sombrous and dark " coloured? yet this apparent contra- " diction assists us in the discovery of " one of their physical properties; and " that discovery helps us to reconcile " the contradiction, as we find they were " black by day and lucid by night." Julian, p. 150.

[n] Warburton supplies us with the following parallels:—"But to put the " matter out of doubt I shall produce " a passage from the Adversaria of " the famous Isaac Casaubon, written " while in England, and, as his son " Meric conjectures, (to whom we are " indebted for it), about the year 1610— " 1611. It follows in these words: 'This " 'day the Lord Bishop of Ely, [An- " 'drewes] a Prelate of great piety and " 'holiness, related to me a wonderful " 'thing. He said he had received the " 'account from many hands, but chiefly " 'from the Lord Bishop of Wells, lately " 'dead, who was succeeded by the Lord " 'Montacute; that in the city of Wells, " 'about fifteen years ago, one sum- " 'mer's day, while the people were at " 'Divine service in the Cathedral " 'Church, they heard, as it thundered, " 'two or three claps above measure " 'dreadful, so that the whole congre- " 'gation, affected alike, threw them- " 'selves on their knees at this terrify- " 'ing sound. It appeared the light- " 'ning fell at the same time, but " 'without harm to any one. So far " 'then there was nothing, but what is " 'common in the like cases. The " 'wonderful part was this, which after- " 'wards was taken notice of by many, " 'that the marks of a cross were found " 'to have been imprinted on the bodies " 'of those who were then at Divine " 'service in the Cathedral. The Bi- " 'shop of Wells told my Lord of Ely " 'that his wife (a woman of uncommon " 'probity) came to him and informed " 'him, as of a great miracle, that she " 'had then the mark of a cross im- " 'pressed upon her body. Which tale " 'when the Bishop treated as absurd " 'his wife exposed the part, and gave " 'him ocular proof. He afterwards " 'observed that he had upon himself " 'on his arm (as I take it) the plainest " 'mark of a +. Others had it on the " 'shoulder, the breast, the back, or " 'other parts. This account that great " 'man my Lord of Ely gave me in " 'such a manner as forbade me even " 'to doubt of its truth.'" Julian, p. 119. And from Boyle: "'And that the sub-

immediate cause, which set all these various agents in motion and combined them for one work, was supernatural; just as the agency of mind on matter, in speaking, walking, writing, eating, and the like, is not subject to physical laws though manifesting itself through them [o]. Again, even supposing that these phenomena were not in themselves miraculous, yet surely their concurrence with the moral system of things, their happening at that time and place and in that subserviency to the declarations of ancient prophecy, is in itself of the nature of a miracle. It is observable too, that though the Cross in the air be attributable to meteoric causes, yet such an occurrence is after all very unusual; now we read of

" ' terraneal effluvia may produce effects " ' and therefore probably be of natures " ' very uncommon, irregular, and, if I " ' may so speak, extravagant, may " ' appear in those prodigious crosses " ' that were seen in our time, viz. in " ' the year 1660, in the Kingdom of " ' Naples, after the eruption of the " ' fiery mountain Vesuvius; of which " ' prodigies the learned Kircherus has " ' given an account in a particular " ' Diatribe; for these crosses were seen " ' on linen garments, as shirt-sleeves, " ' women's aprons, that had lain open " ' to the air, and upon the exposed " ' parts of sheets, which is the less to " ' be admired, because, as Kircher " ' fairly guesses, the mineral vapours " ' were, by the texture that belongs to " ' linen, (which consists of threads " ' crossing one another, for the most " ' part at or near right angles) easily " ' determined to run along in almost " ' straight lines crossing each other, " ' and consequently to frame spots re- " ' sembling some one and some another " ' kind of crosses. These were ex- " ' tremely numerous in the several " ' parts of the Kingdom of Naples, in- " ' somuch that the Jesuit that sent the " ' relation to Kircher says that he " ' himself found thirty in one Altar- " ' cloth, that fifteen were found upon " ' the smock-sleeve of a woman, and " ' that he reckoned eight in a boy's " ' band: also their colour and magni- " ' tude were very unequal, and their " ' figures discrepant, as may appear by " ' many pictures of them drawn by the " ' relator; they would not wash out " ' with simple water, but required " ' soap; their duration was also un- " ' equal, some lasting ten or fifteen " ' days, and others longer, before they " ' disappeared.' " Julian, p. 125.

[o] " The mineral and metallic sub- " stances which, by their accidental fer- " mentation, are wont to take fire and " burst out in flame, were the native " contents of the place from which they " issued; but in all likelihood *they* " *would have there slept*, and still con- " tinued in the quiet innoxious state " in which they had so long remained, " *had not* the breath of the Lord *awoke* " and *kindled* them. But when the " Divine Power had thus miraculously " interposed to *stir up* the rage of these " fiery elements and yet to restrain " their fury to the objects of His venge- " ance, He then again suffered them to " do *their ordinary office*; because na- " ture, thus directed, would, by the " exertion of its own laws, answer all " the ends of the moral designation." Julian, p. 246. Again, " We see why " *fire* was the scourge employed; as we " may be sure *water* would have been, " were the region of Judea naturally " subject to inundations. For miracles, " not being an ostentatious, but a ne- " cessary instrument of God's moral " government, we cannot conceive it " probable that He would *create* the " elements for this purpose, but *use* " those which already lay stored up " against the day of visitation." ibid. p. 250.

three such occurrences in the course of the fifty years between Constantine's accession to power and Julian, during which period Christianity was effecting its visible triumph and establishment in the world;—viz. the Cross at the conversion of Constantine, that which hung over Jerusalem in the reign of Constantius, and the Cross which forms part of the awful events now in question; and while any accumulation of extraordinary phenomena creates a difficulty in finding a cause in nature adequate to their production, the recurrence of the same phenomena argues design, or the interference of agency beyond nature. It must be added too that the occurrence of a whirlwind, an earthquake, and a fire, especially reminds us of Elijah's vision in Horeb, and again of the manifestation of the Divine Presence in the first and fourth of the Acts, yet there is no appearance that the writers to whom we have referred, had these events in their mind; rather it is only by the union of their separate testimonies, each incomplete in itself, that the parallel is formed [p]. Moreover the events in question did the work of a miracle; they defeated powerful enemies, who would not have been unwilling to detect imposture, and who would not have been deterred from their purpose by interruptions which are extraordinary only in a relation. If the purpose of the Scripture miracles be to enforce on the minds of men an impression of the present agency and of the will of God, His approval of one man or doctrine, and His disapproval of another, not even the clearest of those recorded in the Gospel could have secured this object more effectually than did the wonderful occurrence in question. And did we see at this day a great attempt made to reinstate the Jews as Jews in their own land, to build their Temple and to recommence their sacrifices, did

[p] It should be observed that the *order* in which the miraculous phenomena have been arranged above is not found in the original authorities; Warburton has been followed except in one instance.

the enemies of the Catholic Church forward it, did heretical bodies and their officials on the spot take part in it, and did some catastrophe, as sudden and unexpected as the fiery eruption, befall the attempt, I conceive, whatever became of abstract definitions, we should feel it to be a Divine interference, bringing with it its own evidence, and needing no interpretation. It must be recollected, too, that certain of the miracles of Scripture, such as the destruction of Sodom, may be plausibly attributed to physical causes; yet this is no disparagement of their Divine character. And lastly, as to the extravagance of some writers who have considered the miracle an artifice of the Christian body, the same scepticism which has wantonly ascribed it to combustibles of the nature of gunpowder, has at other times suggested a like explanation of the thunders and lightnings when the Law was given, and of the deaths of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.

8. *Recovery of the Blind Man by the Relics of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius at Milan.*

The history of this miracle occurs in the present volume [q], and attention has been drawn to it in a work which appeared several years since [r]. Yet it is so memorable an act of Divine Power, that one or two additional remarks upon it cannot be out of place.

The broad facts connected with it are these: St. Ambrose with a large portion of the population of Milan was resisting the Empress Justina in her attempt to seize on one of the churches of the city for Arian worship. In the course of the contest he had occasion to seek for the relics of Martyrs, to place in a new church which was to be dedicated; and he found two skeletons, with a quantity of fresh blood, the mira-

[q] Pages 104, 105.

[r] Church of the Fathers, ch. iii.: the miraculous passages of St. Antony's Life are discussed in ch. xviii. and xix.

culous token of martyrdom. Miracles followed, both cures and exorcisms; and at length, as he was moving the relics to a neighbouring church, a blind man touched the cloth which covered them and regained his sight. The Empress in consequence relinquished the contest: and the subject of the miracle dedicated himself to religious service in the Church of the Martyrs, where he seems to have remained till his death. These facts are attested by St. Ambrose himself, several times by St. Augustine, and by Paulinus secretary to St. Ambrose in his Life of the Saint addressed to St. Augustine.

This miracle, it is to be presumed, will satisfy the tests which Douglas provides for verifying events of that nature. That author lays down, as we have already seen, that miracles are to be suspected, when the accounts of them were first published long after the *time* or far from the *place* of their alleged occurrence; or, if not, yet were not then and there subjected to examination. Now in the instance before us we have the direct testimony of three contemporaries, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and Paulinus; two of whom at the least were present at the very time and place, and one wrote his account immediately upon or during the events, as they proceeded. These three witnesses agree together in all substantial matters; and the third, who writes twenty-six years after the miracle, when St. Ambrose was dead, unlike many reporters of miracles, adds nothing to the narrative, as St. Ambrose and St. Augustine left it. Douglas observes in explanation of the third of his conditions, that we may suspect miracles of having "been admitted without examina-
"tion, first, if they coincided with the favourite opinions and
"superstitious prejudices of those to whom they were re-
"ported, and who on that account might be eager to receive
"them without evidence; secondly, if they were set on
"foot, or at least were encouraged and supported by those

" who alone had the power of detecting the fraud, and who " could prevent any examination which might tend to unde- " ceive the world[s]." Now here all the power was on the side of those against whom the miracle was wrought; and, though the popular feeling was with St. Ambrose, yet the whole city had had an Arian clergy for nearly twenty years, and could not but be in a measure under Arian influence. But however this might be, at least Ambrose had to cope with Arian princes armed with despotic power, an Arian court, an Arian communion lately dominant, and still organized with a bishop at its head. His enemies had already made attempts to assassinate him; and again, to seize his person, and to carry him off from the city. They had hitherto been the assailants, and he had remained passive. Now, however, he had at last ventured on what in its effects was an aggressive act. He has to dedicate a Church, and he searches for relics of Martyrs. He is said to find them; miracles follow; the sick and possessed are cured; at length in the public street, in broad day, while the relics are passing, a blind man, well known in the place by name, by trade, by person, and by his calamity, professes to recover his sight by means of them. Here surely is a plain challenge made to the enemies of the Church, almost as direct as Elijah's to the idolatrous court and false prophets of Israel. St. Ambrose supplies them with materials, nor would they want the good will, to detect a fraud, if fraud there be. Yet they are utterly unable to cope with him. They *denied* the miracle indeed, and they could not do otherwise, if they were to remain Arians; as Protestant writers deny it now, that they may not be forced to be Catholics. They denied the miracle, and St. Ambrose, in a sermon preached at the time, plainly tells us that they did; but they did not hazard any counter statement or distinct explanation of the facts of the case. They did not so much

[s] Pages 28, 52.

as the Jews, who, on the Resurrection, at least said that our Lord's Body was stolen away by night. They did nothing but deny,—except indeed we let their actions speak for them. One thing then they did; they gave over the contest. The miracle was successful.

This miracle answers to Leslie's criteria also. It was sensible; it was public; and the subject of it became a monument of it, and that with a profession that he was so. He remained on the spot, and dedicated himself to God's service in the Church of the Martyrs who had been the means of his cure; thus by his mode of life proclaiming the mercy which had been wrought for him, and by his presence challenging examination.

An attempt has lately been made to resolve this miracle into a mere trick of priestcraft; but doubtless the Arians would have been beforehand with the present objector, could a case have been made out with any plausibility. This anticipation is confirmed by an inspection of the inferences or conjectures of which he makes the historical facts the subject. The blood, he says, was furnished by the blind Severus, who had been a butcher and might still have relations in the trade. And since St. Ambrose translated the relics at once, instead of waiting for the next Sunday, this is supposed to argue that he was afraid, had the ceremony been postponed, of the fraud being detected by the natural consequences of the delay.

But all facts admit of two interpretations; there is not the transaction or occurrence, consisting of many parts, but some of them may be fixed upon as means of forcing upon it a meaning contrary to the true one, as is shewn by the ingenuity exercised in defence of clients in the courts of law. What has been attempted by the writer to whom I allude, as regards St. Ambrose, has been done better, though more wickedly, by the infidel author of the New Trial of the

Witnesses as regards the History of the Resurrection. In such cases inquirers will decide according to their prepossessions[t]; if they are prepared to believe that the Fathers and Doctors of the Church would introduce the blood of the shambles into a grave, and pretend that it was the blood of God's saints, and hire men first to feign themselves demoniacs and then to profess themselves dispossessed on approaching the counterfeit relics, they will be convinced in the particular case by very slight evidence, and will catch at any circumstances which may be taken as indications of what they think antecedently probable; but if they think this to be impiety too daring, too frightful, too provocative of even an immediate judgment, for any but the most callous hearts and the most reckless consciences to conceive it, they would not believe even plausible evidence for it. If it appears to them not unlikely that miracles continue in the Church, they will find that it is easier to admit than to reject what comes to them on such weighty testimony; but if they think miracles as improbable after a revelation is given, as they appeared to Hume before it, then they will judge with him that "a "religionist may know his narration to be false, and yet "persevere in it, with the best intentions in the world, for "the sake of promoting so holy a cause; or even where this "delusion has no place, vanity, excited by so strong a "temptation, operates on him more powerfully than on the "rest of mankind in any other circumstances, and self-interest "with equal force[u]."

[t] This has been dwelt on at length, supr. pp. lxviii—lxxviii. Gibbon gives us a curious illustration of it in his remark on the miracle of the Confessors, which is presently to be related. He says; "This supernatural gift of the "African Confessors, who spoke without tongues, will command the assent "of those, and of those only, who "*already* believe that their language "was pure and orthodox. But the "*stubborn mind* of the infidel is *guarded* "*by secret incurable suspicion*; and the "Arian or Socinian, who has seriously "rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, "*will not be shaken by the most plausible* "*evidence* of an Athanasian miracle." Ch. xxxvii.

[u] Essay on Miracles.

There are circumstances, however, in this miracle, which may be felt as difficulties by those who neither deny the continuance of a Divine Presence in the Church, nor accuse her Pastors and Teachers of impious imposture. Yet it is difficult to treat them, without entering upon doctrinal questions which are not in place in the present Essay. One or two of them, which extend to the case of other alleged miracles of the early Church, besides the one immediately before us, shall here be briefly considered, and that in the light which the analogy or the pattern of Scripture throws upon them, which is the main view I have taken of objections all along.

Now, first it may be urged that the discovery of the blood of the Martyrs is not after the precedent of any thing we meet with in Scripture, which says very little of relics, and nothing of relics of such a character as this, involving as it does a miracle. What is the true doctrine about relics, how they are to be regarded, what is their use and their abuse, is no question before us. If it could be shewn that the doctrine involved in the discovery of the Martyrs, is on Scriptural grounds such, as plainly to prove either that it did not take place, or that it cannot be referred to Divine agency, this of course would supersede all other considerations. Meanwhile I will but observe, as far as the *silence* of Scripture is concerned, that it could not afford a pattern of the alleged miracle from the nature of the case. The resurrection of the body is only a Christian doctrine; and martyrdom, that is, dying for a creed, is a peculiarity of the Gospel, and was instanced among the Jews only in proportion as the Gospel was anticipated. The blood was the relic of those whose bodies had been the temple of the Spirit, and who were believed to be in the presence of Christ. Miracles were not to be expected by such instruments till Christ came; nor afterwards, till a sufficient time had elapsed for Saints to be matured and offered up, and for pious offices and assiduous attentions to be paid by others towards

the tabernacles which they left behind them. Precedents then to our purpose, whether in Old or in New Testament, are as little to be expected as precedents to guide us in determining the relations of the Church to the State, or the question of infant baptism, or the propriety of places of worship. Time alone could determine what the Divine purpose was concerning the earthly shrines in which a Divine Presence had dwelt; whether, as in the case of Moses and Elijah, they were to be withdrawn from the Church, or as in the case of Elisha to fulfil some purpose even though the spirit was departed; and if the latter, whether their bones were to be employed,—or whether their bodies would be preserved incorrupt, as St. Jerome reports of Hilarion,—or whether the Levitical sacrifices, which as types were once for all fulfilled when our Lord's blood was shed, were nevertheless to furnish part of the analogy existing between the Christian and the Mosaic Dispensations. Nor is there any thing that ought to shock us in the idea that blood, which had become coagulate, should miraculously be made to flow. A very remarkable prototype of such an event seems to be granted to us in Scripture, in our Lord's own history. The last act of His humiliation was, after His death, to be pierced in His side, when blood and water issued from it. A stream of blood from a corpse can hardly be considered other than supernatural. And it so happens that St. Ambrose is the writer to remark upon this solemn occurrence in his comment on St. Luke, assigning at the same time its typical meaning. "Blood," he says, "undoubtedly congeals after death in our bodies; "but in that Body, though incorrupt yet dead, the life of all "welled forth. There issued water and blood; water to "wash, blood to redeem. Let us drink then what is our "price, that by drinking we may be redeemed[x]."

[x] In Luc. lib. x. § 135. Euthymius Zigab. says the same in loc. Joan. Theophylact. in loc. says that in order to place the miracle beyond doubt the

Another objection which has been made to the miracles ascribed by St. Ambrose to the relics which he discovered, is the encouragement they are supposed to give to a kind of creature-worship, unknown to Scripture. This is strongly urged by the objector whom I just now had occasion to notice. He observes that miracles can be of no avail against the great principles of religious truth, such as the Being and Attributes of Almighty God; that no miracles can sanction and justify idolatry; if then the Nicene miracles (so he calls them) "when regarded in the calmest and most comprehensive "manner," "have constantly operated to debauch the re- "ligious sentiments of mankind, if they have confirmed "idolatrous practices, if they have enhanced that infatua- "tion which has hurried men into the degrading worship of "subordinate divinities, we then boldly say, that, whether "natural or preternatural, such miracles are not from God, but "from 'the enemy.'" "Do you choose," he continues, "to "affirm the supernatural reality of the Nicene Miracles? you "then mark the Nicene Church as the slave and agent of the

water issued also. That the flowing of the blood was miraculous would appear from the description St. John gives of it, "*forthwith came there out;*" which implies a stream and not a few drops. Calov. in Joan. xix. 35. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the water came forth by drops; yet the words just quoted are common to the blood and to the water. Again, the water was miraculous, (for "medical men tell us "that the fluid of the pericardium is "yellow in colour, bitter in taste, and "therefore different from what we mean "by water," S. Basnag. Ann. 33. § 126; and the wound was most probably on the right side, as St. Augustine, and the most ancient pictures and coins represent it, and the Arabic or Ethiopic version, vid. Grets. de Cruc. t. 1. i. 35. Lamp. in loc. Joan.), and therefore there is no reason for a strained interpretation only to escape believing that the blood was miraculous. Further, St. John's solemn asseverations, "He "who saw it bare record," &c. which seems to intimate something miraculous, applies to the blood as well as the water. And moreover in 1 John v. 6, the blood is insisted on even more than the water; "not by water only," &c. Another parallel to this miracle is to be found in the reported instances of blood flowing from a corpse at the approach of the murderer; vid. an instance introduced into a Scotch court as late as 1688, in the notes to the Waverley Novels, vol. xliii. p. 127. It is scarcely necessary to say that, whatever truth there may be in any such stories, or in certain others of which the blood of Martyrs is the subject, they are so encompassed by fictions and superstitions, that it seems hopeless at this day to trace the Divine Agency, as and when It really wrought, though we may believe in Its presence generally.

[y] Anc. Christ. part vii. p. 361.

" Father of Lies;" and then he proceeds to quote the charge of Moses to his people: " If there arise among you a prophet " or a dreamer of dreams and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, " and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spoke " unto thee, saying, 'Let us go after other gods which thou " 'hast not known, and let us serve them,' thou shalt not " hearken unto the words of that prophet or that dreamer of " dreams; for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whe- " ther ye love the Lord your God, with all your heart and " with all your soul."

But the objection, which of course demands a careful consideration, admits of being viewed, perhaps of being overcome, by a mere analogy contained in the Old Testament, to which the appeal is made. It is well known that the Divine revelations concerning Angels received a great development in the course of the Jewish Dispensation. When the people had lately come out of Egypt, with all the forms of idolatry familiar to their imaginations and impressed upon their hearts, it did not seem safe, if we may dare to trace the Divine dealings in this matter, to do much more than to set before them the great doctrine of the Unity and Sovereignty of God. To have disclosed to them truths concerning Angelic natures, except in the strictest subserviency to this fundamental Verity, would have been the occasion of their withdrawing their heart from Him who claimed it whole and undivided. Hence though St. Stephen tells us that they " received the Law by the disposition " of Angels," and St. Paul that " it was ordained by Angels," in the Old Testament we do but read of " the voice of " the trumpet exceeding loud," and its " waxing louder and " louder," and " Moses speaking, and God answering him by " a voice," and of " the Lord talking with them face to face " in the Mount." In like manner, when Angels appeared, it was for the most part in the shape of men; or if their heavenly nature was disclosed, still they are called " wind "

or "flame," or represented as a glory of the Lord, and were so intimately and mysteriously connected with His Presence that it was impossible that God should be forgotten and a creature worshipped. Thus it is said of the Angel who went before the Israelites, "Obey his voice, *for My Name is in "him;"* and it was the belief of the early Church that the Second Person of the Holy Trinity did really condescend to manifest Himself in such Angelic natures. Again, the title "the Lord of hosts" does not occur till the times of Samuel, who uses it when he sends Saul against the Amalekites, whereas it is the ordinary designation of Almighty God in the Prophets who lived after the Captivity[z]. And so again, in the Book of Daniel, Angels are made the ordinary instruments of Divine illumination to the Prophet, and are represented as the guardians of the kingdoms of the world, and that without any mention of a Divine Presence at all, which had been awfully signified in the vision of Isaiah, when the Seraph touched his lips. Still more striking is the difference of language in different parts of the inspired volume as to the doctrine of an Evil Spirit, whom even to name might have been to create a rival to the All-Holy Creator in carnal minds which had just left the house of spiritual as well as temporal bondage. The contrast between the earlier and later books of the Old Testament in this point has often been observed. Satan is described in the Book of Job and in Micaiah's vision as appearing before God and acting under His direction. Again, while in the Second Book of Samuel we are merely told that "the anger of the Lord was "kindled against Israel, and He moved David against them "to say, Go number Israel and Judah;" in the First Book of Chronicles we read that "Satan stood up against Israel "and provoked David to number Israel."

[z] Vid. e. g. Hagg. ii. 4—9. Zech. viii.

Yet, in spite of this merciful provision on the part of Almighty God, it would appear that the revelation of Angels, when made, did lead many of the Jews into an idolatrous dependence upon them. It is the very remark of Theodoret upon St. Paul's mention of Angel-worship in his Epistle to the Colossians, that "the advocates of the Law, induced men to "worship Angels, because the Law was given by them, and for "humility-sake, and because the God of all is invisible and "inaccessible and incomprehensible, so that it was fitting to "procure the Divine favour through the Angels[a]." The Essenes, too, are said to have paid to the Angels an excessive honour, and several of the early heresies, which did the same, sprang from the Jews. What place afterwards the invocation of Angels for magical purposes held in the practical Cabbala, as Brucker calls it, is well known.

Such is the history of the revelation of the doctrine of Angels among the Jews; and it is scarcely necessary to draw out at length its correspondence with the history of the introduction and abuse of several of the tenets and usages which characterize the Christian Church. In its origin, the Jewish as well as the Pagan institutions with which the Apostles were surrounded, suggested to them a cautious economy in the mode in which they set Divine truth before their disciples, lest a resemblance of external rites and offices, or of phraseology, between Christianity and the prevailing religions, should be the means of introducing into their minds views less holy and divine than those which they were inspired to reveal. It is on this supposition that some English divines even account for the omission in the New Testament of the words "priest," "sacrifice," and the like, in their plain Christian sense; as if the Jewish associations which attached

[a] In Col. ii. 18. Vid. also the passage from the Prædic. Petr. in Clem. Strom. vi. 5. and Origen. in Joann. tom. xiii. 17; also contr. Cels. v. 6, &c. Hieron. ad Algas. Ep. 121. § 10: vid. references to Rabbinical and other writings; Calmet. Dissert. 2. in Luc.

to them would not cease, till the Jewish worship had come to an end. The remark may obviously be extended to the miracle under review, so far as no parallel is found for it in the New Testament. As the doctrine of priesthood might be almost necessarily Judaic in the minds of the Jewish converts, so that of piety towards Saints and Martyrs was in the minds of Pagans necessarily idolatrous; and it may be for this as well as other reasons that so little explicit mention is made in the New Testament of the honours due to Saints, as also of the Christian Priesthood, after the pattern of that silence, which has been noticed, about the offices of good Angels and about the Author of Evil in the earlier books of the Old; and it may be as rash to say that a miracle was not from God because it was wrought by a Martyr's relics, or because such relics have in other instances been idolatrously regarded, as to say that the Prophet Daniel was not divinely inspired, because we hear nothing of Michael or Gabriel in the Books of Moses, or because the names of those Angels were afterwards superstitiously used in the charms of the Cabbalists. The holy Daniel's profound obeisance and prostrations before the Angel are a greater innovation, if it must so be called, on the simplicity of the Mosaic ritual, than the treasuring the blood of the Martyrs upon the Ecclesiastical observances of the Apostles; and as no one would say that Daniel's conduct incurred the condemnation pronounced by Moses on those who introduced the worship of other gods, so much less was the reverence paid by St. Ambrose and other Saints to the relics of the Martyrs inconsistent with precepts which in their direct force belong to an earlier Dispensation.

There is a third difficulty, which may be raised upon the passage of history before us, not arising, however, out of the miracle, but out of the circumstances under which it took place. It may be represented as giving a sanction to a sub-

ject's playing the part of a demagogue, and heading a mob (as we may speak) against his lawful sovereign. The crowds which attend Ambrose, whether in the Church which the Empress had seized, or on occasion of the translation of the relics, would have been dispersed at this day among ourselves by the officers of the peace; and with our present notions of law and municipal and national order, not to say of the subserviency of the Church to the State, and our interpretations of the Scripture precepts concerning civil obedience, there is something strange and painful in the sight of a Christian Bishop placed in opposition to the powers that be. But it must be recollected, according to a former remark, that every thing that happens has two aspects; and the outside or political aspect is often the reverse of its inward or true meaning. We are used to put together the particulars which meet our eye, to parallel them with other transactions which bear a similar appearance, to suggest for them such motives of action as our own principles or disposition suggests, and thus to form what seems to us a philosophical view of the whole case. And if our own ordinary feelings and opinions, and the parallels to which we betake ourselves, are not of a very exalted nature, as may not improbably happen, while the subject contemplated, be it a person, or an act, or a work, is such, then we produce a theory as shallow, and as far from the truth, as a naturalist, who judging of men by their anatomical peculiarities should rank them among the brute creation. Every day brings experience in great things or little, how incapable the run of men are of doing justice to minds of even ordinary refinement and sincerity, and how, rather than ascribe to them the honesty and purity of purpose which are the most natural and straightforward account of their actions, they will even go out of their way and distort facts, thereby to be at liberty to impute petty motives; and much more, will they catch at any circumstances which admit of

being plausibly perverted into an evidence of them. Indeed of such continual occurrence are instances of this sort, that in tales of fiction nothing is more commonly taken as the plot of the story, than the troubles in which an innocent person is involved, by an ingenious but perverse selection and collocation of his actions, or of circumstances connected with him, to the detriment of his character. As to the case immediately before us, it is enough to observe that an imputation of disloyalty, if preferred against St. Ambrose, is only what the notorious Paine, I believe, throws out against the Jewish Prophets; and it is obvious what plausible materials are afforded by the history of Elijah or Elisha, in the hands of irreligious persons, for such a charge. Nor is it to be doubted that a secular historian, who heard the Prophet Jeremiah's public declaration on Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, "He that "abideth in this city, shall die, but he that goeth out and "falleth to the Chaldeans shall live," would have decided that he was in the pay of the King of Babylon, and justified the Jews in their treatment of him. It must be recollected too, that one charge against our Lord was that He "stirred "up the people." We indeed have learned from the Gospels that He withdrew Himself from the multitude "when He "perceived that they would come and take Him by force to "make Him a king;" but a secular historian either would not know the fact, or might not believe the sincerity of His withdrawal, if He did. A more exact instance in point is afforded us in the history of St. John Baptist. No man surely has less of a political character upon him than this holy ascetic, as described in the Gospels; but it seems, according to Josephus, that Herod was of another mind, and the view he took of him as a popular leader is so curious that I will quote the words of a recent writer on the subject. "Herod," says Mr. Milman, "having formed an incestuous "connection with the wife of his brother Herod Philip, his

" Arabian queen indignantly fled to her father, who took up " arms to revenge her wrongs against her guilty husband. " How far Herod could depend in this contest on the loyalty " of his subjects was extremely doubtful. It is possible he " might entertain hopes that the repudiation of a foreign " alliance, ever hateful to the Jews, and the union with a " branch of the Asmonean line, (for Herodias was the " daughter of Herod the Great, by Mariamne,) might " counterbalance in the popular estimation the injustice " and criminality of his marriage with his brother's wife. " The *influence* of John, according to Josephus, was almost " *unlimited.* The subjects, and even the soldiery, of the " tetrarch *crowded with devout submission* around the Pro- " phet. *On his decision* might depend the *wavering loyalty* " of the whole province. But John denounced with open " indignation the royal incest, and declared the marriage " with a brother's wife to be a flagrant violation of the law. " Herod, before long, *ordered him to be seized and imprisoned* " in the *strong fortress* of Machærus, on the *remote border* of " his trans-Jordanic territory[b]."

Such was the light thrown upon the Holy Baptist by the secular events in which he was encompassed, in the opinion of one who nevertheless, we are told, " feared him, knowing " he was a just man." And as St. John seemed to be a demagogue and a mere organ of the popular voice, yet spoke from heaven, so in like manner it need not take from the sanctity of St. Ambrose or the truth of his cause, that the people sided with him even tumultuously, and the Imperial Court accused him of insubordination.

[b] Hist. Christ. vol. i. p. 176.

9. *The Miracle upon the African Confessors in the Arian persecution mutilated by Hunneric.*

Arianism, though speedily exterminated from the Roman Empire, had taken refuge among the Barbarians of the North, who were then hanging over it and soon to overwhelm it. Among these nations were the Vandals, who in the early part of the fifth century took possession of the Roman provinces on the African coast. Genseric forthwith commenced, and his successors continued, a terrible persecution of the Catholic Church which they found there. Hunneric his son, to whose reign the miracle which is to be related belongs, began his series of cruelties by stationing officers violently to assault and drag off all Vandals they found attending the Churches, and by sending off the dependents of his court who were Catholics to work in the country as agricultural labourers. Others he deprived of their civil functions, stripped of their property, and banished to Sicily and Sardinia. Next he summoned the nuns out of their convents, accused them of the vilest crimes, and submitted them to the most distressing indignities. Further, he caused them to be hung up without clothes with weights to their feet, and to be tortured with red-hot iron in various parts of the body, to make them admit the charges he brought against them. His next measure was the wholesale cruelty of banishing a number of bishops, priests, deacons, and others, as many as four thousand nine hundred and sixty-one[c], to the desert. He began by assembling them in the two towns of Sicca and Laribum, and in one or other of these places Victor, who has preserved the history of the transac-

[c] The number is given differently; Gibbon says four thousand and ninety-six, Fleury four thousand nine hundred and sixty-six; that in the text is as it stands in the Bibl. Patr. Par. 1624.

tion, saw them. His account is too horrible to be translated. They had been shut up, how long does not appear, in a small prison, and when Victor entered he sank up to his knees in the filth of the place. At length they set forth for the desert, with their faces and clothes in this defiled condition, chaunting the words "Such glory have all His saints." They journeyed chiefly by night on account of the heat of the days; when they flagged, their conductors goaded and pelted them, or if this did not quicken them, they tied them by the feet and dragged them after them along the rocky roads. Those who survived the journey, found themselves in places abounding in venomous reptiles, and the food given them was the barley provided for the beasts of burden.

In the beginning of 484 Hunneric convened four hundred and sixty-six Catholic Bishops at Carthage, for the purpose of holding a disputation on the faith of Nicæa, and to intimidate them he began by burning Lætus alive, who was one of their most learned members. This not succeeding he dismissed them again to their homes, allowing them neither the beasts of burden on which they had come, nor their servants, nor their clothes, and forbidding all persons to lodge or feed them; when they remonstrated, he set his cavalry to charge them. Jealous of their orthodoxy as a bond of union with the Catholic world, he next proposed to them an oath of allegiance to his son and successor, and that they would abstain from all correspondence beyond seas. Forty-six refused it on the plea of our Lord's prohibition in the Sermon on the Mount; three hundred and two, on the promise that their flocks and themselves should be restored to their Churches, took it. The latter he distributed as serfs up and down the country as having broken the Gospel precept against swearing; the former he transported to Corsica to cut timber for his navy. Of the rest, twenty-eight had succeeded in escaping from Carthage; and eighty-eight conformed. A general per-

secution followed, in which neither sex nor age was pitied, nor torture, mutilation, nor death was spared.

These particulars, which form but a portion of the atrocities which this savage was permitted to perpetrate, have here been mentioned, because they form a suitable antecedent, and, (if the word may be used,) a justification of the miracle which followed. It was no common occasion that called forth what was no common manifestation of the wonderful power of God. The facts as stated by one who in such a case cannot be called a too favourable witness, were as follows; "Tipasa," says Gibbon, "a maritime colony of Mauritania, sixteen "miles to the east of Cæsarea, had been distinguished in "every age by the orthodox zeal of its inhabitants. They "had braved the fury of the Donatists; they resisted, or "eluded, the tyranny of the Arians. The town was deserted "on the approach of an heretical bishop; most of the inha- "bitants who could procure ships passed over to the coast of "Spain; and the unhappy remnant, refusing all communion "with the usurper, still presumed to hold their pious, but "illegal, assemblies. Their disobedience exasperated the "cruelty of Hunneric. A military Count was despatched "from Carthage to Tipasa; he collected the Catholics in the "Forum, and, in the presence of the whole province, deprived "the guilty of their right hands and their tongues. But "the holy Confessors continued to speak without tongues[d]." The gift continued through their lives. Their number is not mentioned by any of the original witnesses; but is fixed by an old Menology at sixty[e]. Such was the miracle; the evidence on which it rests shall next be stated.

Victor, Bishop of Vite, who has been already mentioned, published in Africa his history of the persecution only two years after it took place. He says; "The King in wrath "sent a certain Count with directions to hold a meeting in

[d] Hist. ch. xxxvii.

[e] Ibid.

" the forum of the whole province, and there to cut out their " tongues by the root, and right hands. When this was done, " by the gift of the Holy Ghost, they so spoke and speak, " as they used to speak before. If however any one will be " incredulous, let him now go to Constantinople, and there " he will find one of them, a sub-deacon, by name Reparatus, " speaking like an educated man without any impediment. " On which account he is regarded with exceeding veneration " in the court of the Emperor Zeno, and especially by the " Empress[f]." It has been asked why Victor refers his readers to Constantinople, instead of pointing out instances of the miracle in the country in which it is said to have taken place[g]. But persecution scattered the Catholics far and wide, as St. Gregory observes in a passage which is to follow; many fled the country; others concealed themselves. Under such circumstances a writer would not know even where his nearest friends were to be found; and in this case Victor specified one of the Confessors who had been welcomed by an orthodox capital and court, and had the opportunity of exhibiting in security the miraculous gift wrought in him.

Æneas of Gaza was the contemporary of Victor. When a Gentile he had been a philosopher and rhetorician, and did not altogether throw off his profession of Platonism when he became a Christian. He wrote a Dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul and the Resurrection of the Body; and in it, after giving various instances of miracles, he proceeds, in the character of Axitheus, to speak of the miracle of the African Confessors; " Other such things have been, and will " be; but what took place the other day, I suppose you have " seen yourself. A bitter tyranny is oppressing the greater

[f] Hist. Pers. Vand. iii. p. 613.

[g] This is suggested in the article on Apollonius Tyaneus in the Encycl. Metrop., in which I could wish some change in opinion, but more in tone, when speaking of the primitive miracles. The Essay aims, indeed, at bringing out the characteristics of the evidence for the Scripture miracles; but Middleton and Douglas are unsafe guides, and it is no exaltation of Christ to lower His Saints.

" Africa; and humanity and orthodoxy have no influence " over tyranny. Accordingly this tyrant takes offence at the " piety of his subjects, and commands the priests to deny " their glorious dogma. When they refuse, O the impiety! " he cuts out that religious tongue, as Tereus in the fable. " But the damsel wove the deed upon the robe, and divulged " it by her skill, when nature no more gave her power to " speak; they on the other hand, needing neither robe nor " skill, call upon nature's Maker, who vouchsafes to them a " new nature on the third day, not giving them another " tongue, but the faculty to discourse without a tongue " more plainly than before. I had thought it was impossible " for a piper to shew his skill without his pipes, or harper to " play his music without his harp; but now this novel sight " forces me to change my mind, and to account nothing " fixed that is seen, if it be God's will to alter it. I myself " saw the men, and heard them speak; and wondering at " the articulateness of the sound, I began to inquire what its " organ was; and distrusting my ears, I committed the de- " cision to my eyes. And opening their mouth, I perceived " the tongue entirely gone from the roots. And astounded " I fell to wonder, not how they could talk, but how they " had not died." He saw them at Constantinople.

Procopius of Cæsarea was secretary to Belisarius, whom he accompanied into Africa, Sicily, and Italy, and to Constantinople, in the years between 527 and 542. By Belisarius he was employed in various political matters of great moment, and was at one time at the head of the commissariat and the fleet. He seems to have conformed to Christianity, but Cave observes, from his tone of writing, that he was no real believer in it, nay, preferred the old Paganism, though he despised its rites and fables[h]. He wrote the History of the

[h] Cave, Hist. Liter. Procop.

Persian, Vandalic, and Gothic War, of which Gibbon speaks in the following terms: "His facts are collected from the "personal experience and free conversation of a soldier, a "statesman, and a traveller; his style continually aspires, "and often attains, to the merit of strength and elegance; "his reflections, more especially in the speeches which he too "frequently inserts, contain a rich fund of political know-"ledge; and the historian, excited by the generous ambition "of pleasing and instructing posterity, appears to disdain the "prejudices of the people, and the flattery of courts[i]." Such is Procopius, and thus he speaks on the subject of this stupendous miracle. "Hunneric became the most savage and "iniquitous of men towards the African Christians. For "forcing them to Arianize, whomever he found unwilling "to comply, he burnt and otherwise put to death. And of "many he cut out the tongue as low down as the throat[k], "who even as late as my time were alive in Byzantium and "talked without any impediment, feeling no effects whatever "of the punishment. But two of them, having allowed "themselves to hold converse with abandoned women, ceased "to speak[l]."

Our next witness and of the same date, is the Emperor Justinian, who in an edict addressed to Archelaus, Prætorian Præfect of Africa on the subject of his office, after Belisarius had recovered the country to the Roman Empire, writes as follows: "The present mercy, which Almighty God has "deigned to manifest through us for His praise and His "name-sake, exceeds all the wonderful works which have "happened in the world; viz. that Africa should through us "recover in so short a time its liberty, after being in cap-"tivity under the Vandals for ninety-five years, those ene-"mies alike of soul and body. For such souls as could not

[i] Hist. ch. xl.
[k] 'Απ' αὐτοῦ φάρυγγος.
[l] Bell. Vand. i. 10.

" sustain their various tortures and punishments, by rebap-
" tizing they translated into their own misbelief; and the
" bodies of free men they subjected to the hardships of a
" Barbaric yoke. Nay the very churches sacred to God
" did they defile with their deeds of misbelief; some they
" turned into stables. We have seen the venerable men,
" who, when their tongues had been cut off at the roots, yet
" piteously recounted their pains. Others after diverse tor-
" tures were dispersed through diverse provinces, and ended
" their days in exile [m]."

Count Marcellinus, Chancellor to Justinian before he came to the throne, is the fourth layman to whose testimony we are able to appeal. He too, as two of the former, speaks as an eye-witness, and the additional circumstances with which he commences seem to throw light upon Æneas's singular account that the Confessors spoke " more plainly than be-
" fore." " Through the whole of Africa," he says in his Chronicon, under the date 484, " the cruel persecution of
" Hunneric, King of the Vandals, was inflicted upon our
" Catholics. For after the expulsion and dispersion of more
" than 334 Bishops of the orthodox and the shutting of their
" churches, the flocks of the faithful, afflicted by various
" punishments, consummated their blessed conflict. Then it
" was that the same King Hunneric, ordered the tongue to
" be cut out of a Catholic youth, who from his birth had
" lived without speech at all; soon after he spoke, and gave
" glory to God with the first sounds of his voice. In short,
" I myself have seen at Byzantium a few out of this com-
" pany of the faithful, religious men, with their tongues
" cut off and their hands amputated, speaking with perfect
" voice."

Victor, Bishop of Tonno in Africa Proconsularis, another

[m] Cod. Just. lib. i. tit. 30. ed. 1553.

contemporary, and a strenuous defender of the Tria-Capitula, which were condemned in the Fifth Œcumenical Council, has left behind him a Chronicon also; which at the same date runs as follows: "Hunneric, King of the Vandals, urging a "furious persecution through the whole of Africa, banishes "to Tubunnæ, Macrinippi, and other parts of the desert, "not only Catholic Clerks of every order, but even Monks "and laymen, to the number of about four thousand; and "makes Confessors and Martyrs; and cut off the tongues "of the Confessors. As to which Confessors, the royal city, "where their bodies lie, attests that after their tongues "were cut out they spoke perfectly even to the end. Then "Lætus, Bishop of the Church of Nepte, is crowned with "martyrdom, &c." It is observable from this statement that the miracle was recorded for the instruction of posterity at the place of their burial.

Lastly, Pope Gregory the First thus speaks in his Dialogues: "In the time of Justinian Augustus[n], when the Arian per- "secution raised by the Vandals against the faith of Catholics "was raging violently in Africa, some Bishops, courageously "persisting in the defence of the truth, were brought under "notice. Whom the King of the Vandals, failing to per- "suade to his misbelief with words and offers, thought he "could break with torture. For when, in the midst of their "defence of the truth, he bade them be silent, but they "would not bear the misbelief quietly, lest it might be "interpreted as assent, breaking out into rage, he had their "tongues cut off from the roots. A wonderful thing, and "known to many senior persons; for afterwards, even with- "out tongue, they spoke for the defence of the truth, just "as they had been accustomed before to speak by means of "it. . . . These then, being fugitives at that time, came to

[n] This date is a mistake of St. Gregory's; also he calls them Bishops.

"Constantinople. At the time, moreover, that I was myself "sent to the Emperor to conduct the business of the Church, "I fell in with a certain senior, a Bishop, who attested that "he had seen their mouths speaking though without tongues, "so that with open mouths they cried out, 'Behold and see, "'for we have not tongues and we speak.' And it appeared "to those who inspected, as it was said, as if, their tongues "being cut off from the roots, there was a sort of open "depth in their throat, and yet in that empty mouth the "words were formed full and perfect. Of whom one, having "fallen into licentiousness, was soon after deprived of the "gift of miracle."

Little observation is necessary on evidence such as this. What is perhaps most striking in it, is the variety of the witnesses, both in their persons and the details of their testimony, together with the consistency and unity of that testimony in all material points. Out of the seven writers adduced, six are contemporaries; three, if not four are eye-witnesses of the miracle; one reports from an eye-witness, and one testifies to a permanent record at the burial place of the subjects of it. All seven were living, or had been staying, at one or other of the two places which are mentioned as their abode. One is a Pope; a second a Catholic Bishop; a third a Bishop of a schismatical party; a fourth an Emperor; a fifth a soldier, a politician, and a suspected infidel; a sixth a statesman and courtier; a seventh a rhetorician and philosopher. "He cut "out the tongues by the roots," says Victor, Bishop of Vite; "I perceived the tongue entirely gone by the roots," says Æneas; "as low down as the throat," says Procopius; "at "the roots," say Justinian and St. Gregory. "He spoke "like an educated man without impediment," says Victor of Vite; with "articulateness," says Æneas, "better than be-

[a] Dial. iii. 32.

"fore;" "they talked without any impediment," says Procopius; "speaking with perfect voice," says Marcellinus;" "they spoke perfectly even to the end," says the second Victor; "the words were formed full and perfect,". says St. Gregory.

One of the striking points then in this miracle, as contained in the foregoing evidence, is obviously its *completeness*. We know that even deaf and dumb persons can be made in some sense to utter words; and there may be attempts far superior to theirs, yet wanting in that ease and precision which characterize the ordinary gift of speech. But the articulateness, nay, the educated accent of these Confessors is especially insisted on in the testimony. "A cure left thus "imperfect," says Douglas, speaking of a Jansenist miracle, "has but little pretension to be looked upon as mira- "culous; because its being so imperfect, naturally points out "a failure of power in the cause which brought it about[p]." Whatever be the truth of this position, it cannot be applied to the miracle under review.

The *number* on which it was wrought is another most important circumstance, distinguishing this history from others of a miraculous character. It both increases opportunities for testimony, and it prevents the interposition of what is commonly called chance, which could not operate upon many persons at once in one and the same way. This is the proper answer to Middleton's objection that cases are on record of speech without a tongue, when no special intervention of Providence could be supposed. Not to say that a person *born* without tongue, as in the instance to which he refers, may more easily be supposed to have found a compensation for her defect by a natural provision or guidance, than men who had ever spoken by the ordinary organ till they came suddenly to

[p] Page 111.

lose it. "If we should allow after all," says he, "that the "tongues of these Confessors were cut away to the very "roots, what will the learned Doctor [Berriman] say if this "boasted miracle, which he so strenuously defends, should be "found at last to be no miracle at all? The tongue, indeed, "has generally been considered, as absolutely necessary to "the use of speech; so that to hear men talk without it, "*might easily pass for a miracle in that credulous age*[q]." And then he mentions the case of "a girl, born without a "tongue, who yet talked as distinctly and easily, as if she "had enjoyed the full benefit of that organ," according to the report of a French physician who had carefully examined her mouth and throat, and who refers at the same time to another instance published about eighty years before, of a boy who at the age of eight or nine years lost his tongue by an ulcer after the small-pox, yet retained his speech,—whether as perfectly as before, does not appear. Now taking these instances at their greatest force, does he mean to say that if a certain number of men lost their tongues at the command of a tyrant for the sake of their religion, and then spoke as plainly as before, nay, if only one person was so mutilated and so gifted, it would not be a miracle? if not, why does he not believe the history of these Confessors? At least he might believe that some of them had the gift of speech continued to them, though the numbers be an exaggeration. It is his canon, as Douglas assures us, that while the history of miracles is "to be suspected always of course, without the "strongest evidence to confirm it," the history of common events is "to be *admitted of course*, without as strong reason "to suspect it[r]." Now here all the reason or evidence is on the side of believing; yet he does not believe it; why? simply because, as common sense tells us, and as he feels, it

[q] Page 184.

[r] Criterion, p. 26. vid. supr. p. lxx.

is a miraculous story. It is far more difficult to believe that a number of men were forbidden to profess orthodoxy, did continue to profess it, were brought into the forum, had their tongues cut out from the roots, survived it, and spoke ever afterwards as they did before, *without* a miracle, than *with* it. But Middleton would secure two weapons at once for his warfare against the claims of the Catholic Church:—it *is* a miracle, and therefore it is incredible as a fact; it is *not* a miracle, and therefore it is irrelevant as an argument.

Another remarkable peculiarity of this miracle is what may be called its *entireness;* by which I mean that it carried its whole case with it to every beholder. When a blind man has been restored to sight, there must be one witness to prove he *has been* blind and another that he *now sees;* when a cure has been effected, we need a third to assure us that no medicines were administered to the subject of it; but here the miracle is condensed in the fact, that there is no tongue and yet a voice. The function of witnessing is far narrower and more definite, yet more perfect, than in other cases.

A further characteristic of this miracle is its *permanence;* and in this respect it throws light upon a remark made in a former page to account for the deficiency of evidence which generally attaches to the Ecclesiastical miracles. It was there observed that they commonly took place without notice beforehand, and left no trace after them; and we could not have better or fuller testimony than what happened to be found on the spot where they occurred[s]. The instance before us, however, being of a permanent character, and carrying its miraculousness in the very sight of it, admitted of being witnessed in a higher way, and so it is. Supposing the miracles of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus or St. Martin to have had the advantage of similar publicity, from the mis-

[s] Page c.

statement and exaggeration, which at present prejudice them, they would certainly have been disengaged; are we sure they would not have gained instead a body of testimony to their substantial truth?

It may be thought a drawback on this miracle that it produced no impression on the brutal Prince who was the occasion of it. He continued the persecution. Yet it must be recollected, that his death followed in no long time; and that, under that horrible and loathsome infliction, with which it has in other cases pleased the Almighty to visit those who have used their power, committed to them by Him, in cruelties towards His Church.

And now after considering this miracle, or that of the recovery of the blind Severus by the relics, mentioned next before it, or the death of Arius, how unreal does the remark appear with which Douglas concludes his review of the alleged miracles of the first ages! "I shall only add," he says, "that "*if ever there were any accounts* of miracles, which passed "current *without being examined into* at the first publication, "and which consequently will not bear the test of the "third rule which I laid down in this Treatise, *this may be* "*affirmed of the miracles* recorded by writers *of the fourth* "*and fifth ages,* when Christianity, *now freed from the terrors* "*of persecution,* and *aided by civil magistrates,* began to be "corrupted by its credulous or ill-designing professors, and "the foundation was laid of those inventions, which have "gathered like a snow-ball, in every succeeding age of super-"stitious ignorance, till at last the sunshine of the Reforma-"tion began to melt the monstrous heap[t]." Surely, if there are miracles prominent above others in those times, in that number are the three which I have just specified; they are great in themselves and in their fame. What then is meant

[t] Page 239.

by saying that in Arius's death the Church was "aided by "the civil magistrate?" or that she was "freed from the "terrors of persecution" when Severus was restored to sight? or that the report of the power of speaking given to Reparatus and his brethren "passed current without being examined into?" But if these are true, why should not others be true also, whether at this day they have evidence sufficient for our conviction or not? That superstition and imposture *accompanied* the civil establishment of Christianity all will allow[u]; but they could but obscure,—they could not reverse or undo,—and why should they prejudice?—the true work of God in His Church, of which they were but the mockery.

CONCLUSION.

MUCH stress has been laid throughout this Essay on the *differences* existing between the miracles recorded in Scripture, and those which are found in Ecclesiastical history; but from what has come before us in the course of it, it would seem that those differences are for the most part merely such as *necessarily* attend the introduction of a religion to the world compared with its subsequent course, the miraculous Agency itself being for the most part the same throughout. For instance, the miracles of Scripture are wrought by persons *conscious of their power and of their exercise of it;* for these persons are the very heralds of Almighty God, whom He has commissioned, whom He has instructed, and whom He has gifted for their work. The Scripture miracles are wrought *as evidence of revealed truth,* because they are wrought before

[u] E. g. vid. p. 241. infr.

that truth had as yet been received. They are *grave and simple* in their circumstances, because they are wrought by persons who know their gift, and, as being under immediate Divine direction, use it without alloy of human infirmity or personal peculiarity. They are *definite and certain,* drawn out in an orderly form, and finished in their parts, because they were found in that authoritative Document which was intended by God's Providence to be the pattern of His dealings and the rule of our thoughts and actions. They are *undeniably of a supernatural character,* not only because it is natural that the most cogent miracles should be wrought in the beginning of the Dispensation, but because the Sacred Writers have been guided to put into the foreground those works of power which are the clearest tokens of a Divine Presence, and to throw the rest into the distance. They have *no marks of exaggeration* about them, and are *none of them false or suspicious,* because Inspiration had dispersed the mists of popular error, and the colouring of individual feeling, and has enabled the writers to set down what took place and nothing else. But when once Inspiration was withdrawn, whether as regards those who wrought or those who recorded, then a Power which henceforth was mysterious and inscrutable in operation, became doubly obscure in report; and fiction in the testimony was made to compensate for incompleteness in the manifestation.

In conclusion I will but observe, what, indeed, is very obvious, but still may require a distinct acknowledgment, that the view here taken of the primitive miracles is applicable in defence of those of the medieval period also. If the occurrence of miraculous interpositions depends upon the presence of the Catholic Church, and if that Church is to remain on earth until the end of the world, it follows of course, that what will be vouchsafed to Christians at all

times, was vouchsafed to them in the middle age inclusively. Whether this or that alleged miracle be in fact what it professes to be, must be determined, as in the instances already taken, by the particular case; but it stands to reason, that, where the views and representations drawn out in the foregoing pages are admitted, no prejudice will attend the medieval miracles at first hearing, though no distinct opinion can be formed about them before examination.

On the other hand, I am quite prepared to find those views themselves condemned by many readers as subtle and sophistical. This is ever the language men use concerning the arguments of others, when they dissent from their *first principles*,—which take them by surprise, and which they have not mastered.

Additional Note on Page clvii.

The limits of the page did not allow me in note g, p. clvii, to add what seemed to myself the most likely interpretation of St. Luke's statement of our Lord's leading His Apostles *as far as* Bethany before He ascended. The seeming inconsistency in the statements, that Bethany, (as in the Gospel,) and that Olivet, (as in the Acts,) was the place of our Lord's ascension has before now been urged against the sacred writer by infidels, but with such objectors we are not here concerned. For the believer perhaps it will suffice to compare the passage in St. Luke's Gospel with the termination of St. Mark's, where it is said, "Afterwards," that is, on the evening of the day of the Resurrection, our Lord "appeared unto the "Eleven as they sat at meat; . . . *and* said unto them, Go ye into all the "world, &c. . . . so then *after* the Lord had spoken unto them, He was "received up into heaven." It may be argued then, that as St. Mark, in spite of the sequence of these words, does not fix the date of the Ascension upon Easter-day, neither does St. Luke, by saying that Christ "led out "His disciples as far as Bethany *and* blessed them, and, *while* He "blessed them, was parted from them," fix the place of the Ascension at Bethany. Nay the same argument may be drawn from the very passage in St. Luke, which on the face of it certainly speaks as if our Lord ascended *when* He appeared to the Eleven on the evening of the day of the Resurrection. And the explanation of both statements is the confessedly abrupt and elliptical style of the sacred historians, who single out certain detached points in the continuous series of events through which the action of the history moved when it really occurred, and combine them for such purposes as seemed good to Him who inspired them. Instances of this peculiarity abound both in the Old and New Testament, and impart to the sacred text that ecclesiastical or mythical character, which is so solemn and elevating, yet so unsatisfactory to the more intellectual critic. Thus understood, St. Luke must be taken to say in the Gospel, that our Lord took the disciples as far as Bethany, and next, that He ascended; omitting the intermediate fact which he supplies in the Acts, that after visiting that spot so dear to Him during His ministry, He came back to the place whence He had seen the city and wept over it, and thence ascended. And perhaps St. Luke's expression, "*as far as* Bethany," is intended to express the extent of circuit or visitation of beloved places, through which He passed scattering blessings, ere He departed.

It is remarkable that the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, A. D. 333, vid. Wesseling Itinerarium, p. 589—596, whose silence about the Cross is sometimes brought in corroboration of Eusebius's silence above noticed, vid. Gibbon, Hist. ch. 23. note 64, is silent also about the place of Ascension, and St. Helena's church there, though no one denies this part of St. Helena's history. Vid. Euseb. V. Const. iii. 42, 43. So unsafe is it to argue from a negative.

ERRATUM.

The notes in page cxli are wrongly placed.

$$\left.\begin{matrix} x \\ y \\ z \end{matrix}\right\} \text{ should be } \left\{\begin{matrix} y \\ z \\ x \end{matrix}\right.$$

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XVIII.

A. D. 381.

I. Council of Constantinople. Theod. v. 6. Socr. v. 8.

THE Emperor Theodosius having nothing more at heart than the reunion of the Churches[a], resolved from the very beginning of his reign to assemble all the Bishops that were under his government at Constantinople; that great city wanted a Pastor, as St. Gregory Nazianzen was about to leave it; Maximus' Ordination was irregular, though several took part with him, and the schism of Antioch still continued; by this means too some thought to reunite the Macedonians: the Council therefore was assembled by Theodosius' orders in the month of May, under the Consulate of Eucherius and Syagrius, that is to say in the year 381. There came thither 150 Catholic Bishops, the chief of whom were St. Meletius of Antioch, with his Priests Flavian and Elpidius, Helladius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, St. Basil's successor, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Peter of Sebaste his brother, St. Amphilochius of Iconium, Optimus of Antioch in Pisidia,

Marcell. Chr. an. 381. Chron. Pasch. an. 381. p. 304. Theod. v. 8.

[a] A few words may be necessary to introduce the history at the point where we are here commencing it. On the accession of Theodosius, the Churches, particularly of the East, were almost in a state of schism one with another in consequence of the violence of the Arian controversy. The See of Antioch was contested by three occupants; by Paulinus, the representative of the old orthodox succession, which was in communion with Alexandria and the West; by Meletius, the successor of the Arian Bishops, who soon after his appointment had conformed to orthodoxy; and by the new Arian line of Euzoïus and then Dorotheus, to which the conversion of Meletius had given occasion. Constantinople was in possession of the Arians, but St. Gregory Nazianzen had come thither as a sort of Missionary Bishop, on invitation from the Catholics of the place; and Maximus had been consecrated to the See by Peter of Alexandria, the successor of St. Athanasius. St. Gregory had been appointed some years before, by St. Basil, to the See of Sasima in Cappadocia, but, St. Basil's jurisdiction over it being disputed, had never been in possession. He had in consequence administered the Church of Nazianzus for his father, who was in years; whence he had been called to Constantinople. On the unfounded pretence of his uncanonical translation from See to See, Maximus grounded his own right to the Episcopate of Constantinople. The Arians, at this date had divided into two principal parties, the Eunomians or Eudoxians, who had fallen back or enlarged on the bold impieties of Arius; and the Semiarians who, professing the modified doctrine of the Eusebians, were in consequence mainly heretical on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and were called Macedonians after the name of one of them. These were principally found in Asia Minor.

Diodorus of Tarsus, St. Pelagius of Laodicea, St. Eulogius of Edessa, Acacius of Berrhœa in Syria, Isidore of Cyrus, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and his nephew Gelasius of Cæsarea in Palestine: we find also among those who subscribed, the names of Dionysius of Diospolis in Palestine, Vitus of Carrhæ in Mesopotamia, Abraham of Batnæ, Antiochus of Samosata, the nephew and successor of St. Eusebius, Bosphorus of Colonia in Cappadocia, and Otreius of Melitene in Armenia, (all of whom are well known upon other accounts, particularly by the letters of St. Basil,) without reckoning the Bishops of Egypt and Macedonia, who came afterwards. Theodosius likewise summoned thither the Bishops of Macedonius' sect[b], having some hopes of reuniting them to the Church; and accordingly they came, being thirty-six in number, and most of them from the Hellespont; the chief of them were Eleusius of Cyzicus, and Marcian of Lampsacus. Those who have reckoned an hundred and eighty Bishops at the Council of Constantinople very probably included these Macedonians. This Council consisted only of Eastern Bishops, because Theodosius summoned none but those who were subject to him, and because the Heretics whom they endeavoured to suppress, abounded only in the East; and it does not appear that any body assisted at it in behalf of St. Damasus and the rest of the Western Bishops; but, however, it is reckoned the second Œcumenical[c] or Universal Council, by the consent which the West hath since given to what was therein decreed concerning the Faith.

A. D. 381.

Prosper. Chron. Pars. 2. ad init.

Theod. v. 6, 7.

See Pagi, an. 381. § 4—6.

St. Meletius at first presided in the Council; and he was greatly honoured by the Emperor Theodosius. He called to mind, that after having gained a considerable victory over the Barbarians, he had seen St. Meletius in a dream covering him with the Imperial robe, and placing the crown upon his head:

Theod. v. 6.

[b] The Novatian Bishop, Acesius, had been summoned by Constantine to Nicæa. Socr. 1. 10. Soz. 1. 22.

[c] The Council of Constantinople has always been regarded as Œcumenical, though none of the Western Bishops attended, and Damasus, the then Pope, had no representative there. Baronius, Bellarmine (and others), maintain that it was convened on the authority of Damasus, but their authorities do not bear them out, and this is now generally given up. See Pagi, in Ann. 381. Bellarmine allows that the Pope was not there either by himself or by his legates; but considers that the East and West were in heart and spirit together, at Constantinople. This Council must be accounted Œcumenical, from its subsequent recognition by the whole Church.

A. D. 381. in the morning he related his dream to one of his friends, who told him that it was plain and not enigmatical; and indeed in a few days after he was associated in the empire by Gratian.

Theod. v. 7. Therefore when the Bishops assembled for the Council of Constantinople came to Theodosius in the palace, he forbad any to shew him Meletius; but he easily knew him, and leaving all the rest ran to embrace him, kissing his eyes, his mouth, his breast, and the hand which had crowned him, and related the vision which he had seen. He likewise expressed abundance of friendship for all the rest, and entreated them as his Fathers to take the affairs of the Church into their consideration.

The most urgent affair was the appointing a Bishop at Constantinople. They began with giving their opinion concerning the Ordination of Maximus, which was declared void; and

Conc. C. P. can. 4. tom. 2. col. 947. c. Sozom. 7. 9. they made a canon on purpose, to this effect: That Maximus the Cynic never was, nor is at this time a Bishop; that all persons ordained by him into any rank of the Clergy whatsoever, ought not to be esteemed such, and that whatever has been enacted either by him or for him, is of none effect. Afterwards the Emperor, who admired the virtue of Gregory Nazianzen, desired that he might be appointed Bishop of Constantinople, though he himself opposed it, even having recourse to cries and tears; but at length he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, being in hopes, as he himself says, that the situation of Constantinople would give him an opportunity of reuniting the East and West, which had long been divided on account of the schism of Antioch. He was therefore solemnly made Bishop of Constantinople by St. Meletius and the rest of the Bishops of the Council, according to the Emperor's desire.

Tom. ii. Carm. i. p. 24. D. (p. 754. v. 1535.)

II. Death of St. Meletius. St. Greg. Nys. Orat. in Melet. tom. 2. p. 1024. [tom. 3. 587. Bened.] St. Greg. Naz. p. 25. B. (p. 756. v. 1578.) tom. ii.

St. Meletius died soon after at Constantinople, where he had preached several times for the instruction of the people; and he exhorted his friends to peace with his last breath. His body was embalmed with a great quantity of perfumes, wrapped in linen and silk, and laid in the Church of the Apostles, until it should be conveyed to Antioch. The funeral was very magnificent, in respect of the concourse of people, the number of lights, and the Psalms that were sung by several choirs in divers languages: they laid linen cloths upon

the Saint's face, which were afterwards distributed amongst the people, who looked upon them as preservatives. All the Bishops of the Council that were noted for their eloquence, made funeral orations upon him. But we have none remaining but that of St. Gregory of Nyssa, wherein he contents himself with bewailing the loss which the Church then received, and mentioning the particulars of his funeral; because those who spoke before him had sufficiently extolled his virtues and combats for the faith. St. Gregory forgot not to comfort the faithful people by saying of St. Meletius: He now speaks to God face to face, and he prays for us and the ignorance of the people. A. D. 381. Theod. v. 8.

St. Meletius' relics were afterwards carried to Antioch; the whole city of Constantinople went out of the gates to conduct them; all along the road they were attended by two choirs singing Psalms; and the Emperor gave express orders for all the cities on the way to receive this holy body, contrary to the custom of the Romans, who did not suffer any dead bodies to remain within their walls[d]. He was buried near St. Babylas[f], in the church which he himself had caused to be built in honour of that Martyr. St. Meletius governed the Church of Antioch twenty years; the whole East made great encomiums upon him, and he was usually styled the divine Meletius. There is no adding to what is said of him by St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Chrysostom and Theodoret. Even St. Epiphanius, though in communion with Paulinus, greatly commends his virtues, in his Treatise of Heresies[e], which he wrote before that Saint's death; and he Soz. vii. 10. Greg. Naz. ii. p. 25. (ibid. v. 1581.) Tom. i. Hær. 73. § 35.

[d] Before Christianity brought in the doctrine of the Resurrection of the flesh, a dead body was esteemed a pollution. This natural feeling we find countenanced in the Divine Law given to Moses. Numb. 19. 11—22: Hagg. 2. 13. At Rome it was forbidden by the Law of the XII Tables to burn or bury the dead within the City. Cic. Legg. ii. 22, 23; Serv. in Æn. vi. 150. This was enforced by Hadrian under a fine of forty pounds (Voet. ad Pand. Tit. de Sep. Viol. § 2. vol. ii. p. 1006.) The Law was in process of time less strictly enforced. Towns too rose around the sepulchral churches of Martyrs, which yet continued to be used as burial places by those who felt it a privilege to repose near the departed Saints. In consequence Theodosius issued a Law against this, and especially forbade under severe penalties the interment of any body within the walls of Constantinople. Cod. Theod. ix. Tit. 17. § 6. Justinian allowed burial in monasteries and convents, and at last the practice was allowed without limitation by the Emperor Leo. Voet. l. c. § 2. vol. 2. p. 1005.

[e] The Panarium or Treatise against Heresies, was begun by St. Epiphanius in the eleventh year of Valens and Valentinian, A. D. 374.

[f] St. Babylas was Bishop of Antioch, and died in prison A. D. 251, during the Decian persecution. Euseb. vi. 39.

A. D. 381. therein has preserved the first Sermon which St. Meletius preached at Antioch, which is all that remains of his writings. In short, the West and the Roman Church, though for some time prejudiced against Meletius in favour of Paulinus, has at last done him justice, and has received him amongst the Saints, whose protection she implores, on the same day that he is honoured by the Greeks, that is to say, on the 12th of February. And yet the Roman Church has not done the same honour to Paulinus.

Martyrol. Rom. Feb. 12.

III. Election of Flavian.

The death of St. Meletius seemed to have put an end to the Schism of Antioch; because it had been agreed that the survivor, whether he or Paulinus, should remain the only Bishop of the Catholics. It is even said that they had caused this agreement to be sworn to by six Priests of Meletius' party, upon whom the choice was most likely to fall, and amongst the rest by Flavian; and that they had promised by an oath not only not to strive for that place, but even not to accept it, if offered them. Paulinus therefore was, without farther trouble, to be acknowledged sole Bishop of Antioch; there not being so much as an Arian Bishop who disputed it with him; for Dorotheus had been driven from thence by order of the Emperor Theodosius, and had retired into Thrace, his native country. All the Arians that remained there, were only governed by two Priests, Asterius and Crispinus, who could not even be admitted to communion with Eunomius, so much were the Arians divided amongst themselves.

Socr. v. 3. Soz. vii. 3.

Philistorg. ix. 19. and x. 1.

Notwithstanding all these reasons for acknowledging Paulinus, the Bishops assembled at Constantinople deliberated about the choice of a person to succeed St. Meletius. St. Gregory Nazianzen strenuously opposed it; and the more, because they would have him lay hands upon the person that was to be elected; for after the death of St. Meletius he was at the head of the Council. "You only consider," said he, "one city, instead of having regard to the universal Church. "Though they were two Angels who disputed, it would not be "reasonable that the whole world should be disturbed by their "division. Whilst Meletius was alive, we might excuse the "separation of those of the West, and hope that he might win "them by his gentleness. But now God hath given us peace "let us keep it, let us leave Paulinus in the See which he

Greg. Naz. ii. p. 25. c. (p. 758. v. 1583.)

"enjoys; he is old, and his death will soon put an end to the A. D. 381.
"matter. It is sometimes well to suffer ourselves to be over-
"come; and that I may not be thought to speak through
"interest, I desire no other favour of you, than to have liberty
"to quit my See, and to spend the rest of my life free from
"ambition and danger."

The young Bishops opposed St. Gregory's advice, and Greg. Naz. ii. p. 27. A. (p. 762. v. 1682.)
drew the elder along with them. They could not think of yielding to those of the West, though they could allege no better reason that the East ought to prevail, than this, viz. that Jesus Christ thought fit to appear there. So that Flavian a Priest of Antioch was elected to succeed St. Meletius, by all the Bishops of the East, and with the consent of the Church of Antioch; but this must be understood as excepting Paulinus' party. Although Flavian was very worthy of this place, St. Gregory Nazianzen continued resolute, and would not approve his election, notwithstanding all the endeavours of his best friends; on the contrary, his resolution still grew stronger for quitting the See of Constantinople. He began with absenting himself from their assemblies, which he per- Ibid.p.28.A. (p. 766. v. 1745, &c.)
ceived to be full of confusion, and his ill state of health afforded him sufficient pretence; he even changed his lodging, quitted the house which joined to the church where the Council was held, and which probably was his Episcopal palace. Those of his flock who had the greatest affection for him, perceiving that he really designed to leave them, besought him with tears in their eyes not to quit the work which he had so successfully begun, but to devote the remainder of his life to the service of his Church; they touched him sensibly, but could not prevail with him, and a fresh incident helped to determine him entirely.

The Bishops of Egypt and Macedon were called to the Ibid.p.28.D. (p. 768. v. 1800, &c.)
Council, as being able to contribute to the peace, and accordingly they came on a sudden. At the head of the Egyptian Bishops came Timotheus of Alexandria, who had lately (380) Soz. vii. 7.
succeeded his brother Peter, the successor of St. Athanasius, and who as well as Peter was in communion with the Bishops Ep. Conc. Aquil. tom. ii. p. 1000. C. D.
of the West. The most considerable of the Macedonian Bishops was Ascholius of Thessalonica. These Bishops both of Egypt and Macedon being come to Constantinople, seemed

A. D. 381. greatly exasperated against St. Gregory and those of the East, who on their side were no less angry. The Western Bishops, for as such the Egyptians and Macedonians were looked upon by the rest, complained that they had not observed the canons[f], in ordaining Gregory Bishop of Constantinople, he having already another See. But he alleged that these canons could at this time hardly be urged, that it was a great while since he had quitted the See of Sasima, and that as for Nazianzus, he had never been Bishop of that city, although he was reproached with it. The Egyptians and Macedonians made this complaint rather in opposition to those of the East, than from any aversion to St. Gregory, or the desire of putting another in his place, as they privately told him.

Ruffin. Hist. xi. 9. Præfatio Ruff. in Orat. XLIX. Greg. Naz. tom. ii. p. 727.

IV. Retreat of St. Gregory.

For his part he gladly embraced this opportunity of obtaining the liberty which he had long desired. He went into the assembly, and told them that he desired nothing so earnestly as to contribute to the union of the Church. "If my election disturbs you," adds he, "I will become Jonas: "throw me into the sea to appease the storm, although I "did not raise it. If the rest would follow my example, all the "disorders of the Church would be soon appeased. My age "and distempers afford me sufficient reason to desire repose; I "only wish that my successor may have zeal enough to defend "the Faith." Thus he went out of the assembly, rejoicing at being eased of so heavy a burden, but concerned at leaving his flock whom he loved tenderly. All the Bishops consented to this proposal, more readily than seemed fit for them. St. Gregory went afterwards to wait on the Emperor, and in the presence of several persons said to him, "O Theo- "dosius, I have a favour to beg of you, as well as the rest. It is "neither gold, nor marble, nor rich stuffs to adorn the Holy "Table, nor places for my relations; for I think that I deserve "something more considerable. Give me leave to give way to "envy; I am odious to every body, even to my friends; "because I cannot have respect unto any person but God. You

Theod. v. 8. Greg. Naz. tom. ii. p. 29. B. (p. 770. v. 1828, &c.) Ibid. p. 30. A. (p. 774. v. 1879.)

[f] See Can. Apost. xiii. Labb. 1. 28. C. See also Can. XV. and XVI. Conc. Nicæn. A. D. 325, and Can. I. Conc. Sardic. A. D. 347. The Apostolical canon does not make translation absolutely unlawful, and, besides, the case of St. Gregory does not seem to be a case of translation, though the Western Bishops employed this canon against him. One reason for their disliking his appointment would be, that Meletius, who defended his election, was not in communion with them.

"know how much against my inclination you placed me in this "See." The Emperor commended this speech, and all that were present gave applauses to it, and Gregory obtained the leave he desired. A. D. 381.

The public reason which the Bishops gave for their consenting so easily to this dismission, was the disturbance which Gregory's election had caused, and his bodily infirmities: but the secret reason was, the jealousy which they conceived of his learning and eloquence; and the severity of his morals, which condemned their pride and luxury. Some even of the Catholics were offended that he so openly preached the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. But there were many who could not bear to see him so forsaken; and as soon as they found that this resolution was taken, they stopped their ears, struck their hands against each other, and fled from the assembly, that they might not be grieved with seeing another in his See. In order to comfort them, as well as his people and Clergy, he spoke the famous discourse, which is his farewell, in the great church of Constantinople, before the Bishops of the Council. He therein gives them an account of his conduct, he represents the deplorable state in which he found that Church, and the flourishing condition in which he leaves it: he shews the Doctrine which he taught, by a brief exposition of the mystery of the Trinity; in which, to put an end to all disputes, he makes use of the word *Person*, as equivalent to *subsistence*[1], when they are both well explained. He protests that he governed disinterestedly, and desires no other recompense but liberty to retire; taking notice of the reproaches thrown upon him, and how far his conduct was from pleasing the world. He concludes with taking leave of his Church, of his dear Anastasia[g] in particular, of his throne, his Clergy, his people, the Emperor, the Court, and of all the world.

[p. 243. D. (p. 870. carm. xxx. v. 17.)]

Ibid. p. 30. c. (p. 774. v. 1912.)

Orat. 32. p. 500. tom. i. (Orat. 42. c. 2. tom. i. p. 748.)

p. 519. D. (cap. 15.)

[1 πρόσωπον. ὑπόστασις.]

p. 520. D. (cap. 16.)

p. 525. A. (c. 22. p. 764. A.)

p. 527. B. (c. 26. p. 776. C.)

St. Gregory's will is still remaining, bearing date[h] the last

Appendix, tom. i. (tom. ii. p. 201.)

g i e. The Church of the *Resurrection* of Catholicism, at first, a private house, in which St. Gregory taught during the life-time of Demophilus; afterwards, consecrated by him.

h The date of St. Gregory's will is more probably May 31, A. D. 381. It was drawn up probably at Constantinople, while he was still Bishop. The names of four or five of the Bishops who signed it, occur among those subscribed to the Council. As to the bequests of Bishops, see Conc. Antioch (A. D. 341.) Can. 24; (approved acc. Cabassutius; Præf. ad Conc.)

A. D. 381. day of December in this year 381. He therein takes the title of Bishop of Constantinople, and it is probable that he retained it even after giving up the See, as is still the custom. This will is made with all the formality of the Roman laws; it appoints Gregory his freedman, a Deacon and Monk, his heir, on condition that he should return it all to the Church of Nazianzus by the law of *fidei commissum*[i]. St. Gregory says, that in this he only followed the will of his parents, who had promised all their estate to the poor; and that he had already given it up to them under the management of three administrators, viz. Marcellus a Deacon and Monk, Gregory whom he makes his heir, and Eustathius a Monk, who had likewise been his slave. He confirms their liberty to all such as he had freed, and reserves to them their substance. He leaves some particular legacies to Gregory his heir, and the Monk Eustathius. He reserves to a virgin named Russiana, the pension which he allowed her for her subsistence, with the choice of an house; and gives her two female slaves, whom she should choose, to live with her all her life; he gives her power to free them, if she did not, they were to belong to the Church of Nazianzus. He gives their liberty to two slaves, one of whom was his notary Theodosius, and afterwards gives a legacy to another notary; these persons were those who wrote for him in short-hand.

He excuses himself to Alypiana, whom he styles his dear daughter, for leaving her nothing; but declares that he made no account of Eugenia and Nonna, because their conduct was blameworthy. These three were his nieces[k], and it was necessary to mention them, and to take notice why he did not make them his heirs, that they might not dispute his will. This is what was called disinheriting with *elogium*[l]. He styles Alypiana his daughter, and Meletius, who married her, his son-in-law,

[i] *Fidei commissum*, i. e. *of trust*, by which law the legal heir was required to transfer the property according to the testator's desire. Sigon. de Judic. l. 4. (ap. Græv. ii. p. 686.) See too F. H. de Mag. Rom. i. (ibid. p. 877.)

[k] The three nieces of St. Gregory, were the children of his sister Gorgonia and Alypius. The name of Alypiana's husband was not Meletius, but Nicobulus. Ep. xii. (clv.) tom. ii. p. 13. F. The word translated by Fleury, son-in-law, may mean any kind of relation. Meletius was probably the husband of Nonna or Eugenia.

[l] *Elogium*, i. e. a reason in writing attached to any document, as a will, &c. The two following instances together resemble the case in the text. Cic. Cluent. c. 48; Declam. 325, ascribed to Quintil.

probably because he had adopted her; for it is otherwise A. D. 381.
certain that he always observed a state of continence[m]. This will is signed by seven witnesses, the first of whom is Amphilochius, and the last Cledonius, a Priest of Iconium. The rest are Bishops of the same province[n]; which makes it probable that he made it in Asia at his return, on occasion perhaps of some Council.

V. Ordination of Nectarius. Soz. vii. 7. 8.

St. Gregory's surrender of his Bishopric having been accepted by the Council, the question was, who should succeed him. The Emperor recommended it to the Bishops to consider very carefully who was the most worthy; and they were divided about the choice. There was at that time at Constantinople an old man named Nectarius, who was very Theod. v. 8. venerable for his dignity, his age, and graceful appearance. He was born at Tarsus in Cilicia of a patrician family, and bore the office of Prætor. His virtues, particularly his gentleness, procured him the admiration of every body; but he was not yet baptized. Being ready to set out in order to return into his own country, he went to visit Diodorus[o] Bishop of Tarsus, to know if he had any business to be done at home, and to take his letters. Diodorus was then considering with himself upon the choice of the Bishop of Constantinople. When he considered Nectarius' white hair, his majestic countenance, and the gentleness of his disposition, it made him think him worthy to fill that place, and he stopped at

[m] Bishop Beveridge asserts that St. Gregory was married to Theosebia, (Not. in Canon V. Apostol. p. 18.) He is followed by Muratori (Anecd. Græc. p. 131. ad Epigr. 132). The Benedictine Editors of St. Gregory defend his virginity in their preface to his works. The former opinion seems to disprove the authenticity of Epig. 132, which, on the contrary, seems to be authentic from Epist. 95. (197). The same Epistle contains expressions hardly reconcileable with Bishop Beveridge's opinion; while both the Epig. and the Epist. rather countenance the idea that Theosebia was the wife of St. Gregory Nyssen, as she is called *yoke-fellow*, (see Philip. iv. 3). This title might however be applied to Theosebia, supposing her, as is probable, the sister of St. Gregory Nyssen and St. Basil. A strong negative argument against St. Gregory's being married is supplied from his own silence; and a positive one, from several passages in his Poems, implying his virginity. Carm. tom. ii. p. 406, 931, 991, &c. Bened.

[n] Of the same *Diocese* (viz. Asia); of the *two provinces* of Lycaonia and Pisidia. See them, Le Quien, tom. i. p. 1037. D. 1045. B. 1049. D. 1069. B. 1079. B. 1085. B.

[o] Diodorus and Flavian, while yet laymen, resisted the Arians Aëtius a Deacon, and Leontius the Bishop, at Antioch, when that city was left without Catholic Pastors. They assembled the Faithful at the Martyrs' tombs, and afterwards in the churches, exhorting them to hold fast the faith, and introducing or reviving for their encouragement, the Antiphonal mode of singing the Psalter. Theod. 2. 24. (cf. Philost. 3. 13.)

A. D. 381. this thought. He then carried him to the Bishop of Antioch, that is to Flavian; gave him an account of his merit, and desired him to consider seriously of it. A great many very considerable men being proposed as fit for this place, this thought of Diodorus occasioned Flavian to smile. However he sent for Nectarius, and desired him to defer his departure for some time. Soon after the Emperor ordered the Bishops to write down upon a piece of paper the names of those persons whom they thought worthy of the See of Constantinople reserving it to himself to choose one of them. Each of them drew up his memorial, and the Bishop of Antioch having set down those whom he was inclined to, added Nectarius' name at the end, to please Diodorus. The Emperor having read these names, stopped at that of Nectarius; and continued thoughtful for some time, keeping his finger fixed upon the last line; then beginning again he read over all the names, and made choice of Nectarius. Every body was surprised; they asked who this Nectarius was, of what quality and country; and when they were informed that he was not so much as baptized, they were much more surprised at the Emperor's choice. They imagined that Diodorus himself was mistaken, that Nectarius' age made him think that he had been baptized, and that he would not otherwise have proposed him for the Episcopal office. Be that as it will, this accident was looked upon as having something divine in it: for when the Emperor was informed that he had not been baptized, he persisted in his choice, notwithstanding the opposition of several Bishops. At length they all yielded to the Prince's will, and the inclination of the people, who likewise desired Nectarius: he was baptized, and whilst he still wore the white habit of a neophyte he was declared Bishop of Constantinople with the general consent of the whole Council. The two Gregories, of Nazianzus and Nyssa, are particularly taken notice of as promoting this election with Diodorus of Tarsus. Theodosius sent deputies from his court with certain Bishops, to desire a formal letter[p] from the Pope in confirmation of this choice of Nectarius.

Soer. v. 8.

Domnus ap. Facund. lib. viii. c. 5. p. 339.

Bonif. Ep. ad Episc. Maced. tom. iv. Conc. p. 1708. D.

[p] See Coustant. Ep. xv. Bonif. I. § 6. p. 1043. A. This letter was written A. D. 422. Nothing is said of this Legation by previous ecclesiastical historians. The Synodical Letter (A. D. 382.) of the Council of Constantinople

Nectarius was instructed in the duties of the Episcopal function by Cyriacus Bishop of Adana in Cilicia, having desired Diodorus his Metropolitan to let him continue some time with him. He detained several other Cilicians with him; and amongst the rest Martyrius his physician, who had been the partner of the irregularities of his youth. Nectarius would have ordained him Deacon, but Martyrius would not suffer him; assuring him that he was unworthy of it, and taking Nectarius himself to witness to the dissoluteness of his past life. "And I," said Nectarius, "who am now a Bishop, "have I not led a life even more disorderly than yours, and "have you not often assisted me in my irregularities?" "But you," replied Martyrius, "have just been purified by "Baptism, and have moreover received the Sacerdotal gift; "so that I see no difference between you and new-born "children; on the contrary I have received Baptism long "since, and yet have continued to live as before." Thus he continued resolute in refusing to be ordained. A. D. 381. Soz. vii. 10.

St. Meletius first presided at the Council of Constantinople; after his death St. Gregory Nazianzen; after he gave up his Bishopric, Timotheus of Alexandria, and at last Nectarius. It is difficult to settle at what particular time, and under what president the Acts of the Council passed; but it is certain that therein was made a Decree concerning the Faith, and certain Canons relating to Discipline. The Emperor Theodosius hoped to reunite the Macedonians to the Catholic Church, and with this view he had admitted their Bishops into the Council, being thirty-six in number, of whom Eleusius of Cyzicus was chief. The Emperor and the Catholic Bishops represented to them that they had sent a deputation to Pope Liberius under the direction of Eustathius Bishop of Sebaste; and that for some time they had voluntarily communicated with the Catholics, without making any distinction; that they therefore did not do well in overthrowing the faith which they had approved, and leaving the good part which they had chosen. But the Macedonians

VI. The Creed of Constantinople.

See ch. I.

Socr. v. 8.

Soz. vii. 7.

[Socr. iv. 12.]

announces the appointment of Nectarius to the Pope, and other Bishops assembled at Rome, Theod. 5. 9. Coustant suggests that Pope Damasus might have delayed answering this Epistle, and that then Theodosius sent the Legation.

A. D. 381. declared that they chose rather to confess the doctrine of the [p Homoousion.] Arians than agree to the *Consubstantiability*[p], and so they retired from Constantinople: then they wrote to those of their party in every city, exhorting them not to consent to the Nicene Faith. This separation of the semi-Arians or Macedonians happened at the beginning of the Council, and caused them to be looked upon as avowed heretics.

It was therefore decreed that no person whatsoever should reject the symbol of the Council of Nicæa, but that it should remain in full force; and that all heresies should be anathematized, particularly that of the Eunomians or Anomœans; the Arians or Eudoxians; the semi-Arians or enemies to the Holy Ghost; the Sabellians; the Marcellians[q]; the Photinians, and the followers of Apollinaris[r]. In confirming the Nicene Creed, they added certain words relating to the mystery of the Incarnation, on account of the followers of Apollinaris and other new heretics; and a fuller explanation of the article concerning the Holy Ghost, on account of the Macedonians. In relation to the Incarnation of our Saviour Christ, the Nicene Creed only said: "He came down from "Heaven, was incarnate and made Man, suffered, and rose "again the third day, and ascended into Heaven, and shall "come to judge the quick and the dead: We believe also in the "Holy Ghost. "But the Creed of Constantinople said thus: "Who came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the "Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made Man. He "was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, He suffered "and was buried; and He rose again the third day according "to the Scriptures. He ascended into Heaven; He sitteth at "the right hand of the Father, and He shall come again with

[q] Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra, in his zeal against Arianism, fell into Sabellianism, "confounding the Persons." Some have tried to exculpate him, but he is generally given up, even by St. Athanasius, at last. St. Epiph. says, "Much questioning there has been on this subject;—the secret things of the heart are known to God." Hær. 72. *Photinus*, his disciple, and Bishop of Sirmium, taught Sabellianism without the disguise with which his master obscured his sentiments. See Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art 2. Note on his first assertion, p. 119. Petav. de Trin. i. 13, who doubts about Marcellus. Natal. Alex. Hist. Sæc. 4. Diss. 30. who defends him.

[r] Apollinaris held that our Lord, not having a human person, had not that particular part of human nature in which personality may be considered to reside; viz. the rational part of the soul. This error ends in the belief, on the one hand, that CHRIST'S Body was only in appearance Flesh; or, on the other, that it was created out of the very substance of Almighty God.

"glory to judge both the quick and dead; Whose kingdom A. D. 381.
"shall have no end." The Nicene Creed only said, "We "believe also in the Holy Ghost;" without mentioning the Church. But the Creed of Constantinople was to this effect: "We believe likewise in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver "of life, Who proceedeth from the Father, Who with the "Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified; "Who spake by the Prophets: We believe one Catholic and "Apostolic Church; we acknowledge one Baptism for the "remission of sins; we look for the resurrection of the dead, "and the life of the world to come. Amen." The rest of the Creed of Constantinople, that is to say, the beginning, agrees entirely with that of Nicæa. It is the Creed of Constantinople that is made use of in the Service of the Mass [s].

VII. Canons relating to the Hierarchy.

As to Discipline, the Council of Constantinople prohibits Bishops from going to[1] Churches that were out of their Diocese, or confounding the government of Churches. But according to the Canons, the Bishop of Alexandria was only to govern Egypt; the Bishops of the East were not to meddle with any thing but what concerned the East, reserving to the Church of Antioch the privileges mentioned in the Canons of Nicæa[t]. The Bishops of the Diocese of Asia were only to govern Asia; those of Pontus, only Pontus; and those of Thrace, only Thrace. Bishops were not to go out of their Dioceses, unless they were sent for to elections, or some other Ecclesiastical affairs; but the business of every province was to be managed by the Council of the province, according to the Canons of Nicæa. The Churches that were amongst the barbarous nations, were to be governed according to the customs received from the time of the Fathers. Such is the second Canon of the Council of Constantinople. I here call that a Diocese which in Greek is called διοίκησις, *diœcesis*,

Con. Const. can. 2.

[1] interfering with.]

Can. Nic. 4. 5.

[s] Gieseler asserts (vol. 1. p. 294. note b) that this word is perhaps first found, A. D. 390; Conc. Carthag. ii. Can. 3. It occurs, however, in St. Ambrose, Epist. 20. § 4. tom. ii. p. 853, (see chapter 41, below). We find it also in a letter ascribed to Pope St. Pius I. A. D. 161. Coustant, however, places this Epistle in the Appendix, as uncertain of its authenticity. It is defended by Justus Fontaninus, and admitted by Gallandi, (tom i. p. cii. cv.)

The word may have become used for the *service*, from which, some being excluded were *dismissed*, before it began; or may mean the *utterance* (*missa* for *missio*, sc. precum) of Prayers. It is still used in the Liturgy of St. Peter.

[t] See Conc. Nicæn. A. D. 325, Can. VI.—Bishops of *The East*, i. e. of the Patriarchate of Antioch.

A. D. 381. which was a large jurisdiction, comprehending several provinces, each of which had its metropolis. For what we now call a Diocese, that is the territory of a city subject to one Bishop only, was then called παροικία, *paræcia*, that is to say, a neighbourhood, from whence we have taken the word parish. I call that a province which in Greek is called ἐπαρχία, *eparchia*, and which was less than a Diocese. The occasion of this Canon was, that during the persecution of Valens certain Bishops interfered with the Ecclesiastical affairs of other provinces, though much to their advantage; as St. Eusebius[u] of Samosata, who had even ordained Bishops; and the Council were not willing that this should be drawn into precedent. In this Canon we find the whole plan of the Eastern Church: first of all the two Patriarchs, as they have been since called, viz. of Alexandria and Antioch, whose privileges were very different: The Bishop of Alexandria had the government of all the Churches of Egypt, including Libya and Pentapolis; the Bishop of Antioch only enjoyed certain privileges; but the Ecclesiastical government of the Diocese of the East, of which Antioch was the capital, is attributed in general to all the Bishops of the East, amongst whom there were several Metropolitans. The chief Bishops of the three other great Dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, afterwards assumed the name of Exarchs: the Bishop of Ephesus was Exarch of Asia; the Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, of Pontus[x]; and the Bishop of Heraclea had had the Exarchy of Thrace, but at that time it was swallowed up by Constantinople.

Thomass. Discipl. pars. i. lib. i. ch. 3. § 12.

Socr. v. 8.

Thomass. ibid.

However in all this the Council of Constantinople, in the same spirit as that of Nicæa, professed to establish no new thing, but only to confirm ancient customs. It likewise confirms them in relation to the barbarous nations, that is such as were without the limits of the Roman Empire; because it was necessary to take into consideration the different

[x] See Theodor. iv. 13. In like manner Peter of Alexandria had supplied Bishops to consecrate Maximus (Note a. page 2), and St. Meletius had set St. Gregory over the See of Constantinople.

[y] By the 25th Can. of the Œcum. Council of Chalcedon, (A. D. 451.) the Dioceses of Ephesus, (i. e. of Asia,) and Cæsarea of Cappadocia (i. e. of Pontus), were subjected to Constantinople; and by the 9th and 17th, an appeal was allowed from all the Eastern Patriarchs to Constantinople.

circumstances of place and the manners of people. Thus the Scythians[z] who lived near the mouth of the Danube had but one Bishop, because they were still in a wandering state, and without any fixed habitation; and we find likewise but one Bishop of the Goths. All the order of the Ecclesiastical hierarchy was regulated and confirmed by ancient tradition. This Canon, which gives to the Councils of particular places full authority in Ecclesiastical matters, seems to take away the power of appealing to the Pope, granted by the Council of Sardica[a], and to restore the ancient right. It was likewise decreed in this Council that the Bishop of Constantinople should have the privilege of being next in dignity to the Bishop of Rome; because Constantinople was New Rome. This is the most remarkable Canon of the whole Council; and whether this was a new honour granted to the Bishop of Constantinople, or whether he was already in possession of it, the consequences were of great importance; and instead of a mere dignity, it soon became a very extensive jurisdiction.

A. D. 381. Soz. vi. 21. Can. 3. Socr. v. 8. Soz. vii. 9.

VIII. Other Canons.

To prevent the Catholic Bishops from being lightly accused, the Council decreed, that it should not be lawful for all sorts of persons without distinction to accuse them. If the matter in dispute was of a private nature, and a personal complaint against a Bishop, no regard should be had to the person of the accuser, nor to his religion; because every body ought to have justice done them. But if it was an Ecclesiastical matter, a Bishop could not be accused, either by an heretic, or a schismatic, or by an excommunicated laic, or a deposed Clerk. A person who was himself accused might not accuse a Bishop or a Clerk, till he had first cleared himself. Those who were irreproachable were to lay their accusations before all the Bishops of the province. If the Provincial Council was not sufficient, they were to apply themselves to a greater

Can. 6.

[z] Their metropolis was Tomi, Theod. iv. 21. Soz. vii. 19. Nicetas Choniates (A. D. 1204) says, that up to his time the Scythians had but one Bishop. Thes. Orthod. Fid. lib. v. c. 5.

[a] The Council of Sardica was held A. D. 347, during the Arian troubles. The authority of the Apostolic See was acknowledged in Can. 3. and 4; no Bishop might be placed in the See of a condemned Bishop, in the case of the latter appealing, till the sentence of the Pope was received. Gratian issued a decree to much the same purpose, (378. A.D.) at the request of a Roman Synod. (See Sirmondi append. Cod. Theodos. p. 86. 96. Par. 1631.) Appeals to the Pope before A. D. 347, are enumerated by Cabassut. ad Can. 3. Conc. Sard.

A. D. 381. Council, namely, to that of the Diocese. The accusation was not to be received until the accuser had made himself liable, by a writing under his hand, to undergo the same penalty, if it proved a calumny. If any in contempt of this decree presumed to importune the Emperor, or secular courts of justice, or to trouble an Œcumenical[b] Council, his accusation shall not be allowed. This Canon likewise makes no mention of the Pope, nor of the Canons of Sardica.

Can. 7. The Council of Constantinople regulates also the manner of receiving heretics, who return to the Catholic Church. "The Arians," the Council decrees, "the Macedonians, the "Sabbatians[c], the Novatians who style themselves Cathari, "or Aristeri[d]; the Quartodecimani[e], the Apollinaristæ, are "received by giving an act of abjuration and renunciation of "all heresy. They are first to receive the seal or unction of "the holy Chrism in their forehead, their eyes, their nostrils, "their mouths, and their ears; and whilst this is being done "must be said, 'The seal of the unction of the Holy Ghost.' "But as for the Eunomians, who are baptized merely by im-"mersion, the Montanists or Phrygians[f], the Sabellians, and "other heretics, chiefly those who come from Galatia, we "receive them as Pagans. On the first day we make them "Christians, on the second Catechumens, on the third we

[b] The name, *Œcumenical*, occurs first in this Canon. Gieseler. Period II. Div. 1. Ch. 2. 3. 88. Note *.

[c] Sabbatians, were deserters from the Novatians. Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. vi. l. 6. Sabbatius was a Jewish convert to Christianity, ordained Priest by Marcian, the Novatian Bishop of Constantinople. Soc. v. 21; Sozom. vii. 18. As Socrates fixes Marcian's Consecration in the 6th year of Theodosius, and Sabbatius did not publish his heresy till after his own ordination; this is an argument against the authenticity of this Canon. The Sabbatians observed the Jewish time of celebrating Easter.

[d] Novatians. A sect which rose A. D. 251, under Novatus a Carthaginian Presbyter and Novatian, raised to the See of Rome in opposition to Cornelius. Their most prominent doctrine is condemned in the XVIth Article of our Church. They are called Cathari or *Puritans*, Augustin. de Hæres. ch. 38. Balsamon (end of 12th Cent.) ad Can. vii. Conc. C.P. c. 8. explains their other name, Aristeri, of their abomination of the left hand. So Harmenopulus (12th Cent.) de sect. 15.

[e] Quartodecimans ended the ante-Paschal fast according to the Jewish calculation, Exod. 12. 6. The Catholics ended it on the Sunday after the Jewish Passover. Eus. 5. 23.

[f] Montanus, A. D. 150, once a priest (probably) of Cybele (comp. Didymus, A. D. 370, de Trinitat. iii. c. 41, with St. Jerome, Ep. 27. (54.) ad Marcell. tom. iv. pars. 2. p. 65), proclaimed that he was divinely inspired to perfect the Church. Maximilla and Priscilla joined him, laying claim to the same illumination. His party called themselves, spiritual, and all other Christians, carnal. Tertullian fell into this heresy, which we find mentioned as late as A. D. 530. Justin. Cod. lib. i. Tit. 5. l. 18. 21. From originating in Phrygia (Pepuza) they are called in the text, Phrygians.

"exorcise them, after blowing three times upon their face A. D. 381.
"and into their ears; then we instruct them, we keep them
"a great while in the Church attending to the Scriptures,
"and at length we baptize them." We still find in the Euchol. p. 64. post Bapt.
Greek Euchologium the same unctions and the same words, used in Confirmation. As to those heretics whom the Council orders to be baptized, it was because they were either not baptized at all, or not according to the form used in the Church[g]; and they are the same, and of the same country with those whom St. Basil mentions in his first canonical epistle[h] to St. Amphilochius, and whose baptism he declares to be invalid.

There is a particular Canon in the Council of Constanti- Can. 5.
nople, relating to the reunion of the Church of Antioch, which is conceived in these terms: As concerning the Tome of those of the West[i], we likewise receive those of Antioch, who confess one only Divine nature of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This Tome of those of the West is some writing sent in favour of the party of Paulinus; but we cannot exactly say what it is. This is all that was determined in the Council of Constantinople.

The Bishops afterwards wrote a synodical letter to the Tom. ii. Conc. p. 946. B.
Emperor Theodosius, wherein, after giving a brief account of what they had enacted concerning faith and discipline, they add: "We beseech you therefore to authorise the decree of the "Council; that as you have honoured the Church by the "letters by which it was called, you may likewise fix a con- "clusion and seal to our determinations." After this letter follow the seven Canons. The first to confirm the Nicene faith, and condemn the new heretics by name; the second, to shew the distinction of provinces, and the privileges of the principal Churches; the third, to give the second rank to the Bishop of Constantinople; the fourth, against the Ordination of Maximus the Cynic; the fifth, for the reunion of the Church of Antioch; the sixth, concerning the accusations of Bishops;

[g] Vid. Conc. Arelat. I. (A. D. 314.) can. 8.

[h] Ep. 188. ad Amphiloch. tom. iii. p. 268. (A. D. 374.) He does not mention the Sabellians or Eunomians.

[i] Supposed to be by Bp. Beveridge the Nicene faith, confirmed at Sardica; by Valesius and Cave, the epistle of Pope Damasus, A. D. 378, sent to the Eastern Church (see Coustant. p. 495), and subscribed at Antioch by the Eastern Bishops in A. D. 379.

A. D. 381. and the seventh, concerning the manner of receiving heretics[k]. After these follows the Creed; then in the Latin copies, the subscriptions of one hundred and forty-seven Bishops divided according to their provinces, the first of which are Nectarius of Constantinople, and Timotheus of Alexandria. But we also find there St. Meletius of Antioch, who died before Timotheus came to the Council; which makes it probable that they subscribed as every decree was drawn up; and that those who came last subscribed to all that had been before enacted. The Canons of the Council bear date the seventh of the Ides of July, that is the ninth of that month.

Ibid. p. 946. A.

IX. Laws in favour of the Church.

In compliance with what the Council desired, the Emperor Theodosius made a law bearing date the third of the Calends of August, *i. e.* the thirtieth of July, in this year 381, by which he orders all the churches without farther delay to be put into the hands of those Bishops who confessed the Holy Trinity, acknowledging the Divine nature subsisting in three equal Persons; and who were in communion with Nectarius Bishop of Constantinople; in Egypt, with Timotheus of Alexandria; in the East, with Pelagius of Laodicea, and Diodorus of Tarsus; in the proconsular Asia, and the Diocese of Asia, with Amphilochius Bishop of Iconium, and Optimus of Antioch; in the Diocese of Pontus, with Helladius Bishop of Cæsarea, with Otreius of Melitene, and Gregory of Nyssa; and moreover with Terentius Bishop of Scythia, and Marmarius of Marcianople. Those who would communicate with all these Bishops, were to be put in possession of the churches; and those who did not agree with them concerning the Faith, were to be driven out from them, as notorious heretics, and never have them restored for the future, that the Nicene Faith might continue inviolable. This law is addressed to the Proconsul of Asia, because this province was most infested with those heretics whom the Council had just condemned, particularly the Macedonians. The law comprehends the five great Dioceses subject to the

Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. i. l. 3. Socr. v. 8. Soz. vii. 9.

Vid. Gothof. in hanc Leg.

[k] As to the fifth, sixth, and seventh Canons, the last is generally allowed to be supposititious, and to have first appeared, according to Bp. Beveridge, after A. D. 455; the two others probably belong to the Council held in the next year in Constantinople, which was in fact a continuation of the Œcumenical Council of Constantinople. (Theod. v. c. 8.)

Prætorian Præfect[1] of the East, the first of which was the East properly so called, that is Syria, then Egypt, Asia, Pontus and Thrace. Although Constantinople was contained in this last, the Bishop of that city is named first, by reason of the rank which the Council had lately granted him. The Bishop of the great Antioch in Syria is not mentioned, on account of the schism which yet continued there; for Paulinus was not acknowledged by the Eastern Bishops. St. Meletius was dead; and Flavian, elected to succeed him, was not yet consecrated Bishop, or at least not generally acknowledged. The Emperor therefore thought it sufficient to mention two of the most approved Bishops in the Diocese of the East, viz. Pelagius of Laodicea, and Diodorus of Tarsus. The proconsular Asia and the Diocese of Asia are joined together, for though they were two distinct Dioceses in respect of the Civil government, they were joined together[m] in the Ecclesiastical; so that the Diocese[1] of Asia contained eleven provinces. Although Ephesus was the capital of this Diocese of Asia, the Bishop of that city is not named here; but only Amphilochius of Iconium, and Optimus of Antioch in Pisidia. For the Diocese of Pontus we find the Bishop of Cæsarea, (which was the capital,) namely, Helladius, St. Basil's[2] successor. The two last, Terentius and Marmarius, are for the Diocese of Thrace, besides the Bishop of Constantinople who was named first. Terentius was Bishop of Tomi the metropolis of Scythia, and Marmarius was Bishop of Marcianople the metropolis of Mysia. It was for these reasons, so far as we are acquainted with them, that these eleven Bishops were selected from amongst the rest; and all their names are found in the subscriptions of the Council. Socrates says, that they were made Patriarchs; which is to be understood of the extra-

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Notit. dig. Imp. Orient. c. 1. [ap. Græv. Thes. tom. vii. p. 1338.]

Theodor. v. 28. [et Not. varior. ad loc.]

[1 i. e. The Ecclesiastical.]

[2 died A. D. 379.]

Socr. v. 8. et Vales. ad loc.

[1] The Prætorian Præfects, were four officers with plenary power, set over the East, Illyricum, Italy, and the Gauls. Cod. Theod. I. Tit. ii. l. 8.

[m] The Civil Diocese of Asia was governed by a Vicar (i. e. Vice-Præfect); Asia Proper was an independent province under a Proconsul, who acknowledged no authority under that of the Prætorian Præfect. These two countries Politically distinct were Ecclesiastically united. See Theodor. as quoted in the margin, and Notit. p. 1336. A similar instance occurs in the political division of Cappadocia (A. D. 371), which did not in St. Basil's opinion necessarily imply a change in the Ecclesiastical arrangement. This was the origin of the difference between St. Basil and Anthimus Bishop of Tyana. Orat. Greg. Naz. xliii. c. 58, and Notæ Leunclav. ad loc. Generally, however, the Ecclesiastical followed the Civil division; and the Church decreed that it should do so, in the Council of Chalcedon, can. 17.

A. D. 381. ordinary power which was accorded to them in these great Dioceses.

We find several other laws of Theodosius made this same year, 381, in favour of religion. There is one bearing date the fourth of the ides, *i. e.* the 10th, of January, by which he takes all the churches from the heretics, notwithstanding the rescripts which they may have obtained by surprise. He therein expressly condemns the Photinians, the Arians, and Eunomians; he recommends the Nicene faith, and forbids all the assemblies of heretics within the cities. This law is addressed to Eutropius the Prætorian Præfect of the East, whose learning and virtue is commended by St. Gregory Nazianzen. By another law addressed to the Count[n] of the East, and dated the 14th of the calends of August, *i. e.* the 19th of July, the Emperor Theodosius forbids the Eunomians, Arians, and Aëtians to build churches either in the cities or country, under penalty of confiscation of the places where they build them: that is to say, he gives order for executing what was before determined in the Council, with regard to the fifteen provinces comprehended within the Diocese of the East, where the Arians had most power, and where Eunomius and Aëtius had taught.

Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. v. l. 6.

Cod. Theod. ibid. l. 8.

About the same time, that is to say on the 8th of May, in this year 381, he made a law against the Manichees, which confirms the prohibition already[o] made against them, as to giving or receiving any thing amongst them by will or donation, and holding assemblies; and this under whatsoever name they disguise themselves, whether Encratites, Apotactites, Hydroparastates, or Saccophorians[p]. These were more ancient and less odious heresies, whose names the Manichees borrowed, in order to screen themselves from the public hatred. They called themselves Encratites, or continent, because they condemned marriage; Hydroparastates, or Aqua-

Cod. Theod. ibid. l. 7.

[n] *Count* of the East, presided over the *Diocese* of Oriens, or Syria, under the Præfect of the whole East. See note 1, p. 21.

[o] *Already* made against them, viz. by Valentinian I., A. D. 372. Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. v. l. 3. Otherwise, Valentinian tolerated both pagans and heretics. See Gieseler. Period. II. Div. 1. 2. 2. § 84.

[p] These sects (St. Epiph. 46, 47, Hær. St. Basil. Epist. 199. can. 47.) were often confounded with the Manichees, from holding in common with them two co-eternal principles of good and evil, and, particularly, in considering all matter to be evil. These opinions are condemned in the Apostolical Canons (43. and 45.), on the ground that "every creature of God is good." 1 Tim. iv. 4.

rians, because they used water in the Eucharist, entirely condemning the use of wine; the profession which they made of poverty occasioned their assuming the name of Apotactites, or renouncers; and of Saccophorians, or wearers of sackcloth; but they collected together all the errors of these sects, and held some still more criminal. This law also is addressed to Eutropius the Prætorian Præfect of the East, to whom is likewise addressed a law against apostates dated in the same month, and probably the same day; which deprives those of the privilege of making wills, who from Christians become Pagans, and annuls their testaments. At the end of the same year, and on the 13th of the calends of January, *i. e.* on the 20th of December, Theodosius made his first law, that we now have remaining, against the Pagans, against whom we find none since Constantius' time in the year 356. This law forbids them to offer sacrifices either in the day time, or at night, under the penalty of being proscribed. But he did not yet cause the temples to be shut; and in the following year 382, he published a rescript, expressly permitting them to assemble in a certain famous temple of Osdroena, although there were idols in it; on condition however of their not offering sacrifices there. The same year 382, he made a law against the Manichees more severe than the former; by which confirming, with respect to them all, the punishment of not having power to dispose of their estates, he adds the penalty of death to such as assume the names of Encratites, Saccophorians, or Hydroparastates; and orders Florus the Prætorian Præfect of the East, to appoint inquisitors for discovering them. This is the first time that we meet with the word *inquisitors* in the laws against heretics.

A. D. 381.

Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. vii. l. 1.

Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. x. l. 7. and Gothof. ad loc.

Cod. Theod. ibid. l. 8.

Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. 5. l. 9.

The Emperor Theodosius being informed of what had happened to St. Paul Bishop of Constantinople, whom the Præfect Philip had put to death in his exile [1], caused his body to be brought from Ancyra, and buried it with great state in the church which Macedonius the adversary of Paul had built, and which was very large and greatly esteemed. The name of St. Paul was given to it; and most of the people, especially the women, imagined since, that it was the Apostle St. Paul, whose relics were there deposited. Certain persons were appointed for taking care of those churches where relics were

Socr. v. 9. Soz. vii. 10.

[1] During the Arian persecution, A.D. 350.]

A. D. 381. laid up, and other holy places; and these guardians or keepers enjoyed the personal exemptions[q] of the Clergy. We have a famous law of Theodosius to this purpose, bearing date the last day of March 381, and addressed to the Count of the East; which address gives us reason to believe that the holy places, of which it speaks, are those of Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine.

Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. ii. l. 26. and Gothof. ad loc.

X. Council of Aquileia.

Immediately after the Council of Constantinople, that of Aquileia was held in the West, which had been called by order of the Emperor Gratian[r], as early as the beginning of the year 379. We find there but thirty-two, or thirty-three Bishops, and most of them of Italy; but the rest of the provinces except Spain, sent deputies thither, so that all the West were partakers in it. The Bishops of the East were permitted to come to it, but they were of opinion that they ought not. In it St. Valerian of Aquileia held the first place, probably on account of his age, and because the Council was held in his city; but St. Ambrose had the management of every thing, as being Metropolitan of that district, which was under the Vicariate[s] of Italy, of which Milan was the capital. He finished about the time of this Council his work concerning the Holy Ghost, which the Emperor Gratian had desired him to write three years before. For at the beginning of it, he takes notice of the death of Athanaric king of the

Tom. ii. Conc. p. 978. [Mansi. iii. p. 599.]

Gest. Conc. ap. Ambros. § 7. tom. ii. p. 788.

Ibid. § 54, &c.

Tom. ii. p. 599.

Prolog. § 17.

[q] Constantine released the Clergy from the burdensome municipal offices (Euseb. x. 7. Cod. Theod. xvi. 2. 1. A. D. 313, and 2. A. D. 319); an immunity enjoyed once by the pagan Priests, and allowed generally to the Jews, till by the third law in Cod. Theod. xvi. 8. A. D. 321, it was restricted to a few among them. The Clergy and Church lands were, besides, freed from the *extraordinary* and from the so-called *sordid* imposts (e. g. supplying timber, coal, &c.) Cod. Theod. xi. 16. 15. A. D. 382. Ibid. 18. A. D. 390. Ibid. 21. and 22. A. D. 397; from entertaining the Court, Judges, &c. on their journeys, Cod. vii. 8. xvi. 2. 8. A. D. 343; from supplying carriages, &c. to convey the Emperor's corn, &c., Cod. viii. 5. xi. 16. 15. A. D. 382. xvi. 2. 40. A. D. 412; and from the tax paid every four years for permission to trade, Cod. xvi. 2. 8. A. D. 343. xiii. 1. 1. A. D. 357. xvi. 2. 15. A. D. 360. xiii. 1. 11. A. D. 379. See Bingham, v. 3. &c.

[r] Palladius and Secundianus, who alone maintained Arianism in the West, complained to Gratian that they were called Arians, and begged him to assemble a General Council, particularly that he would summon the Eastern Bishops. St. Ambrose represented the unreasonableness of troubling all the Bishops for the sake of two heretics, and Gratian dispensed with the attendance of such as had reasonable grounds for absenting themselves. St. Ambr. Ep. 12. § 3. 10. § 2. Script. Imp. in Gest. Concil. Aq. § 4.

[s] A civil officer. The authority of the Prætorian Præfect of Italy extended over the three Dioceses of Africa, Italy (i. e. Lombardy and Istria), and Rome (i. e. the islands, and Italy south of the Arno), each of which was governed by a Vicar. Vid. Pancir. ap. Græv. Th. vii. pp. 1791. 1894. 1905.

Goths[t], which happened on the 25th of January, 381, and mentions Damasus, Peter, and Gregory, as Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople; which shews that he was not yet informed of the death of Peter, nor of the resignation of Gregory. This work is divided into three books, and in it St. Ambrose proves, in opposition to the Arians and Macedonians, that the Holy Ghost is God, equal with the Father and the Son, and of the same substance; that He spake by the Prophets; and whatever else had been proved by the other Catholic doctors; such as Didymus[u], St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Gregory of Nyssa, of whose proofs and thoughts he makes a very judicious use, in order to make them known to the Western Church. After St. Ambrose, we find in the Council of Aquileia, Aneminius[x], whom he had lately caused to be elected Bishop of Sirmium, the capital of the Western Illyricum; Constantius of Sciscia in the same province, and Felix of Jadera, on the borders of Dalmatia. The deputies from Gaul, were St. Justus of Lyons, Constantius of Orange, Proculus of Marseilles; and for the Alps, Theodorus of Octodurum in Valais, Domninus of Grenoble, and Amantius of Nice. St. Justus of Lyons is thought to be the same person to whom two letters of St. Ambrose are addressed, concerning certain questions of Scripture. At his return from this Council, St. Justus quitted his Church, and retired into the solitudes of Egypt, where he lived some years with a young Reader, named Viator, who had followed him. After their death their bodies were brought back to Lyons on the 2d of September, the same day on which the Church still honors the memory of St. Justus. We find Constantius Bishop of Orange present at several Councils, as well as Proculus of Marseilles, whom St. Jerome styles, Most holy and

A. D. 381. Ibid. § 18.

Gest. § 61. 62.

Epist 7 & 8.

Vita ap. Surium, Sept. 2. Tom. v. p. 7.

Martyr. Rom. p. 398.

St. Jerome, Ep. 4. 10. [Ep. 95. tom. 4. p. 777. Bened.]

[t] The Visigoths (of whom Athanaric was king) had been allowed by the Romans to settle to the south of the Danube. After many serious quarrels with the Romans, they had now come to terms with Theodosius.

[u] Didymus was head of the catechetical school at Alexandria. His book On the Holy Ghost is extant in a Latin translation by St. Jerome, tom. iv. p. 493. He died A. D. 395.

[x] While the Arian Empress, Justina, was at Sirmium (379) there was an election to the Bishopric of that See, in which Photinus and his successor Germinius an Arian had done much harm; and St. Ambrose quitted his own Diocese (see note x, p. 16), and succeeded in making Aneminius Bishop of the vacant See. Hence, especially, Justina's enmity to St. Ambrose, of which see below, ch. 41. Paulin. Vit. § 11.

A. D. 381. most learned Pontiff, and he exhorts the Monk Rusticus to improve by his instructions.

The Bishops of Africa deputed to the Council of Aquileia, were Felix and Numidius. No one came thither from the Bishop of Rome, or from all that part of Italy which was particularly under his jurisdiction, that is the Vicariate of Rome[y]. From the other parts of Italy there came thither Eusebius of Bologna, whose zeal for forming and directing communities of virgins is commended by St. Ambrose; Limenius of Vercellæ, the successor of St. Eusebius; Sabinus of Placentia, to whom several of St. Ambrose's letters are addressed; Abundantius of Trent; Philastrius[1] of Brixia, famous for his holy life, and his book on Heresies; Maximus of Emona in Istria; Bassianus[2] of Lodi[3], a friend of St. Ambrose; Heliodorus[4] of Altinum, known by his friendship with St. Jerome; Eventius of Ticinum or Pavia, called also Juventius; these three last are reckoned[5] among the Saints: Exuperantius of Tortona[6], the disciple of St. Eusebius of Vercellæ, and a confessor; and Diogenes of Genoa. There are some others mentioned, without any notice of their Sees, or even of their being Bishops. We find there also the Priest Chromatius[7], St. Jerome's friend, and afterwards Bishop of Aquileia. These are the persons who were present at this Council; being almost all honored by the Church as Saints. On the Arian side there came thither only Palladius and Secundianus, Bishops, and a Priest named Attalus, the disciple of Valens, Bishop of Pettaw[8] in Illyricum; this Valens at that time concealed himself at Milan. On the first of September[z] the Bishops assembled in the church of Aquileia, being pressed to it by the Arians, who came thither even before the time appointed. To go back to the original of the dispute, the Bishops caused Arius' letter[9] to St. Alexander of Alexandria to be read, and were for obliging the Arians to condemn the blasphemies contained therein; which they constantly refused, without, however, owning themselves to be Arians. After having disputed a long time without making any progress, it was agreed, in order to condemn them in a legal manner, to draw up certain acts, which they caused to be

De Virginit. c. xx. § 129. tom. 2. p. 245.

[1] Martyrol. Jul. 18. p. 318.

[2] Epist. S. Ambr. iv. ad Felic.

[3] Laus Pompeia.]

[4] Epist. Hieron. i. ii. iii. [v. xxxiv. xxxv. Ben.]

[5] Martyrol. Jan. 19. Jul. 3. Feb. 8.

[6] Dertona.]

[7] Epist. Hieron. xliii. [vii. Bened.]

Epist. Ambr. x. §. 2.

[8] Petavio.]

Gest. Conc. ap. Amb. tom. ii. p. 789. C. D.

[9] Preserved ap. S. Athan. de Synod. Arim. et Sel. tom. i. P. 2. p. 729. and Epiph. Hæres. 69. § 7.]

[y] See note s, p. 24.

[z] The Council began and ended on the fifth, or more probably the third, (see next chapter,) of September.

taken down by notes as they were delivered; and those acts began as follows. A. D. 381.

XI. Acts of the Council of Aquileia.

Under the Consulate of Syagrius and Eucherius, on the 3rd of the nones of September, *i. e.* the 3rd of that month, in the year 381, in the church, the Bishops being seated, viz. Valerian, Ambrose, Eusebius, and the rest who have been named, Ambrose the Bishop said: "We have spoken a great "while without any acts, but since Palladius and Secundianus "offend our ears with so many blasphemies as are hardly "credible, and lest they should have recourse to some artifice "to deny hereafter what they have said; though the testi- "mony of so many Bishops cannot be doubted; it is proper "to have acts made. Ye are therefore to declare, holy "Bishops, whether you agree to it." All the Bishops said: "We agree to it." Afterwards St. Ambrose caused a Deacon named Sabinianus to read the Emperor's letter for convening the Council. Then St. Ambrose said, "This is what the "Emperor hath ordered; he would not wrong the Bishops, "he hath declared them interpreters of the Scripture, and "judges of this controversy. Since then we are assembled in "Council, answer what is proposed to you. Arius' letter "hath been read; it shall be read again if you desire it; "from the very beginning it contains blasphemies, saying "that *the Father only is eternal.* If you believe that the Son "of God is not eternal, prove it if you are able; if you "believe that this proposition ought to be condemned, then "condemn it. The Gospel is before us, and St. Paul and all "the Scriptures; prove by any passage whatsoever that the "Son of God is not eternal."

Palladius said: "You have so ordered it that the Council "should not be general, as appears by the Emperor's letter "which you have produced; and we cannot answer in the "absence of our brethren." St. Ambrose said; "Who are "your brethren?" "The Bishops of the East," said Palladius. St. Ambrose said: "However since in times past the usage "of Councils has been, that the Eastern Bishops hold theirs "in the East, and those of the West in the West; we who are "in the West, are assembled at Aquileia according to the "Emperor's order: besides, the Præfect of Italy hath declared "by his letters that those of the East might come hither if

A. D. 381. "they pleased; but they, knowing the custom which I "have mentioned, would not come." Palladius said: "Our "Emperor Gratian ordered those of the East to come; can "you deny it? He himself told us so." "He so far indeed "ordered it," said St. Ambrose, "as not to forbid it." Palladius said: "It is by your solicitations that you have "hindered them from coming, on a false pretence, and you "have kept away the Council."

XII. Eternity of the Son of God.

St. Ambrose said: "We must not wander any longer; "answer directly. Was Arius right in saying, that *the Father* "*only is eternal*? Is what he said according to the Scrip- "tures or not?" Palladius said: "I do not answer you." Constantius Bishop of Orange said: "Do you not answer "after having blasphemed so long?" (This must be understood of the former dispute before the acts were written.) Eusebius of Bologna added: "You ought to declare your "faith plainly. If a Pagan should ask you, how you believe "in JESUS CHRIST, you ought not to be ashamed to confess "it." Sabinus Bishop of Placentia said: "It is yourselves "who urged us to assemble at this time, without staying for "the rest of our brethren who might have come; therefore "you are not at liberty to go back. Do you say that Christ "is a created Being, or that the Son of God is eternal?" Palladius said: "We told you that we would come to "prove you blameworthy for imposing upon the Emperor." St. Ambrose said: "Let Palladius' letter be read, in order "to see whether he mentioned this to us; and we shall find "that he still deceives us." Palladius said: "Yes, let it be "read." The Bishops said to him: "When the Emperor was "at Sirmium, did *you* solicit him for a Council, or was it *he* "that pressed you?" Palladius replied: "He said to me, "'Go.' We said to him, 'Are the Bishops of the East "summoned?' 'They are,' said he. If those of the East "had not been summoned should we have come?"

§ 11. St. Ambrose said: "Let us say no more of the Eastern "Bishops: I now ask your opinion. Arius' letter hath been "read; you say that you are not an Arian; therefore either "condemn Arius, or defend him." Palladius debated again upon the absence of the Eastern Bishops, and St. Ambrose

§ 12. added: "It was you yourself who urged us to assemble at

"this time; you yourself have to-day said, 'We come as A. D. 381.
"Christians to Christians;' therefore you owned us to be
"Christians. You promised to assign your reasons, and to
"hear those which we had to give. I have offered you the
"letter which Arius wrote, in regard to which you say that
"we have wronged you: you say that you are not followers
"of Arius. You must to-day declare your opinion; either
"condemn or defend him by such passages as you think fit."
Afterwards he added: "Then according to Arius' letter,
"Jesus Christ the Son of God is not eternal." Palladius still
shifted the matter to the question of the validity of the Council.
St. Ambrose added: "He who said that the Son of God is
"not eternal has been unanimously condemned: Arius hath
"said it: Palladius followeth him, refusing to condemn Arius.
"Let us see therefore whether we are to approve his opinion,
"and whether he speaks agreeably to the Scripture or contrary
"to it. For we read: *The eternal power of God and His* Rom. 1. 20.
"*Divinity*; and again: Jesus Christ is *the power of God.* 1 Cor. 1. 24.
"If therefore the power of God is eternal, Jesus Christ
"is eternal." St. Eusebius of Bologna said, "This is our
"faith, this is the Catholic doctrine; anathema to him
"that doth not own it." All the Bishops cried out:
"Anathema."

Palladius said: "I have never seen Arius, and know not § 14.
"who he is." St. Eusebius said: "The blasphemy of Arius
"wherein he denies the eternity of the Son of God has been
"set before us; will you condemn it together with its author,
"or defend it?" Palladius said: "I will not speak but in a
"plenary Council." St. Ambrose continuing to ask their opinions, addressed himself to the deputies from Gaul: and Constantius Bishop of Orange said: "We have always condemned § 15.
"this impiety, and we still condemn not only Arius, but
"whosoever does not own that the Son of God is eternal."
St. Ambrose asked the opinion of St. Justus in particular, as
being deputed from another part of Gaul; and St. Justus
replied: "Whoever does not confess, that the Son of God is
"coeternal with the Father, let him be anathema." St. Ambrose likewise asked the opinion of the deputies from Africa,
and the Bishop Felix answered in the name of all the rest, § 16.
that they had already condemned that error, and that they

A. D. 381. would still condemn it. Anemínius as Bishop of Sirmium the capital of Illyricum, pronounced the same anathema.

XIII. Divinity of the Son of God.

St. Ambrose said: "Hear what follows." Then these words were read, in Arius' letter, concerning the Father: "Who only is eternal, Who only is without beginning, Who "only is true, Who only hath immortality." St. Ambrose
§ 17. said: "Condemn in this point likewise him that saith that "the Son is not very God." Palladius answered: "Who is "there that denies that He is very Son?" St. Ambrose replied, "Arius hath said it." Palladius said: "Since the
Rom. 9. 5. "Apostle says, that Jesus Christ is God over all, can any one "deny that He is very Son of God?" St. Ambrose said:
§ 18. "That you may know with what simplicity we seek the truth, "observe that I too say what you say, but you say it only by "halves. For by speaking thus you seem to deny His being "very God. If then you confess simply that the Son of God "is very God; speak these words in the same order as I utter "them." Palladius said, "I speak to you according to the "Scriptures; I say that the Lord is very Son of God." St. Ambrose replied: "Do you say that the Son of God is "very Lord?" Palladius answered: "Since I say that He "is very Son, what needs there more?" St. Ambrose said: "I require you not only to say that He is very Son, but that "the Son of God is very Lord." St. Eusebius of Bologna said: "Jesus Christ is very God according to the Catholic "faith." Palladius said: "He is very Son of God." St. Eusebius said: "We likewise are sons of God by adoption, but "He is so by divine generation. Do you confess then, that "the very Son of God is very Lord, properly and essentially?" Palladius replied: "I say that He is very only-begotten Son
§ 20. "of God." Eusebius said: "Do you then believe that it is "speaking contrary to the Scriptures, if we say that Jesus "Christ is very God?" Palladius making no answer, St. Ambrose said: "He that only saith that He is very Son, and "does not say that He is very Lord, has the appearance of "denying it. Let Palladius therefore acknowledge it in this "order, if he can prevail upon himself to do it, and let him "declare whether he says that the Son of God is very Lord."
St. John 17. 3. Palladius replied: "The Son saith: *That they may know "Thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.*

"Does he speak this by way of feeling only, or in reality?" A. D. 381.
St. Ambrose replied: "St. John hath said in his Epistle: *He* 1 St. John 5.
"*is the true God.* Do you deny it?" Palladius answered: 20.
"When I tell you that he is very Son, I also confess a true
"Divinity." St. Ambrose replied: "Even in this there is
"an evasion; for when you speak of one only and true
"Divinity, you ascribe it to the Father only, and not to
"the Son: if therefore you would speak plainly, since you
"refer us to the Scriptures, say with the Evangelist St. John,
"*He is true God;* or deny that he hath said it." Palladius
answered: "There is none other but the Son who is
"begotten." St. Eusebius said: "Jesus Christ is true God § 21.
"according to the belief of the whole world and the Catholic
"profession. Is He not so in your opinion?" Palladius
said: "He is the power of our God." St. Ambrose said:
"You do not declare yourself frankly; and consequently let
"him be anathema who does not confess that the Son of God
"is very Lord." All the Bishops cried out "Anathema to
"him who will not say that the Christ, the Son of God, is
"very Lord."

As they continued to read Arius' letter, they examined this expression; *The Father only possesseth immortality;* and St Ambrose said; "The Son of God, hath He immortality
"or not, according to His Divinity?" Palladius answered:
"Do you receive these words of the Apostle or not, *the King* 1 Tim. 6.
"*of Kings who only hath immortality?*" St. Ambrose replied, 15, 16.
"What say you of Christ the Son of God?" Palladius
answered, "The name Christ, is it divine or human?" St. § 23.
Eusebius said, "According to the mystery of the Incarnation,
"we call Him Christ, but the same is God and man." Palladius answered, "Christ is a name of the flesh, the name of a
"man; do you the rest likewise answer me." St. Eusebius
said, "Wherefore do you dwell upon useless matters? This
"passage of the Apostle which you have cited in favour of
"Arius, expresses, if you understand it, when speaking of
"God, the dignity of the whole Divine nature; for the Father
"and the Son are both signified under the notion of God."
St. Ambrose said, "I ask you to give me your opinion
"plainly. Hath the Son of God immortality according to § 24.
"the divine generation, or hath He not?" and after several

A. D. 381. evasions of Palladius, he added; "What think you of him "who denieth that the Son of God hath immortality?" All the Bishops cried out: "Let him be anathema." Palladius
§ 25. said, "The divine generation is immortal." St. Ambrose replied, "This is a farther evasion to avoid explaining your-"self clearly concerning the Son of God. I affirm that the "Son of God hath immortality according to His Divinity; "do you deny it?" Palladius said, "Is Jesus Christ dead or "not?" "He is," replied St. Ambrose, "according to the "flesh: even *our* souls do not die. Do you then think that "Jesus Christ is dead according to His Divinity?" Palladius said, "What makes you afraid of the word death?" St. Ambrose replied, "I am not afraid of it; on the contrary, I con-"fess that He is dead according to our flesh; for it is He "Himself that hath delivered me from the bands of death." And as Palladius still continued speaking ambiguously, affirming that he knew not Arius, and refusing to condemn him,
§ 26. St. Ambrose said, "Let him be anathema who will not "explain his faith freely." All the Bishops cried, "Let him "be anathema."

They continued reading Arius' letter: *Who only is wise:* and Palladius said, "The Father is wise of Himself, but the "Son is not wise." St. Ambrose and St. Eusebius both exclaimed against this impiety, and Palladius confessed that the Son of God is the Wisdom. St. Ambrose asked him, "Is He wise or not?" Palladius answered, "He is the Wis-"dom." "He is wise therefore," saith St. Ambrose, "since
1 Cor. 1. 24. "He is the Wisdom." Palladius replied, "We answer you "according to the Scripture." St. Eusebius said, "Let him "be anathema who denies that the Son of God is wise." All the Bishops cried out, "Let him be anathema." They also
§ 28. examined Secundianus upon this point, but he would not explain himself.

They proceeded to the term *good;* and Palladius owned that Jesus Christ is good. St. Ambrose said, "Arius was then "in the wrong when he affirmed that the Father only is good." Palladius said, "He that doth not say that Jesus Christ is
§ 29. "good, speaketh amiss." St. Eusebius said, "You confess that "Jesus Christ is good, but so am I also; for it is to me to
St. Mat. 25. 21. "whom it is said, *Well done thou good and faithful servant;*

"and, the *good man out of the good treasure of his heart* A. D. 381.
"*bringeth forth that which is good.*" Palladius replied, "I have St. Luke 6.
"already said it, I will not answer you until there is a full 45.
"Council." St. Ambrose said, "The Jews said *he is a good* St. John 7.
"*man;* and Arius denies that the Son of God is good." 12.
"Who can deny it?" replied Palladius. St. Eusebius said,
"The Son of God then is a good God." Palladius answered,
"The Father who is good hath begotten a good Son." St.
Ambrose replied, "He hath likewise begotten *us* good, but § 30.
"not according to the divinity." And not being able to get
any thing else from him, he said: "Let him be anathema who
"doth not confess that the Son of God is a good God." All
the Bishops said, "Let him be anathema."

They continued reading: *Who alone is powerful.* St. Am- § 31.
brose said, "The Son of God, is He powerful or not?" Palla-
dius replied, "He that made all things is He not powerful?"
St. Ambrose said, "Arius therefore hath spoken wrong, let
him be condemned in this at least?" Palladius answered,
"How do I know who he is? I answer for myself." Then he
confessed that the Son of God is powerful, but he would not
own Him to be the mighty *Lord.* St. Ambrose said, "Men § 32.
"are likewise powerful, for it is written; *Why boastest thou thy-* Ps. 52. 1.
"*self in mischief, O mighty man?* And in another place: *For* 2Cor.12.10.
"*when I am weak then am I strong.* I require you to confess
"that Christ the Son of God is the mighty Lord; or to prove
"the contrary. For I, who affirm that the Father and the
"Son have but one power, say that the Son of God is
"powerful as the Father is." Palladius answered, "I have
"said it already; we answer you in this dispute as well as we
"can. You yourselves will at once be judges and parties.
"We will not answer you now; we will answer you in a
"plenary Council." St. Ambrose said, "Let him be anathema
"who denies that Christ is the mighty Lord." All the
Bishops cried out, "Anathema."

They examined the quality of *judge,* and Palladius allowed XIV.
that the Son of God is Judge of all. But he added, "There Equality of the Son of God.
"is He that giveth, and He that receiveth;" meaning by this § 33. &c.
that the Father gives the Son the power of judging. St.
Ambrose said, "Hath He given it Him by grace, or by
"nature? for it is likewise given to men." Palladius replied,

A. D. 381. "Is the Father, say you, the greater or not?" St. Ambrose perceiving that he endeavoured to turn the dispute by this question, which was what the Arians most depended upon, said to him, "I will answer you hereafter." But as he persisted that he would make no reply, if they did not answer him on this point, St. Eusebius of Bologna said, "According "to the Divine Nature, the Son is equal to the Father. You
St. John 5. 18. "find in the Gospel that the Jews persecuted Him *because He "said that God was His Father, making Himself equal to God.* "What the impious confessed when they persecuted Him, we "who are believers cannot deny." St. Ambrose added, "You
Phil. 2. 6. "read in another place; *Being in the form of God, He thought "it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no "reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant.* Do you "see that He is equal in the form of God? In what respect "then is He less? According to the form of a servant, not "according to the form of God." St. Eusebius said, "As "being in the form of a servant He could not be inferior to a "servant, so being in the form of God He could not be "inferior to God." St. Ambrose said, "You say that the "Son of God is less according to the Divinity." Palladius replied, "The Father is greater." "According to the flesh,"
St. John 14. 28. said St. Ambrose. Palladius replied, "*He that hath sent me "is greater than I.* Is it the flesh that is sent, or the Son of "God?" St. Ambrose answered, "Now are you convicted of "falsifying the Scripture; for it is written, *The Father is "greater than I;* and not, *He that hath sent me is greater than "I.*" Palladius replied, "The Father is greater." St. Ambrose said, "Let him be anathema who addeth to or taketh from "the divine Scriptures." All the Bishops cried out, "Anathema." They continued disputing upon these words, *The Father is greater.* Palladius rose up and was going out; however he stayed, and after debating a little more upon this point, St. Ambrose said, "Let him be anathema who denieth "that the Son of God is equal to the Father, according to "the Divine Nature." All the Bishops cried out, "Anathema."

§ 40, &c. Palladius returned again to the same point, saying that the Son is *subject* to the Father, and consequently less, and would not make a distinction between the Humanity and Divinity; and renewing his protestations from time to time, that he

would not answer in this Council. At length St. Ambrose replied thus, "When the impieties of Arius were read, yours "likewise were condemned which agreed with them. You "have thought fit while the letter is being read, to propose "what you would; you have been told in answer after what "manner the Son hath said that the Father is the greater, "namely according to the flesh which He hath taken upon "Him. You have also urged that the Son of God is *subject;* "and you have been answered that He is so according to the "flesh, not according to His Divinity. You have our pro- "fession; hear now what follows; since you have been "answered, do you reply to what is going to be read." Palladius said, "I will not answer you, because all that I "have said hath not been written down." St. Ambrose replied, "You see that every thing is written down. In short "what is written is more than sufficient to convict you of "impiety." And he proceeded, "Do you affirm that Jesus "Christ is a creature, or do you deny it?" Palladius would not answer, but desired his writers to be sent for; which Sabinus Bishop of Placentia was for granting him. But Palladius then again required a plenary Council. A. D. 381.

Then St. Ambrose addressed himself to the Priest Attalus, who was also amongst the Arians, and pressed him to declare whether he had not subscribed to the Council of Nicæa. Attalus, after being some time silent, only spoke to refuse an answer; and Sabinus the Bishop said, "We are witnesses "that Attalus subscribed to the Council of Nicæa, and that he "will not answer." St. Ambrose, by the advice of all the Bishops, caused the letter of Arius to be continued, and said to Palladius, "I have answered you concerning the terms "*greater* and *subject*; do you answer me in your turn." Palladius said, "I will not answer you, unless there come "some arbiters after Sunday[1]." St. Ambrose said, "You came "to a conference, but because you have seen the letter of "Arius, which you will not condemn and cannot maintain, "you now go off and make evasions. I am reading it "entirely. Say whether you believe Jesus Christ to be a "created being: or whether there was a time when he was "not; or whether the only Son of God hath always existed." Palladius replied, "Since I convict you of impiety, I refuse § 44, &c.

[1 The Council was held on Friday.]

A. D. 381. "you as my judge; you are a transgressor." Sabinus of Placentia said, "With what impieties do you reproach our "brother Ambrose? declare them." Palladius said, "I have "told you already I will answer in a General Council, and "before arbiters." St. Ambrose said, "I desire to be accused "and convicted in an assembly of my brethren."

XV. Condemnation of Palladius and Secundianus.

§ 49, &c. Then St. Valerian of Aquileia said, "Do not urge "Palladius so much, he cannot sincerely confess the Catholic "truth; he knows himself guilty of two heresies; he was "ordained by the Photinians, and condemned with them; and "he is now going to be condemned as an Arian." Palladius replied, "Prove it." St. Ambrose said, "You accuse me of "impiety; prove that." And soon after all the Bishops said, "We all pronounce Anathema to Palladius." St. Ambrose said: "Do you consent, Palladius, that the rest of Arius' letter "be read?" Palladius replied, "Allow us arbiters, and let us "likewise have writers on both sides." St. Ambrose said, "What arbiters do you require?" Palladius replied, "There "are several persons here who are qualified by their dignities." St. Ambrose said, "The Bishops are appointed to judge laymen, "not laymen to judge Bishops. However, tell us what judges "you would have." Chromatius the Priest replied, "Without "prejudice to the condemnation pronounced by the Bishops, "let us hear at length who are of Palladius' party." St. Ambrose added, "We are ashamed to see that a man who pretends to "be a Bishop, desires to be judged by laymen; he deserves to "be condemned for that very thing, besides the impieties of "which he is convicted: therefore I declare that he is un-"worthy of the Sacerdotal dignity, that he ought to be "deprived of it, and a Catholic ordained in his place." After this he reminded the Bishops, of the Emperor's having referred the determination of this dispute to them, as being the interpreters of the Scriptures, and then he collected their votes.

§ 54. St. Valerian, Bishop of Aquileia, gave his opinion first, in these terms: "It appears to me that he who will defend Arius "is an Arian: he that does not condemn his blasphemies, is "a blasphemer himself; therefore I am of opinion, that he "ought to be cut off from the fellowship of Bishops." Palladius seeing that he was in earnest, and that he was going to

be deposed, seemed to make a jest of it, and said: "You have A. D. 381.
"began to play, play on; we shall not answer you, without
"an Eastern Council;" after which he said nothing more.
The Bishops continued to give their opinions, every one in § 55, &c.
particular, to the same purport, though in different words;
and all declared him an Arian, and deposed from his Bishopric.
Then St. Ambrose addressed himself to Secundianus, and
urged him to acknowledge that the Son of God is truly God.
But Secundianus would not say any thing, but that he was
truly the only Son of God; and not that he was True God,
saying that this proposition was not in the Scriptures. And
whatever arguments St. Ambrose, who was seconded by
St. Eusebius of Bologna, could use, they never could persuade
him to say any thing else. This dispute having lasted from
day break to the seventh hour, that is to say, till one o'clock Epist. x.
in the afternoon, Secundianus and Palladius were deposed Synod. ap. Ambros.
from the dignity of the Priesthood, and Attalus the Priest was § 5. 8. 9.
likewise condemned.

After this the Council of Aquileia wrote several letters, of XVI. Letters of the Council of Aquileia.
which we have four remaining. The first was sent to the Ap. Amb. Ep. ix.
Bishops of Gaul, and of the Provinces of Vienne and Nar-
bonne, in which that Council returns them thanks for the
deputies which they sent to it, and gives them an account of
the condemnation of Palladius and Secundianus. We may
suppose that letters of the same nature, were written to the
other provinces who had sent deputies; and it possibly might
be the same letter, only changing the names. The other Ibid. Ep. x.
three letters of the Council of Aquileia were directed
to the Emperors, that is to say, to Gratian. In the first,
the Bishops return thanks to the Emperors for calling
the Council, and give them the particulars of what had
passed, the evasions, and quibbles of the heretics, their
blasphemies and condemnation; for the execution of which
they desire them to give orders, by letters to the judges of
the several places, to the intent that they might be expelled
from the churches, and that Catholic Bishops might be
put into their places by the deputies of the Council. After
having mentioned the Priest Attalus, they add: "What
"shall we say of his master Julianus Valens? who though he § 9, 10.
"was close at hand, yet declined coming to the Council, for

A. D. 381. "fear of being called to account for his country that is "destroyed, and his people whom he has betrayed[a]. It is "reported that he even appeared in the presence of the "Roman army in a Gothic habit, wearing a necklace and "bracelet after the Pagan manner, thus profaning the dignity "of the Priesthood. For he had been ordained Bishop at "Pettaw after the righteous Marcus, whose memory is highly "esteemed: and now he remains at Milan after the ruin of "his country." The Council therefore requested that he might be banished from Italy, and sent home: that the Emperors would give a favourable audience to the deputies of the Council, and send them back speedily, after having granted their requests; and lastly, that in execution of the previous laws, the Photinians might be forbidden to hold any assemblies, as they continued to do at Sirmium.

Ap. Ambr. Ep. xi. § 3. The second letter, to the Emperors, or more properly to Gratian, relates to the Anti-Pope Ursinus[b]. The Bishops had taken notice in the Council, that he sided with the Arians, and particularly with Valens of Pettaw, in order to disturb the Church of Milan; holding private assemblies with them, sometimes near the doors of the synagogue[c], at other times in the houses of the Arians, and giving them direction how to disturb the peace of the Church. Therefore the Bishops entreated the Emperor not to hear him any more, and firmly

[a] Alluding to the devastation of Pannonia and Illyricum by the Goths after the defeat of Valens at Hadrianople, A. D. 378. St. Jerome describes the ravages of the Barbarians tom. iii. p. 1645, ad cap. 1. Zephan. See Gibbon, ch. 26. vol. ii. p. 621. In consequence of these distresses, Valens Bishop of Pettaw (on the Drave) had forsaken his Ecclesiastical charge.

[b] Damasus was made Pope on the death of Liberius (whose fall is so notorious), A. D. 366. Ursinus (called by some Ursicinus) was, as Damasus had been, Deacon at Rome, and could not endure the exaltation of his former colleague, who is suspected of having taken part with Felix, the successor to the power of Liberius, when exiled by the Arians, (see the Bened. on St. Ambr. Epist. xi.) Ursinus was factiously consecrated by one Bishop, and a contest ensued, in which even much blood was shed. Ursinus was banished, and being recalled the next year, was banished again after two months. In 371 he was allowed to leave his place of exile, and only excluded from Rome and the suburbicarian provinces. In 378 he held the factious meetings mentioned in the letter, and was exiled to Cologne. He continued to petition Gratian to restore him, and hence the request of the Bishops at Aquileia.

[c] It does not quite appear what is here meant by the Synagogue. It is used for a Christian assembly in St. James ii. 2. St. Ignatius ad Trall. c. 3. and ad Polycarp. c. 4. But it does not seem to be used for the place of assembling. (See Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 19.) Parasynagogue is used by St. Basil for a conventicle (Epist. Canon 1.) That here, however, is meant the Jewish synagogue, appears probable from the connection of Ursinus with the apostate Jew, Isaac, whom he employed in calumniating St. Damasus.

to withstand all his importunities; not only because he had favoured the heretics, but because he endeavoured to disturb the Roman Church, which was the head of the whole Empire, and from which the right of communion extends to all the other Churches[d]: these are the terms which they make use of. A. D. 381. § 4.

The third letter of the Council of Aquileia to the Emperors, is properly to Theodosius, as it relates to the East. What the Bishops wrote, was to this effect, "In all the West "there remained but two heretics, whom we have just "condemned, and who only disturbed two corners of Dacia "and Mœsia. Throughout all other parts, as far as the "ocean, the Faithful are of one communion. But in the "East, though the heretics are suppressed, yet we hear that "there are frequent divisions amongst the Catholics: it is "reported that Timotheus of Alexandria[e], and Paulinus of "Antioch, who have ever continued in our communion, "are molested by those who have not always been steadfast "in the faith. These last we desire to conciliate, yet without "prejudice to the ancient communion, which we hold with "the others. We have long since received letters from both "parties, and chiefly from those who were divided at Antioch; "and we were resolved to send some persons thither from us, "in order to be the mediators of a peace; but we were pre-"vented from doing it by the irruptions of the enemies[f], and "the disorders in our public affairs. Therefore we beg you "to give orders that a Council of all the Catholic Bishops "may be held again at Alexandria, in order to decide who "they are to whom we are to grant communion, and with "whom we are to hold it." This is what passed at the Council of Aquileia; and this last letter plainly shews that the Bishops who were there present, either did not acknowledge the Council which had lately been held at Constanti- Ap. Ambr. Ep. xii. § 3.

[d] The words of the Epistle are, "It "were fit that your clemency should be "petitioned not to suffer the Roman "Church, the head of the whole Roman "world, and that sacred faith of the "Apostles, to be disturbed; for thence "flow all the rights of venerable Com-"munion." Here the Roman Church, as containing the Apostolic Faith, is spoken of as the source of communion.

[e] Timotheus is spoken of as *molested* on account probably of the dissension between him and the Eastern Church on the subject of the Antiochene schism. Tillemont, St. Ambr. Art. 27.

[f] The Goths under Fritigern. When he died, divisions rose among them, A. D. 379, and they finally submitted to Theodosius, A. D. 382. See Gibbon, ch. 26.

A. D. 381. nople, to be an Œcumenical Council, or that they were not yet informed of what had been transacted in it.

XVII. Another Italian Council. Soz. vii. 11. St. Jerom. Ep. 27. (86.) Bened. ad Eustoch. ap. Ambr. Ep. 13.

It even appears that the Bishops of the West changed their petition, for we do not find that there was any Council held then at Alexandria; and it is certain that they desired that a General Council should be held at Rome, and that the Emperor Gratian gave orders accordingly. But before they met, there was a Council in Italy, in which St. Ambrose presided, and there remain two of their letters to the Emperor Theodosius. In the first they say: "We desired long since, "that the two Bishops of Antioch, Paulinus and Meletius, "whom we esteemed as Catholics, should come to an agree- "ment with each other; or at least that, if one of them "should die before the other, no person should be put into "the place of the deceased. Yet we are now informed that "Meletius being dead, and Paulinus living, who was always "steadfast in our communion, there has been substituted or "rather added a Bishop in the place of Meletius, contrary to "all Ecclesiastical right and order. And it is said that this "was done by the consent and advice of Nectarius, the due "formality of whose own ordination we cannot understand. For "the Bishop Maximus convinced us lately in a Council, that "he preserves the communion of the Church of Alexandria, "by reading to us certain letters from Peter[1] of blessed memory, "and plainly proved to us that he had been ordained in a "private house by the direction of the Bishops, because the "Arians were then in possession of the churches, so that we "had no reason to doubt of his being Bishop; and so much "the less, because he protested that the greater part of the "people and Clergy had compelled him to be ordained. "Nevertheless, as we were unwilling to decide any thing "beforehand in the absence of the parties, we thought it our "duty, Theodosius, to acquaint you with it; to the intent "that you might so settle that matter as may best serve for "the promotion of peace; for we have observed that Gregory "cannot claim to himself the See of Constantinople, according "to the tradition of the Fathers."

[1] died A. D. 380.

They afterwards complain that those of the East, knowing of Maximus' coming into the West to plead his cause before a General Council, had declined assembling there, and refused

to wait for the determination of the Western Bishops. "But," A. D. 381.
continued they, "though no Council had been called, he would "still have acted according to the laws and custom of our "ancestors, in appealing to the judgment of the Churches "of Rome, of Italy, and of all the West, as was done by "Athanasius of saintly memory, and after him by Peter, "who were both Bishops of Alexandria, and by the greatest "part of the Eastern Bishops. We do not assume to ourselves "the prerogative of examining such things, but we ought to "have a share in their determination." They conclude, that they could not refuse their communion to Maximus, nor grant it to Nectarius; and that the dispute cannot be made up, but by restoring to him who was first ordained the See of Constantinople, that is, to Maximus; or by holding a Council at Rome composed of themselves, and of the Eastern Bishops, to treat of the ordination of both of them: "For," they added, "the Eastern Bishops ought not to refuse the exami- "nation of the Bishop of Rome, and of the other neighbouring "Bishops of Italy, when they have waited for the judgment of "Ascholius alone, whom they had invited to Constantinople "from the West. As for ourselves, having received instruc- "tions from the Prince your brother to write to you, we desire "that the judgment may be common where the communion is "one." The brother to whom they refer was the Emperor Gratian.

Theodosius answered this letter; and undeceived the Bishops of Italy, by informing them what Maximus was, and how different his ordination was from that of Nectarius. He represented to them, that these affairs, and that of Flavian, ought to be judged in the East where all the parties were present, and that there was no reason to oblige those of the East to come into the West. This appears by the second Ap. Ambr. letter of St. Ambrose, and of the Bishops of Italy, in which Ep. xiv. they return thanks to the Emperor, for having re-united the Churches of the East and West, and removed the misunderstanding which had divided them. They excuse themselves for their writing to him, by pleading the desire which they had for a re-union, and of putting an end to the complaints of the Eastern Bishops, who thought themselves neglected [i. e. by the Western Church]. "For," said they, "we did not

A. D. 381. § 4. "require a Council for our own interest, since all the West is "at peace." They give another reason for the Council, which, as they said, concerned those "who were for introducing into the Church certain opinions ascribed to Apollinaris:" which matter was to be examined in presence of the parties, to the intent that if Apollinaris were convicted of teaching a new doctrine, he might no longer be concealed under the general name of The Faith, and might be deprived of the Priesthood. We may see by this that Apollinaris was still in office[1], and that his heresy was not universally known, at least, not in the West[g].

[1] He was Bishop of Laodicea.]

XVIII. A. D. 382. The Second Council of Constantinople.

However at the request of the Council of Aquileia, the Emperor Theodosius called a Council, in order to pacify the divisions of the East, chiefly those of Antioch; they did not however meet at Alexandria, as the Western Bishops had desired, but at Constantinople, and the greatest part of the Bishops who had been present at the General Council, repaired thither again in the following year 382, under the consulship of Antonius and Syagrius, at the beginning of the summer.

Theod. v. 8. St. Gregory Nazianzen was invited to it, but he excused himself, and wrote to Procopius, who was an officer of distinction,

Epist. 55. [130. Ben.] in the following terms: "My inclination, to speak the truth, "is to avoid all assemblies of Bishops; because I never knew a "Council, that had a happy conclusion, and that did not "rather increase our distempers than provide a remedy for "them. The fondness which men have for disputing and the "love of ambition, (be not offended that I speak thus,) have "a greater influence among them, that can well be expressed; "and he who exposes the misconduct of others, is himself "exposed to be accused without correcting them. Therefore "I confine myself to my own reflections, knowing no safety "for the soul, but in retirement. I have, even at this time, "a distemper upon me, which confirms my resolution, as it "disables me from acting, and reduces me almost to the last "extremity. Therefore I beseech you to accept my excuse,

[g] Apollinaris' heresy (see note r, p. 14.) first appeared in A. D. 362, but he was not recognized as its author before the death of St. Athanasius in 371 or 373. His opinions had certainly reached Corinth at this time, and in 377 he was condemned by name at Rome. His absence however still raised some scruples in the Western Church as to his personal guilt, and these were increased by the conduct of his adherent Vitalis, concerning whom see ch. 22.

"and assure the Emperor, that I am not guilty of idleness; A. D. 382.
"but desire him to consider my infirmity, on account of
"which, he knows, that he gave me permission to retire, as
"the only favour I desired." It was thought that his sickness was only a pretence, for which reason he was summoned a second time, by Icarius, an officer of distinction, and Olympius, governor of Cappadocia. However, the dislike to Councils, which is observed here and in some other writings of St. Gregory Nazianzen, is no prejudice to the respect which is due in general to those holy assemblies, nor to the necessity of holding them; which necessity is elsewhere so well established[h]. We may easily perceive that the disappointment of his good intentions, in the General Council of Constantinople, had made a strong impression on a man of so lively feelings, and that his displeasure was confirmed by his old age, and his continual infirmities.

Epist. 76. [131.] Ep. 83. [157.] 84. [124.] 135. [136.] Carm. xi. [lib. ii. § 1. 17. p. 855.]

The Eastern Bishops while at Constantinople received a synodical letter from those of the West, giving them an invitation to the General Council which was held at Rome; but they excused themselves from it, as involving a needless journey. Their answer was directed to Damasus, Ambrose, Britto, Valerian, Ascholius, Anemimius, Basil, and to the rest of the Bishops assembled at Rome. They began their letter with an account of the persecution which they had just suffered, the disorders of which would take some time to repair; for although the heretics were expelled from the Churches, yet their false teachers assembled them in other places, promoted sedition, and used their utmost endeavours to prejudice the Church. "Therefore," continue they, "whatever inclination we may have to correspond with your loving "invitation, we cannot thus wholly abandon our Churches "which now begin to revive; and the journey would even "be impracticable by most of us. For we came to Constan-"tinople according to the letters which you wrote last year to "the most pious Emperor Theodosius after the Council of "Aquileia; and were prepared for this voyage and this "Council only, with the consent of the Bishops who remained "in the provinces; we did not purpose to go farther, nor did

Theod. v. 8.

Ibid. 9.

[h] St. Gregory says, "The Holy Council in Nicæa and that band of chosen men whom the HOLY GHOST brought together." Orat. 21. ch. 14.

A. D. 382. "we hear any thing of another Council till we met at Con-
"stantinople. Besides, the time was too short for us to
"prepare ourselves, and to acquaint the Bishops of our com-
"munion, in order to have their consent. All that we have
"been able to do, is to send you your venerable brethren, the
"Bishops Cyriacus, Eusebius, and Priscianus, who will inform
"you of the love which we have for peace, and how zealous
"we are for the Faith.

"And indeed if we have suffered persecutions, it has been to
"maintain the faith of Nicæa, which teacheth us to believe in
"the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; in one only
"Godhead, Power, and Substance, of equal honour in dignity,
"and Coeternal in dominion; in three perfect *subsistences*, or
"three perfect *Persons*. So that we leave no room for the
"error of Sabellius, who confounds the Persons, or destroys
"the Properties; nor to that of the Eunomians, Arians, and
"the enemies of the Holy Ghost, who divide the Substance,
"Nature, or Divinity; and who introduce a nature Posterior,
"created, or of different Substance, in the uncreated, consub-
"stantial, and coeternal Trinity. We likewise preserve the
"doctrine of the Incarnation in its purity; and we do not
"admit that dispensation of the flesh to be imperfect, either
"without Soul or without Reason. But we acknowledge that
"the Word of God is entirely perfect before all ages, and in
"the latter days became perfect man for our Salvation. This
"is in substance the Faith, which we preach, and which you
"may enquire into more at large in the writings of the
"Council of Antioch, and in those of the Œcumenical[i]
"Council, which was held last year at Constantinople."
This Council of Antioch is supposed to be that which was assembled in the year 379, and we find here that the Eastern Bishops esteemed that of Constantinople, held in the year 381, as an Œcumenical Council.

In the next place, they give an account of what they had determined concerning Discipline. "You know," say they,

[i] It is remarkable that the Eastern Bishops called the Council of Constantinople Œcumenical, though composed only of such Bishops as were in the dominion of Theodosius. The Western Bishops certainly did not at first acknowledge it to be so. It is so called *here* Œcumenical probably in the same sense as St. Augustine calls a Council composed of all the African Bishops *Plenary*.

"the ancient custom confirmed by the decree of Nicæa, A. D. 382.
"which directs, that ordinations are to be made in every
"province by the Bishops of the province, who shall be at
"liberty to invite their neighbours to them. Thus we have
"unanimously ordained the venerable Nectarius Bishop of
"the newly-restored Church of Constantinople, in the Œcu-
"menical Council, in the presence of the most pious Emperor
"Theodosius, with the general consent of the Clergy, and all
"the city. For the Church of Antioch, the Bishops of the pro-
"vince and of the Diocese of the East, have canonically chosen
"the venerable Flavian with the consent of the whole Church;
"and the whole Council approved of it as a lawful ordination.
"And for the Church of Jerusalem, [the Mother of all the
"Churches,] we acknowledge the venerable Bishop Cyril, who
"was formerly ordained canonically by the whole province,
"and has suffered much from the Arians in divers places."
The Eastern Bishops conclude, with desiring those of the West to agree in all things with a spirit of unity and charity, setting aside all prejudice and private partialities.

XIX. Council at Rome.

But they did not satisfy them in the most essential point, which was the ordination of Flavian. Damasus the Pope and all the Bishops of the West directed their synodical letters to Paulinus, as Bishop of Antioch, and did not write to Flavian, nor correspond any more with Diodorus of Tarsus and Acacius of Berrhœa who had ordained him. The Egyptians and Arabians likewise declared for Paulinus; but the Syrians, the inhabitants of Palestine, Phœnicia, Armenia, Cappadocia, and the greatest part of those of Galatia and Pontus, were for Flavian. This is all that we know relating to that Council of Rome. We find by the inscription of the letter of the Eastern Bishops that St. Ambrose, St. Valerian of Aquileia, St. Ascholius of Thessalonica, and Aneminius of Sirmium were there; and it is certain[1] also, that St. Epiphanius and Paulinus of Antioch repaired thither from the East, in company with St. Jerome. St. Epiphanius lodged in the house of Paula, a Roman lady, who was already a person of great distinction, and became still more so by her piety: Paulinus too used to visit her often; and they together inspired her with a strong inclination to a solitary life. They passed the winter at Rome, and did not return into the East till the

Soz. vii. 11.

[1] S. Hieron. Ep. 27. [86. tom. iv. ps. 2. p. 671. scr. A. D. 404.] ad Eustoch. § 2. Ep. 16. [96. p. 781. scr. A. D. 412.] ad Princip. § 3.

A. D. 382. year after. But St. Jerome stayed there about three years[1].

[1] Ep. 99. [28. p. 66. ser. A. D. 385.] ad Asellam.

Whilst St. Ambrose[2] was at Rome, he was invited by a lady of the rank of the Clarissimæ[k], to go to her country-house, on the other side of the Tiber, and there he offered the Sacrifice. A woman who belonged to the baths, and who was sick in her bed of a palsy, hearing that he was at that lady's house, caused herself to be carried thither in a chair; and whilst he was praying and laying his hands on her, she touched his garment, and as she kissed it, she recovered and immediately walked[l]. Paulinus, secretary to St. Ambrose, who relates this miracle, says that he heard of it at Rome, many years after, from the mouth of certain holy men. We see from this instance, that it was usual sometimes to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice in private houses. St. Ambrose had a beloved sister living then at Rome, named St. Marcellina, who was very careful of him in a sickness, during which he was visited by St. Ascholius of Thessalonica: this visit was a great consolation to him, as he had never seen St. Ascholius before, and they both watered[3] their garments with their tears, deploring the miseries of the age.

[2] Paulini Vit. St. Ambros. in Append. tom. 2. § 10.

[3] Ep. S. Ambr. 15. ser. A.D. 383. § 10.

XX. St. Jerome at Rome.

St. Jerome, during his residence at Rome, devoted himself to St. Damasus the Pope, and assisted[4] him in writing his letters, in answer to the consultations, which were directed to him from the Councils of several Churches; and he soon[5] gained an universal love and esteem, on account of the sanctity of his life, his humility and eloquence; so that he was esteemed worthy of being a Bishop[6]. The Pope Damasus had already often consulted him upon several passages of the Scriptures, and raised in him the desire of correcting the Latin version of the New Testament. Whilst he stayed with him, Damasus employed him upon the Scriptures, and we may reasonably believe, that he composed his treatise upon the vision of the Cherubims[7] of Isaiah, and upon the Parable[8] of the Prodigal Son, whilst he was at Rome, both of which he dictated while he was troubled with sore eyes; as likewise his

[4] Ep. xi. [91. p. 744. ser. A.D. 409.] ad Ageruc. § 3.

[5] Ep. 99. [28. p. 66.] ad Asellam.

[6] Ep. 125. [2. Tom. 2.] 144, 145. [to. 4. ps. 1. p. 145.] Præf. in Evang. [to. 1. p. 1425.]

[7] Ep. 142, 143. [to. 3. p. 515. A.D. 380 or 381.]

[8] Ep. 146. [to. iv. ps. 1. p. 149. A.D. 381.]

[k] There were at Rome under the Emperors three grades of Senatorian dignity, the highest, the *Illustres*; 2. the *Spectabiles*; 3. the *Clarissimi*. Panciroli, ap. Græv. vii. p. 1342.

[l] This miracle rests on the information received at Rome by Paulinus, secretary (*Notarius*) and Deacon of St. Ambrose, some time after its occurrence.

translation of the two Homilies of Origen[1] upon the Canticles, and the correction of the Psalms[2] according to the Septuagint. It was also at this time, and during the life of the Pope St. Damasus, that he wrote against Helvidius[3], the disciple of Auxentius[m], who had composed a book, in which he pretended to prove by Scripture, that the Holy Virgin, after the birth of Jesus Christ, had other children by St. Joseph, and then passing to a general position had maintained that virginity had no advantage over marriage; an error which had been already received in the East, by the Antidicomarianites[n], and was then beginning to spread in the West. St. Jerome[4], for some time, despised the treatise of Helvidius, as much from the obscurity of the author, whom he knew[5] not, though he was as well as St. Jerome at Rome, as because it was a work of little merit. But at last he suffered himself to be persuaded to answer it, and plainly shewed that there is nothing in the Scriptures but what favours the belief established in the Church, that Mary always continued a Virgin, and that St. Joseph was only the guardian of her virginity. He even holds that St. Joseph lived in a state of continence; in short he extols virginity, without however blaming marriage[6]. It is thought that he wrote at this time his dialogue against the Luciferians[o], who joining with the party of Ursinus, were continually quarrelling at Rome with the Pope Damasus. It is in this treatise that Jerome plainly demonstrates, by the acts of the Council of Rimini[p], in what manner the Bishops were imposed upon on that occasion.

A. D. 382.

[1] Post. Epist. 151. [Præf. ad Gal. to. 4. ps. 1. p. 221.]

[2] Præf. in Psalt. [to. i. p. 1221.]

[3] Ep. 50. [30. to. 4. ps. 2. p. 240. A.D. 394—395.] ad Pam. § 7. Gennadius [A.D. 495.] in Helv. § 33. ap. Hieron. to. 4. p. 34.

[4] In Helv. c. 1. [to. 4. ps. 2. p. 130. A.D. 381—382.]

[5] c. 8. [p. 140.]

[6] c. 9. ad fin. [p. 142.]

One of the chief employments of St. Jerome, during his abode at Rome, was to answer those who consulted him on the Holy Scriptures, and particularly the Roman ladies; for whatever care he took, out of modesty[7], to avoid meeting

[7] Ep. 99. [28. p. 65.] ad Asell. Ep. 16. [96. p. 781. scr. A.D. 412.] ad Princip. § 3. Præf. in Ep. ad Galat. [to. 4. ps. 1. p. 221. scr. A.D. 388.]

[m] Arian Bishop of Milan, predecessor of St. Ambrose, died A. D. 374. Soc. iv. 30.

[n] The Antidicomarianites were a branch of the Apollinarians. The chief seat of this heresy was Arabia, where prevailed too the opposite error of an *idolatrous* reverence for the Blessed Virgin (Collyridians, Epiph. Hær. 79.) Epiph. Hær. 78.

[o] Separatists from the Church Catholic on the plea of scruples of conscience as to the restoration of Communion to such as had been Arians through ignorance or weakness. Lucifer Bishop of Cagliari was their leader, who had consecrated Paulinus at Antioch.

[p] The Council of Ariminum, held 359, was sadly notorious for the concession of the term, Homoοüsion, when "The whole world groaned and marvelled that it was Arian." St. Jerome, Adv. Lucif. tom. iv. ps. 2. p. 300. scrip. A. D. 378. sec. Bened.

A. D. 382. them, the more urgent were they to see him. St. Marcella, St. Asella her sister, and their mother Albina were of this number: Marcella, in a short time profited much by what St. Jerome had acquired after abundance of labour, and often consulted him afterwards, as appears by his letters[1]. Being left a widow in the seventh month after her marriage[2], she refused to marry Cerealis who was a man of some age indeed, but of high rank and great wealth, and who under Constantius had been Præfect[q] of Rome, and Consul in the year 358. During the long widowhood of Marcella, the purity of her behaviour was never blemished by the least suspicion. She retired to a country-house near Rome, where she lived a monastic life a great while with her daughter the virgin Principia; and their example occasioned the establishment of a great number of Monasteries at Rome, both for men and women. St. Marcella had formed a taste for a pious and monastic life forty years before this, at the time that St. Athanasius[r] came to Rome, when Julius I. was Pope, in the year 341[s]. She received from him an account of the life of St. Anthony who was yet living, and of the discipline of the Monasteries of St. Pachomius[t], both for men and women.

[1] Ep. 136-8. [to. 2. p. 704—6. A. D. 384.]

[2] Ep. 10. ad Furiam. [47. tom. 4. ps. 2. p. 561. scr. A. D. 396.] Ep. 16. [96 p. 778.] ad Princip.

XXI. Saint Paula.

Paula[3], who was a friend of Marcella, was the most illustrious of the Roman ladies whom St. Jerome instructed. She was daughter to Rogatus and Blesilla. Her father, who was of Greek origin, traced his genealogy up to Agamemnon, and her mother was descended from the Scipios and the Gracchi. Paula married Julius Toxotius of the Julian family, who, consequently, was descended from Iülus and Æneas.

[3] Ep. 27. [86. p. 670. scr. A. D. 404.] ad Eustoch. § 1.

[q] Of the highest order of Senators (Illustres), had under his management the Census and the provisioning and repairing the city. Pancir. ap. Græv. vii. 1798.

[r] St. Athanasius was at Rome A. D. 341, during his first exile, to which he was sentenced by the Arian Council of Tyre, A. D. 335. After the death of Constantine, A. D. 337, Pope Julius held a Provincial Council at Rome A. D. 341, which pronounced the charges against St. Athanasius untenable, and led to the General Council of Sardica.

[s] The origin of Monachism is referred to the time of the Decian persecution, A. D. 250, when some of the Egyptian Christians took refuge in the deserts, and adopted there a life of self-denial (Eremites, Monks). They continued almost unknown till during the persecution under Maximinus A. D. 311, St. Anthony appeared at Alexandria, who from the number of his followers has been considered the father of Monachism. (Gieseler, Period i. Div. 3. ch. 4. § 71.)

[t] St. Pachomius, a pupil of St. Anthony, formed the first Monastic *association (cœnobium, mandra, claustrum)*, A. D. 340, on the island Tabenna, under the government of an Abbot or Archimandrite. Gieseler, Ibid. ch. 4. § 93.

She had by him one son and four daughters, the eldest of whom (named Blesilla after her grandmother) was a wife but seven months[1], as St. Marcella had been, and became a widow at the age of twenty. Whilst St. Jerome was at Rome, he explained to her the Book of Ecclesiastes, in order to inspire her with a contempt of the world[2]. She desired him to give a short commentary upon it, that she might understand it in his absence; but as he was preparing for this undertaking, she was seized with a violent fever of which she died in a short time. St. Paula her mother was extremely afflicted at her death, and St. Jerome wrote a consolatory letter to her upon it, in which he mentions that Blesilla spoke Greek as well as Latin, that she had even learnt Hebrew in a very short time, and that the Holy Scriptures were never out of her hands. A. D. 382.

[1] Ep. 22. [18. scr. A. D. 383.] ad Eustoch. § 6.

[2] Ep. 25. [22. p. 54. scr. A. D. 384.] ad Paulin.

[3] Ep. 116. ad Paul. et Eust. [Præf. ad Eccl. to. ii. p. 713.]

St. Paula's second daughter was named Paulina, and was married to Pammachius, a cousin[3] of St. Marcella, of the family of the Furii[4], who reckoned several Consuls amongst his ancestors. He had been long acquainted with St. Jerome, who had formerly been his fellow-student[5], and had since addressed several of his works to him. Paulina dying first, and Pammachius finding himself a widower without children, devoted himself entirely to the service of God, and to good works, choosing a solitary life, and disposing of his riches for the subsistence of the poor, and particularly of strangers, in an hospital[6] which he founded at Porto[7] near Rome[8]. St. Paula's third daughter, who always lived with her and continued a virgin, was named Eustochium. The fourth was Ruffina, who afterwards married Alethius of the rank of the Clarissimi. As for the son of St. Paula, who was the youngest of her children, he was named Toxotius from his father; he married Læta the daughter of Albinus[9], who was a Pagan and High-Priest of the idols, but was converted to the Christian religion in his old age, by the persuasion of his daughter and his son-in-law. The offspring of this marriage of Toxotius and Læta, was the younger Paula, concerning whom St. Jerome wrote to Læta, who was then a widow, and sent her directions for educating in a Christian manner. Such was the family of St. Paula.

[3] Ep. 52. [31. to. 4. ps. 1. p. 244. scr. A. D. 394-5.] ad Pam.

[4] Ep. 26. [54. p. 584.] ad eund.

[5] Ep. 50. [30. p. 229. scr. A. D. 394-5.] ad Pam. ad init. (and Ep. 26. [54. p. 586.])

[6] Xenodochium.

[7] Portus Romanus.

[8] Ep. 26. [54. p. 586.] ad Pamm.

[9] Ep. 7. [57. p. 590. scr. A. D. 398.] ad Lætam.

St. Jerome has likewise left us encomiums upon two widows, Lea[10] and Fabiola, and upon the virgin Asella. Lea was at

[10] Ep. 24. [20 p. 51. scr. A. D. 384.] ad Marcell.

A. D. 382. the head of a Monastery of virgins, whom she instructed more by her example than by her words. She used to spend the nights in prayer; her clothes and food were very mean, though at the same time free from ostentation; she was so humble, that she appeared to be the servant of all the rest, though she formerly had been mistress of a great number of slaves. The Church honours her memory on the twenty-second of March. The news of her death[1] was brought to St. Jerome one morning as he was explaining the seventy-second Psalm[2] to St. Marcella, which occasioned his sending her eulogy to the latter; and two days after he sent her that of St. Asella[3], (sister to Marcella,) who was still living. She had been consecrated to God from the age of ten years, and at the age of twelve she retired into a cell where she lay on the ground, living upon bread and water, fasting all the year, and being often two or three days without eating, and in Lent whole weeks together. She was now fifty years of age, and her austerities had not impaired her health. She used to work with her hands, and never went abroad unless it were to visit the churches of the Martyrs, and that too she did without being seen. She had never spoken to any man, and even her sister could hardly ever see her. Her life was simple and regular, and in the midst of Rome she led a life of perfect solitude. The Church[4] celebrates her memory on the sixth of December. Fabiola[5] was of the illustrious Fabian family. She had married a man, whose behaviour was so disorderly, that being unable to bear with him, she left him, and at that time being very young, she availed herself of the liberty which was allowed by the Civil Law, and married another man[u]. After the death of this second husband, she began to reflect within herself, and knowing that this marriage was contrary to the laws of the Gospel, she resolved to do public penance for it; so on Easter-eve she went to the Basilica Lateranensis with the other penitents, and appearing there with her hair dishevelled and in the same condition with the rest, she drew tears from the eyes of the Bishop, the Priests, and the people. She then remained without the church, till the Bishop, by whom she had been excommunicated, called her in again. After

[1] Ep. 24. [20. scr. A. D. 384.] ad Marcell.

[2] i. e. in Vulg. aliter Psalm 73.]

[3] Ep. 15. [21.] ad eand.

[4] Martyrol. Rom.

[5] Ep. 30. [84. scr. circ. A. D. 400.] ad Oceanum.

[u] See Cod. Theod. iii. Tit. xvi. ll. 1. 2.

this she sold all her estate, and was the first who erected an hospital[1] for the sick in Rome, where she attended on them with her own hands. She bestowed large gifts on the clerks, monks, and virgins, not only in Rome, but upon the coast of Tuscany where there were already many monasteries. It is thought, and not without reason, that the liberality of these Roman ladies, and other rich Christians, brought a great number of mendicants to Rome, and it is said that there was a decree made on this account by Valentinian the younger, and directed to the Præfect of Rome in the year 382, in which he requires that their age and strength be enquired into, that the disabled might be provided for; but as for the strong, they were to be delivered up to the informer if they were of servile extraction, and if they were free, they were to be compelled to cultivate the ground. The Saints likewise were always of opinion, that there should be a distinction made in the distribution of alms, so as not to encourage the idleness and avarice of vagabonds, to the prejudice of those who were really poor.

A. D. 382.

[1] νοσοκομεῖον.

Cod. Theod. xiv. tit. 18.

S. Ambros. de Off. ii. c. 16. to. 2. p. 88.

St. Epiphanius and Paulinus of Antioch having passed the winter at Rome, returned into the East, the following year, 383. They travelled through Macedonia, and came to Thessalonica, where the Bishop was changed that same year, by the death of St. Ascholius; and the Bishops of Macedonia and the Clergy of Thessalonica wrote to St. Ambrose about it, who in his answer made an encomium upon St. Ascholius[2], and congratulated them upon the election of Anysius, his disciple, whom they had chosen to succeed him. He wrote also to Anysius, exhorting him to imitate the virtues of his predecessor. The Pope St. Damasus[3] gave [x] to Anysius, as he had done to St. Ascholius[4], the power of taking cognizance of all things in the Eastern Illyricum. While Paulinus of Antioch was at Thessalonica, St. Damasus

XXII. Letters of Damasus against Apollinaris.

[2] Ep. S. Ambr. xv. scr. A. D. 383. Ibid. xvi. scr. eod. temp.

[3] Epist. Innocent. I. ad Anysium. scr. A. D. 402.

[4] Ep. Ejusd. ad Rufum. (xiii. Coust.) § 2.

[x] This is another instance of what has been before noticed, namely, that the Political division of the Empire did not necessarily regulate the Ecclesiastical. In A. D. 379, Gratian severed Eastern Illyricum (of which the metropolis was Thessalonica) from the Western Empire; and in consequence we find that St. Ascholius was present at the Council of Constantinople. To prevent however the separation of Eastern Illyricum from the Western Church, Pope Damasus seems to have appointed St. Ascholius his Vicar. See Tillemont, St. Dam. Art. 13. This took place before A. D. 381, according to Coustant. p. 534. Vid. ch. 9.

A. D. 382. wrote a letter[x] to him, which begins in these terms: "I had "already written to you by my son Vitalis[y], that I committed all "things to your judgment; therefore to the intent that you may "have no difficulty in receiving those who are willing to re-unite "themselves to the Church, we send you a confession of our "Faith, not so much for yourself who believe as we do, as for "those who would join themselves to you. There was, then, "after the Council of Nicæa[z], and that which was held at "Rome by the Catholic Bishops, something added concerning "the Holy Ghost, because some persons have lately said that "He was created by the Son. Therefore we pronounce Ana- "thema against those who do not declare plainly, that the "Holy Ghost hath the same power and the same substance "with the Father and the Son. We pronounce Anathema "against the Sabellians, who say that the Father is the same "with the Son; against Arius and Eunomius, who alike "assert, though in different terms, that the Son and the "Holy Ghost are Creatures; against the Macedonians, who "come from Arius under another name; against Photinus, "who reviving the heresy of Ebion upholds that our Lord "Jesus Christ is come from the Virgin Mary only: against "those who say that there are two Sons, one before all "worlds, and the other after the Incarnation." There is Anathema pronounced afterwards against Apollinaris, and Marcellus of Ancyra, without naming them; then there is a Canon likewise against translations from one See to another, a practice then so common in the East. Then the Anathemas are continued against various propositions of the Arians and Macedonians. The last forbids any one to mention the word God in the plural number in speaking of the Divine persons, though the Scripture applies it sometimes to Angels, and holy men. St. Damasus afterwards continues,

[x] This Letter is referred to A. D. 378, by Coustant. p. 507.

[y] Vitalis was an Apollinarian. On the condemnation of Apollinaris and Timotheus (in their absence) at Rome, A. D. 377, he seems to have gone or been sent thither, and presented an ambiguous formula of Faith, by which he imposed upon Damasus. The Pope, suspecting that he had been deceived, requires Paulinus in this letter to oblige Vitalis to subscribe an explicit confession of Faith (which he sends) before receiving him to Communion.

[z] The original requires the following translation, "After the Council of "Nicæa, the Catholic Bishops assembled "in Council at Rome (sc. A. D. 378.) "made certain additions concerning the "Holy Ghost." See Epist. 4. Damas. § 4. Coustant. p. 499.

speaking to Paulinus: "Therefore if my son Vitalis, and A. D. 382.
"those who are with him, wish to be united to you, they
"must first subscribe to the Faith of Nicæa; and then,
"because we cannot apply a remedy to future evils, you
"must root out the heresy which is said to have lately
"appeared in the East, and confess that the very Wisdom,
"the Word, the Son of God, hath taken upon Him the
"human Body, the Soul and Reason, that is to say, the
"entire Adam, all our old man, without sin. For as, when
"we confess that He hath taken upon Him a human Body,
"we do not therefore attribute human passions to Him; so
"when we say that He hath taken the Soul and Reason of
"man, we do not mean that He is subject to the sin, which
"proceeds from the thoughts." We here see that the error of Apollinaris was plainly known, and condemned at Rome; but that Vitalis was not yet convicted of being infected with it, though he was suspected[1]; on the contrary, he had delivered a confession of Faith to the Pope Damasus, which appeared orthodox, and the Pope sent him to Paulinus in order to be examined, and his opinions clearly ascertained.

[1] St. Greg. Naz. Ep. 52. [102. to. 2. p. 94. C. scr. A. D. 382.]

To the same time is referred a letter[2] written by the Pope St. Damasus to the Eastern Bishops, which begins thus: "When you pay the respect which is due to the Apostolic "See, all the chief advantage of it is to yourselves, my most "honoured sons." Then he declares that he has long before condemned[3] Timotheus and his master Apollinaris, in presence of Peter Bishop of Alexandria, and that there was no ground for desiring him to be deposed a second time. He therefore exhorts them to continue steadfast in the Faith of Nicæa, and not to suffer those who are under their care to give ear to vain discourses, and questions which had been already resolved.

[2] Theod. v. 10. [fors. A. D. 384. Tillemont. St. Damas. § 13.]

[3] A.D. 377.]

XXIII. Treatise of St. Ambrose on the Incarnation.

It was much about this time, that St. Ambrose wrote his Treatise on the Mystery of the Incarnation, against the same errors[4]. He was engaged in it[5] by two *cubicularii*[a] or chamberlains of the Emperor Gratian, who were Arians. They proposed to him, as he was preaching, a question concerning the Incarnation of our Saviour, and promised to come

[4] A.D. 382. Tille. to. x. S. Ambr. § 29.]

[5] Paulin. Vit. S. Amb. § 18.

[a] See Notitia Dig. Pancirol. ap. Græv. tom. vii. p. 1491.

A. D. 382. the next day to the Basilica Portiana to hear him resolve it. The next day these two officers, slighting their promise, and the Bishop and people who were assembled in the church, got into a chariot and went out of the city to drive. St. Ambrose having stayed a long time for them, could detain the people no longer, but got into the pulpit, and began to discuss the question, as follows[1]: "My brethren, I desire to pay my "debt, but I do not find those with whom I contracted it "yesterday; perhaps, however, they think to confound us "by coming upon us by surprise; the true faith, however, is "never confounded. Perhaps, they will come, and in the "mean time let us consider those labourers who have just "been represented to us, I mean, Cain and Abel, whose "story hath just been read." From thence he takes occasion to come to the subject; and begins with enumerating the heretics, who erred concerning the Son of God, amongst whom he reckons those who separate the reasonable soul from the mystery of the Incarnation, *i. e.* the Apollinarians, whom, however, he does not name; and adds, that, perhaps, they pay due honour to the Trinity, but know not how to distinguish the human nature from the Divine. "The "nature of God," he says, "is simple; man is composed of a "reasonable soul and a body; if you take away either of the "two, you take away the whole nature of man." Afterwards coming to the subject, he proves the eternity and divinity of the Word in opposition to the Arians; then he proceeds to the Apollinarians, and shews the difference between the flesh of Jesus Christ and His divinity, for they asserted that the Word had been changed into flesh; afterwards he overthrows their error, concerning the reasonable soul, the existence of which they denied in Jesus Christ, as being the source of sin; and with that he concludes his discourse.

[1] De Incarn. Sacram. to. 2. p. 703.

c. 2. § 11.

c. 3, 4.

c. 6. § 49, &c.

c. 7.

In the mean time, the two Chamberlains of the Emperor, as they were proceeding on their journey, fell out of the chariot and were both killed; and their bodies were brought back and buried. But St. Ambrose was so far from insulting

[b] This may fix the time of the year of this event. The fourth chapter of Genesis is read in the week after the first Sunday in Lent. Vid. Triod. Græc. Pinell. Sheet λ. 1111. and Leo Allatius de Domin. et Hebd. Græc. p. 1475. Compare ch. 42 and 54.

their memory, that he has taken no notice of this event in his works; not even on committing to writing the Sermon which he made on their account, and of which his treatise upon the Incarnation consists. But the Emperor Gratian, who had not heard this Sermon, proposed to him an objection, upon which the Arians greatly depended, namely, that the Son being begotten could not be of the same nature with the Father who is unbegotten. He therefore added the answer to this objection, which chiefly consists in shewing that the distinction between *begotten* and *unbegotten* relates not to Their nature but to Their personality. A. D. 382. c. 8, 9. §79, &c.

XXIV. Letters of St. Gregory Nazianzus to Cledonius.

St. Gregory Nazianzen wrote likewise from the place of his retirement against the errors of Apollinaris, which disturbed the Church of Nazianzus. On his return into Cappadocia he retired to the territory of Arianzus[1], which had descended to him from his father, and notwithstanding his infirmities, he there led a very penitent life; but quiet[2] and solitude rendered it agreeable to him. He even spent the whole season of Lent[c] without speaking, and composed a poem to give an account for his silence; and another at Easter[3], that he might begin to speak with the praises of Jesus Christ. In the mean time he found that the Church of Nazianzus had been greatly neglected during his absence, and even infected with the error of Apollinaris[4]. He at first bore with it, but perceiving that the heretics, not satisfied with spreading their errors, proceeded even to calumniate him, and pretended that he was of their opinion, because he still treated them as brethren, he felt himself obliged to declare his opinions, and wrote[6] to Cledonius[d] the Priest to that purpose, to whom he had left the chief care of his flock in his absence, and who had long led a monastic life. The Apollinarians boasted of their having been received by a Council of the West[e], upon which St. Gregory says, "If they have been received, let them shew

[1] Vit. S. Greg. p. 32. C. [to. i. p. clvii.]
[2] Carm. 54. p. 128. [to. ii. p. 296.]
[3] Carm. 54. p. 131. [to. ii. p. 882. Vide p. 894, 896.]
[4] Carm. 56. p. 131. [p. 896.]
[5] Carm. 6. [p. 858, et vide p. 874. v. 165-200.]
[6] Orat. 51. [Epist. 101. to. ii. p. 83.]
p. 738. [p. 84.]

[c] Viz. the Lent of A. D. 382. St. Gregory was now fifty-three or four. There is something very remarkable in a man so advanced in life, taking such vigorous measures to overcome himself.

[d] Cledonius once a courtier had become a solitary, Carm. 84. [tom. ii. p. 1002. v. 127. script. A. D. 372], and was one of those who renounced the communion of St. Gregory's father, on his incautiously signing the symbol of Ariminum A. D. 359. See Orat. 12. [6. tom. i. p. 178. A. D. 364.] He may be the same with the Priest, who signed St. Gregory's will. See ch. 4.

[e] Alluding to the admission of Vitalis to communion by Pope Damasus, A.D. 378. See ch. 22, note y.

A. D. 382. "it, and we will be satisfied: for that could not have been "done without their conforming to sound doctrine. And this "they cannot shew but by a synodical decree or letters of "communion, for such is the custom of Councils."

Coming to the subject, he says: "Let none deceive "another, or suffer himself to be deceived, by imagining '*the* "*Man of the Lord*[1],' as they style him, to be a man without "the reason, let us rather say *our Lord*[2] *and our God.*" This St. Gregory says because the Apollinarians[3] called Jesus Christ *the Man of the Lord.* St. Gregory proceeds: "We do not "separate the manhood from the Godhead; we teach that it "is the same Person, Who heretofore was not man, but God "and only Son before all ages, without any mixture of body, "or any thing bodily; Who in the end hath assumed humanity "also for our salvation, being passible as to the flesh, but "impassible in respect of the divinity; being bounded in "respect of the body, but without any limits in respect of "the spirit; the same being earthly and heavenly, visible "and intellectual, comprehensible and incomprehensible; to "the intent that the whole man, who had fallen into sin, "might be restored[4] by Him, Who is perfect God and perfect "man. If any one believe not the Holy Mary to be the "Mother of God[5], he hath no part with God. If any one "say that He passed through the Virgin, as through a "channel, and not that He was formed[6] in her, at once after "a divine and human manner; divine, inasmuch as man had "no part in it, and human, inasmuch as the laws of child-"bearing were observed; he too is still impious. If any one "affirm that the manhood was formed, and that God after-"wards entered into it, he is to be condemned. If any one "suppose two Sons, one of God the Father[7], and the other "of the Mother, and do not affirm Him to be one and the "same; let him forfeit the adoption, which is promised[8] to "those who rightly believe. For there are two natures, the "Godhead and manhood, as there are the soul and body, "but there are not two Sons, nor two Gods, any more than "two men; although St. Paul has thus named the inner "and the outer part of man. In a word, the Saviour is "composed of one and another substance, because the "visible and invisible are not the same, neither are that

[1 Κυριακὸς, Dominicus.]
[2 Κύριος, Dominus.]
[3 Vid. St. August. Retract. I. xix. § 8. to. i.
[4 ἀνα-πλασθῇ.]
[5 Θεοτόκος.]
[6 διαπε-πλάσθαι.]
[7 ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός.]
[8 Eph. i. 5.

"which is subject to time, and that which is not, the A. D. 382.
"same; but not of one and another person, God forbid, for
"the two substances are united: God is become man, or
"man is become God, or however we choose to express it.
"Now I speak of one and another substance in a way
"different from that in which we speak of the Trinity. For
"we say that in the Trinity there is one and another
"Person, that we may not confound the *hypostases* or sub-
"sistences; but not one and another substance; the Three
"are one and the same substance in respect of the Divinity.

"If any one say that God hath operated in Jesus Christ
"by grace, as in a Prophet, and not that He is substantially
"united to Him, be he deprived of the divine operation.
"If any one adore not Him that was crucified, let him be
"anathema, and ranked amongst the murderers of [God[1]]. If [1] θεοκτόνων.
"any one assert that Jesus Christ was raised to the dignity of
"Son after He had been made perfect by works, or after His
"Baptism, or after His Resurrection, like those[2] whom the [2] παρεγ-
"Pagans place among the gods, let him be anathema. For γράπτους.
"that which hath a beginning, or improveth, or groweth up
"to perfection, is not God; though we speak thus of Jesus
"Christ, inasmuch as He discovered Himself by little and
"little[3]. If any one say, that He hath now quitted His holy [3] St. Luke ii. 52.
"flesh, and that the Divinity is divested of the body; and
"that He will not come again with the body, which He hath
"assumed and which He retains, let him not behold the glory
"of His coming. [For where is the Body now, if it be not
with Him Who assumed it? How else could He have been
"handled after His Resurrection[4]? How else shall they who [4] St. Luke 24. 39.
"pierced Him look upon Him[5]?] If any one say that the [5] Zech. 12. 10.
"flesh of Jesus Christ came down from Heaven, and not that
"it was assumed here of us, let him be anathema."

Afterwards proceeding to the main point of the heresy of Apollinaris, he says: "If any one place his hope in a man
"void of the reason, he is himself without reason[6], and not [6] ἄνουν.
"worthy of *perfect*[7] salvation. For God hath not healed, and [7] ὅλως.
"doth not save any thing but what He hath assumed. If indeed
"Adam only half fell, then there would be no need of
"assuming or redeeming more than half; but if he fell
"wholly, let them not then grudge us perfect salvation; and

A. D. 382. "let them not invest our Saviour merely with the bones, the "nerves and the outward form of a man. If He is a man

[1] ἄψυχος. "without a soul[1], which is what the Arians affirm, in order "that they may ascribe suffering to the Godhead, as being the "principle of his bodily motion; or, if He have a soul without

[2] εἰ δὲ ἔμψυχος, εἰ μὲν οὐ νοερός. "the reason[2], how is He a man? for man is not an animal "void of the reason. This would be the form and habita-

[3] σκηνή. "tion[3] of a man, with the soul of an horse, an ox, or any "other beast. And then it would be *this* likewise which

p. 740. [88.] "would be saved; and *I* should err from the truth, in "boasting of the honour which another hath received." He afterwards answers the objections of Apollinaris, and at the conclusion protests that those who do not profit by his warning, but continue to divide the Church, must give an account thereof in the day of judgment. And as Apollinaris imposed upon the multitude by the number of his writings, and the charms of his poetry, St. Gregory likewise promises[4] to write and to compose verses, and it is this which seems to have given occasion to the many poems which he composed after his return from Constantinople.

[4] ibid. ad finem.

[5] Orat. 52. [Epist. 102. to. ii. p. 93.] He wrote a second letter[5] to Cledonius, in order to satisfy those who required assurances of his Faith, as though he had not given sufficient proofs of it. He declares in plain terms that he holds no other Faith than that of Nicæa, only adding thereto what relates to the Holy Ghost, concerning Whom there had been no dispute at that time. He also declares his faith concerning the Incarnation; and speaking of the Apollinarians he adds, that he was very desirous of explaining himself in relation to Vitalis; "to the intent," he says, "that I "may not be accused of rejecting his confession of faith now, "which I formerly received, as he gave it in writing to the "blessed Damasus Bishop of Rome, who had desired it of "him." (These expressions shew that this letter was written some time after Vitalis had delivered his confession of Faith, and after the death of St. Damasus.) St. Gregory proceeding, says, that the Apollinarians imparted their secret to none but their disciples, but that when they found themselves pressed in disputation by the common notions which the Scripture gives us of the Incarnation, they acknowledged that Christ had the reason and the understanding, and that He

was a perfect man, meaning however by these words, that the Divinity supplied what was wanting on the side of the human nature[1]. This is seen in the dispute of St. Epiphanius with Vitalis[2]. "Can it therefore be wondered at," says St. Gregory, "if my good will led me to put the best construction upon the "words of Vitalis, at which others are offended, who take "them in the true sense? From thence, in my opinion, it "happened, that Damasus himself, on being better informed, "and knowing that they persisted in their first explanations, "declared them excommunicate, and hath overthrown their "confession of faith with an anathema; being indignant that "they had imposed upon his simplicity of heart." And afterwards: "What an absurdity is it to pretend to publish in "these our days a doctrine that hath been concealed ever "since the time of Christ, for if it is but thirty[f] years since "their faith began, whereas it is almost four hundred since "Christ appeared, our Gospel hath all this time been vain, "our faith hath been vain, the Martyrs have suffered in vain, "in vain have so many and so great Prelates governed the "people."

A. D. 382.

[1 viz ψυχὴ καὶ λόγος καὶ νοῦς.]

[2 Hæres. 77. 20.]

748. A. [p. 97.]

It was about this time that St. Gregory entirely resigned[3] the care of the Church of Nazianzus. He earnestly besought the Bishops[4] of the province to appoint one in that city, and particularly Helladius[g 5] of Cæsarea who was the Metropolitan. At length he obtained his purpose, and Eulalius was ordained Bishop of Nazianzus[6]. He is thought, and with good reason, to be the same person of whom St. Gregory speaks so honourably in several places, who was his relation[7], had embraced a monastic life, and was distinguished by his virtue[8]. St. Gregory had made him a Priest and *Chorepiscopus*[h 9], and

XXV. Eulalius Bishop of Nazianzus.

[3 Ep. 71. [173.] ad Posthum. Ep. 72. [132.] ad Saturn.

[4 Ep. 54. [120.] 88. [152.]

[5 Qu. Theodorus of Tyana.]

[6 Vita S. Greg. [p. clvii.]

[7 Ep. 195. [15.]

[8 Carm. 48. p. 108. [to. ii. p. 1002, v. 130-138.]

[9 Ep. 88. [152.]

[f] The first intimation of the heresy of Apollinaris occurs in the Council of Alexandria, held A. D. 362, after the death of Constantine.

[g] St. Gregory acknowledged no Metropolitan but Theodore Bishop of Tyana, Ep. 88. [152.] Helladius was Bishop of Cæsarea, and Metropolitan of Cappadocia Prima; he was, besides, opposed to St. Gregory's wish. Ep. 225 [183.]

[h] The Chorepiscopi were *Bishops* (not *Priests*) of country churches which had grown around any city, and from their subordination to the city Bishop compared to the Seventy Disciples. (Conc. Neocæs. A. D. 314. can. 14.) They might, canonically, ordain the inferior Clergy, as they thought good, but were forbidden to ordain Priests or Deacons, without the permission of their city Bishop. (Conc. Antioch. A. D. 341. can. 10.) The Council of Laodicæa, A.D. 366. can. 57. decreed that, for the future, Presbyters (Periodeutæ) only should be placed in country towns, but mention is made of Chorepiscopi after this date, as in the text, and Ep. Basil. 181. [54.

A. D. 382. greatly rejoiced when he saw him placed in the Episcopal See of Nazianzus. However it afforded fresh occasion of calumny[1], against him; some asserted that he slighted that Church, and others that they had appointed him a successor against his will. The following is what he writes on this subject to St. Gregory of Nyssa[1], who was a Bishop of the Province[2]: "Let no man calumniate me as though there had been "another Bishop ordained against my will. I am neither so "contemned nor hated; but I greatly importuned them to "this act, because I am as it were already dead, and I dreaded "the weight of this neglected Church; I desired this favour "of them, which, without contradicting the Canons, tended "to my tranquillity; and by your entreaties there has been "appointed a Pastor for that Church, who is worthy of you, "whom also I place in your hands, I mean the venerable "Eulalius, in whose arms I would that I might yield up my "spirit. If any one think that during the life of the Bishop "another ought not to be ordained, let him know that that "proves nothing against me; for it is universally known, that "I was ordained for Sasima and not for Nazianzus, though I "have undertaken the care of it for a season, as a stranger, out "of regard to my father, and those who begged me to take "charge of it."

[1] Ep. 225. [183.]

[2] Ep. 42. [182.]

In the mean time being informed that another Council was going to be held at Constantinople, and being fearful of the event by his experience of the past, he wrote to two of the chief Magistrates of the East, namely Saturninus[3], Consul in the year 383, and Posthumianus, the Prætorian Præfect, (who were both Christians and already engaged in friendship with him,) beseeching them to do their utmost to promote the peace and welfare of the Church in that Council: "For,"

[3] Ep. 72. [132. scr. A. D. 382.] ad Saturn.

Bened.] Theodor. Ep. 113. Chorepiscopi are found also among those who subscribed at the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, only, however, in the name of the Bishops, who sent them. Bingham, book ii. c. 14. In Africa this distinction of Bishops is not found; whoever had been Bishop longest was made Primate. Africa Proconsularis was, however, an exception, as the Bishop of Carthage always took precedence. See Steph. A. Morcelli, Africa Christiana, to. i. c. 2. § 2. 4—6. Giesler. Period i. § 52. An attempt was made to revive the order of Suffragan Bishops in England, at the beginning of the Reformation. 26 Hen. VIII. A.D. 1534.

[1] Nyssa was in the Province of Cappadocia Prima, of which Helladius was Metropolitan. See Bingham, book ix. ch. 3. § 2.

he says[1], "though I have renounced my dignity I have not "renounced my affection and concern for the Church." A. D. 383.

[1] Ep. 71. [173. scr. A. D. 383.] ad Posthum.

The Council was accordingly held; and the Emperor Theodosius, who laboured continually to procure peace to the Churches, would have the Bishops of all sects assemble at Constantinople, and thought that by making them confer together, they might concur in the same opinion. There came from all parts Bishops of all sects of religion, and they met at Constantinople in the month of June, under the Consulate of Merobaudis and Saturninus, *i. e.* in the year 383. The Emperor sent for Nectarius the Bishop of Constantinople, and consulted with him about the means for uniting the Church, and said, that it was necessary to state clearly what the question was about which they differed, and so to put an end to it. This conversation made Nectarius very thoughtful; he sent for Agelius Bishop of the Novatians, who held the same opinion with himself concerning the Trinity; and imparted to him the Emperor's intention. Agelius, who was not much skilled in disputation, sent for a Reader of his Church named Sisinnius, a man of learning and experience in business, skilled in the interpretation of Scripture and the opinions of the philosophers. He well knew that disputing served rather to increase than put an end to divisions; he knew too that the ancients assigned no beginning to the existence of the Son of God, but believed Him to be coeternal with the Father. He therefore advised Nectarius to avoid controversy and argument, and to refer to the expositions of the ancients, and to cause the chiefs of every party to be asked by the Emperor, whether they made any account of the Doctors who had been famous in the Church, before their separation, or whether they rejected them as being aliens from Christianity. "If they reject them," said he, "they must "also anathematize them; and if they venture to do this the "people, their own followers, will drive them away, and the "victory of truth will be manifest. But if they do not reject "the ancient Doctors, it is our business to produce their books "which bear testimony to our doctrine."

XXVI. Third Council of Constantinople under Theodosius.

Socr. v. 10. Soz. vii. 12.

Nectarius having heard Sisinnius speak thus, hastened to the palace, and told the Emperor what advice he had received, who approved and put it into execution very skilfully. For

A. D. 383. without discovering his intention, he only asked the heretics whether they esteemed those who had taught in the Church before the separation. They durst not deny it, but on the contrary, they said that they honoured them as their masters. The Emperor then asked them, if they followed them as witnesses worthy of credit in relation to the Christian doctrine. This question perplexed the heads of the several sects, and the dialecticians, whom they had brought in great numbers well prepared for disputation. So they divided, some alleging that the Emperor's proposition was good, and others that it was unsuited to their purpose. For they held different opinions concerning the writings of the ancients; and even those of the same sect did not agree amongst themselves. The Emperor observing their confusion, and that they only depended upon disputation, and not upon the authority of the ancients, went a step farther, and ordered each sect to deliver in its confession of Faith. Those who were esteemed the most skilful, drew up their doctrine, choosing their words very carefully; and the Bishops of each sect came to the palace on the day which the Emperor had appointed. Nectarius was there at the head of those who maintained the *Consubstantiality;* Demophilus came for the Arians; and Eunomius for the Eunomians, whose confession[1] of Faith, which he drew up upon that occasion, is still remaining; the Macedonians had Eleusius of Cyzicus for their chief. The Emperor took all their writings, and retiring alone, he besought God to assist him in choosing the truth. Afterwards having read each confession of Faith, he rejected those which divided the Trinity, and tore them; that of the *Consubstantiality* was the only one which he approved and admitted. It is thus that Socrates and Sozomen relate this matter.

[1] In Not. Vales. ad Socr. v. 10.

We must suppose that the Emperor Theodosius, though very well instructed in the Catholic doctrine, did not make this choice by himself, and that he consulted not only Nectarius but the rest of the Catholic Bishops who were at this Council, as, for instance, St. Gregory of Nyssa, of whom there is a discourse[2], spoken in this assembly, still remaining; and St. Amphilochius, who there signalized his courage[k].

[2] De Deit. Fil. to. iii. p. 464.

[k] Sc. in the case recorded in the next chapter. See Tillemont. Ariens. to. vi. § 139.

However, the heretics remained in confusion, blaming each other, and accused of ignorance by their followers. They retired in distress, and each of them wrote to those of his sect not to be grieved at the great numbers who quitted them to embrace the belief of the *Consubstantiality;* "because," said they, "there are many called but few are chosen." "Words," says Socrates, "which they did not use when their power "gained over to them the greater number of the people." A. D. 383. Socr. et Soz. ibid.

XXVII. Laws against heretics.

The Emperor at this time made several laws, forbidding the assemblies of heretics, to which he was led by an action[1] of St. Amphilochius Bishop of Iconium. A little while before, that is in January of the same year 383, Theodosius had declared his son Arcadius *Augustus*[2], though he was but six years of age. St. Amphilochius came to Court with certain other Bishops and paid the usual respects to the Emperor, but paid none to Arcadius, though he was near his father. Theodosius imagined that the Bishop did not think of it, and therefore reminded him to salute his son, upon which St. Amphilochius drew near to him, and stroking him with his finger said, "Save you, boy!" At which the Emperor being irritated, ordered the old man to be driven from his presence, and they were already thrusting him out, when turning to the Emperor, he said to him with a loud voice: "You cannot bear your son to be slighted; be assured then "that God in like manner abhors those who refuse to pay the "same honour to His only Son as to Himself." Theodosius admired the Bishop's wisdom, and calling him back, asked his forgiveness, and immediately resolved upon the law which St. Amphilochius desired, for prohibiting the assemblies of the heretics.

[1] Soz. vii. 6. Theod. v. 16.
[2] Socr. v. 10. Soz. vii. 12. Chron. Paschale. Anno 383.

Accordingly we find a law addressed to Posthumianus the Prætorian Præfect of the East, and dated at Constantinople on the eighth of the calends of August, under the consulate of Merobaudis and Saturninus, that is on the twenty-fifth of July, 383, and about the time of the Council, by which all the heretics are prohibited from holding assemblies even in private houses; and the Catholics are permitted to hinder them. By another law addressed to the same Posthumianus, and dated on the third of September, the same prohibition is repeated, adding the Apollinarians to the Arians and Macedonians, who are named

Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. v. l. xi.

Ibid. l. 12.

A. D. 383. in the former. This prohibits the heretics from assembling even in the country, and from ordaining Bishops. It confiscates the houses in which they have assembled, and orders their teachers and public ministers to be expelled, and sent back to the places of their nativity. In short, it threatens the officers belonging to the magistrates, with answering for their negligence if they should fail to see this law put into execution. It was not however rigorously enforced, since we again find repeated prohibitions four months after, by a law
Ibid. l. 13. of the twelfth of the calends of February, that is on the twenty-first of January in the following year, 384. For the Emperor Theodosius having no other design in it than that of uniting the heretics to the Church, sought rather to terrify than to punish them. The Novatians are not comprehended in these laws, because they agreed with the Catholics in relation to the Trinity, and they now began again to assemble in the cities.

Cod. Th. xvi. tit. vii. l. 2. About the same time, that is to say on the twenty-sixth of May, Theodosius made a second law against those Believers and Catechumens who returned to Paganism, depriving them of
Ibid. l. 3. the power of making wills. Valentinian the younger made another in Italy, bearing nearly the same date, against three sorts of apostates; *viz.* Christians who became Pagans, or Jews, or Manichees, and against those who seduced them. In
Cod. Th. iii. tit. i. l. 5. the following year, 384, Theodosius made a law prohibiting Jews from having Christian slaves, or making them Jews, under the penalty of being deprived of them.

XXVII. Death of Gratian; Maximus Emperor. In the mean time there arose a faction against Gratian, who was all this time in the Gauls conducting the war against the Germans. Maximus, who was a Spaniard by birth, com-
Zos. iv. 35. Oros. vii. 34. St. Aur. Victor. Epit. ch. 47. manded in Great Britain, where he had served under Theodosius; he claimed relationship to him, and bore his advancement with reluctance. He therefore took advantage of the discontent which the Roman soldiers felt against Gratian; for they complained that he placed all his confidence in the Barbarians, particularly the Alani. They therefore declared Maximus Emperor, giving him the Imperial robe and diadem. He crossed the sea, entered Gaul at the mouth of the Rhine, and excited the people against Gratian, who was abandoned by part of his soldiers, and offered him battle near Paris. But Gratian's forces again left him to take part with Maximus,

and there remained with him only three hundred horse, with which he took the road leading to the Alps, in order to pass into Italy. The cities[1] which lay in his route shut their gates against him, and at last he was taken at Lyons and killed by the treachery of Andragathius. He was invited to a feast, and his safety pledged to him upon the Gospel[2]; but he was instantly put to death, and even burial was refused[3] him. Thus died[4] the Emperor Gratian, on the 8th of the calends of September, under the Consulate of Merobaudis and Saturninus, that is, on the 25th of August, 383. He was about twenty-four years of age, being born in 359, and had reigned sixteen[5] years, part with his father and part with his brother and Theodosius. He was comely in his person, and had a handsome countenance; his disposition was excellent, he was well skilled in polite literature, and religious matters; he always preserved his religion in its purity by the assistance of St. Ambrose, whose absence he lamented when he was dying, and of whom he frequently spoke. He was a slave neither to sleep, nor wine, nor any other excess, especially detesting impurity. He was[6] mild and moderate, and yet very active and vigorous in war. But resolving to confine his love of pleasure, which is so natural at such an age, to innocent diversions, he used bodily exercises to excess, and particularly hunting wild beasts in a park with the bow. He was cheerful, and rather too timid in public, so that he was governed by those who were about him; they sold every thing to satisfy their avarice, and purposely increased his aversion to business.

A. D. 383.

[1] S. Hieron. Ep. 3. [35. p. 273. scr. A. D. 396.] c. 10.

[2] St. Ambr. in. Ps. 61. § 23.25.&c.

[3] Epist. 24. § 10.

[4] See St. Ambr. de Ob. Valent. § 79. de Ob Theod. § 39.

[5] Soc. v. 11. et Not. Var. Marcellin. Chron. An. 383. S. Hieron. Chron. An. 363. Chron. Pasch. An. 359. Amian. xxvii. 6. xxxi. 10.

[6] Victor. Epit. xlvii. Ruffin. xi. 13.

Maximus[7] associated his son Victor in the empire with him, whom he caused to take the name of Flavius, which had become venerable since the time of Constantine. For himself he assumed the names of Magnus, Clemens, Maximus. He took up his residence at Treves, the capital of the Gauls, of which he had the entire possession, together with Spain and Britain, that is to say, all that Gratian had reserved to himself. He put to death the consul Merobaudis, and several other persons of distinction. Macedonius, the Master of the Offices[1], who had suffered himself to be bribed to favour the

[7] Zos. iv. 47.

[1] *Magister Officiorum*; was of the highest rank of Senators (Illustres.) "He was the supreme magistrate of the "Palace, inspected the discipline of the

A. D. 383. Priscillianists, was also punished, which verified a prophecy of St. Ambrose. For when that holy Bishop went on one occasion to his palace to intercede for some person, he found the doors shut, and was refused admission. St. Ambrose then said to Macedonius[1]: "Thou also shalt come to the Church and shalt "not be able to enter." Accordingly, after the death of Gratian, as he endeavoured to take sanctuary in the Church, he could by no means enter, although the doors were open[m].

[1] Paulin. Vit. § 37.

Soon after Maximus had entered Treves, St. Ambrose came thither from the Emperor Valentinian, or rather from the Empress Justina his mother, and those who governed during his minority, for he was only twelve years old. Notwithstanding the aversion which Justina had to St. Ambrose, as she was an Arian, she had recourse to him upon this occasion, and put both her affairs and her son into his hands. He undertook this voyage notwithstanding the danger which attended it, and stayed with Maximus all the winter, in expectation of the return of the Count Victor, whom Maximus had sent on his part to Valentinian[2]. At length St. Ambrose obtained the peace[3] which he desired, prevented Maximus from passing into Italy[4], and gave Valentinian time to provide for his safety. Whilst St. Ambrose stayed at Treves, he would not communicate with Maximus, because he looked upon him as his master's murderer.

[2] Ep. St. Ambr. 24. 5, 6, 7.

[3] Ruff. xi. 15.

[4] Ep. 20. § 23.

XXIX. The prosecutions of Ithacius.

Ithacius the Bishop[5] was still at Treves, busy in carrying on his prosecutions against the Priscillianists[6n]. He had escaped[o]

[5] [Bishop (prob.) of Ossonaba, in Lusitania.]

[6] Sulp. Sev. H. S. 2. 49.

"civil and military *Schools*, and received "appeals from all parts of the Empire, "in the causes of the servants of the "Court who had obtained a right to "decline the authority of the ordinary "judges. The correspondence between "the Prince and his subjects was "managed by the four *Scrinia*, or offices "of this minister of State." Gibbon. ch. xvii. vol. ii. p. 52. See Pancir. ap. Græv. to. vii. p. 1495.

[m] This rests on the authority of Paulinus. See note l, page 46.

[n] So called from Priscillian, a Spaniard, a man of birth, ability, and character. While Arianism engaged the East, the Manichees, who externally conformed to the Church, were silently spreading their doctrines in the West. Priscillian, A. D. 379, derived his tenets from this source (through Mark, an *Egyptian*. Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sac. II. 46.) They were condemned at the Synod of Cæsar Augusta (Saragoza) A. D. 380, after which Priscillian was made Bishop of Avila, by the condemned Bishops. The Priscillianists continued to exist till after the beginning of the Sixth Century. Gieseler, Period I. § 8 k.

[o] The Priscillianist Bishops, after their condemnation at Saragoza (380), had, by a rescript of Gratian, obtained by Idacius and Ithacius, been driven out of their cities. Afterwards, by bribing the officers of the Court, particularly Macedonius, the heretic Bishops gained a

being carried into Spain according to the rescript of the Emperor Gratian, which had been obtained through the intrigues of Macedonius, and as soon as he heard that Maximus was declared Emperor in Britain and was coming into Gaul, he resolved to continue quiet until his arrival. When Maximus[1] had entered victorious into Treves, Ithacius presented him a petition full of accusations against Priscillian and his followers. Maximus, who made profession of Christianity, and who, with the exception of his ambition, was in other respects a man of right sentiments, was moved by this petition, and wrote to the Præfect[p] of the Gauls, and to the Vicar of Spain, to cause all those who were found infected with this error to be conducted in a body to Bourdeaux, to be there judged by a Council[2]. Instantius and Priscillian were carried thither. Instantius was made to speak first, and he, making but a poor defence, was declared unworthy of the Episcopate. Priscillian, fearing to answer before the Bishops, appealed to the Emperor, and they were weak enough to allow it; "whereas they ought," says Sulpicius Severus, "to have condemned him for contumacy; "or, if he had any ground for suspecting them, to have "reserved the sentence to other Bishops, and not to have left "such manifest crimes to the determination of the Emperor." This is all that we know of the Council of Bourdeaux.

A. D. 384.

[1] Oros. 7. 34.

[2] [held A. D. 384.]

All those therefore who were included in this accusation[3] were carried to Treves before Maximus, and the Bishops Idacius[4] and Ithacius followed them as accusers. This was contrary to the wish of all good men, because they saw that these men were influenced rather by the desire of succeeding in their enterprise, than by zeal for justice; particularly Ithacius, who had neither the sanctity nor gravity of a Bishop. He was bold even to impudence, a great talker, expensive, fond of good cheer, and looked upon all those as Priscillianists whom he saw fasting or applying themselves to study. St. Martin happened to be then at Treves, whither he had

[3] Sulp. Sev. ibid. c. 50.

[4] [Bishop of Emerita (Merida) and Metropolitan of Lusitania.]

rescript from the same Emperor commanding their restoration. On this Ithacius fled to Treves, where he still continued, notwithstanding the rescript which Macedonius procured for his return to Spain. Maximus would be naturally disposed to take part against the heretics, whom the fallen court had supported. See Sulp. Sev. H. S. II. 47, 48.

[p] This Præfect (see note 1, p. 21) had under his authority three Dioceses, viz. Britain, Gaul, and Spain, each governed by a Vicar. Pancir. ap. Græv. Thes. to. vii. p. 1917.

A. D. 384. come to solicit pardon for certain unfortunate criminals. He ceased not to reprove the conduct of Ithacius, and pressed him to desist from this accusation; and on the other side, he besought Maximus to spare the blood of the guilty, saying, that it was sufficient that being declared heretics by the sentence of the Bishops, they should be driven out of the Churches; and, in short, that there was no[1] precedent of an Ecclesiastical cause being brought before a secular judge[o]. Ithacius, far from benefiting by St. Martin's advice, presumed even to accuse him of heresy, as he generally reproached all those whose manner of living seemed to him to be too strict. But the Emperor Maximus had so much regard to the remonstrances of the holy Bishop, that as long as St. Martin stayed at Treves the trial was deferred, and when he went away he prevailed so far as to make Maximus promise that the blood of the accused should not be spilled.

[1] [Novum et inauditum nefas.]

XXX. Priscillian put to death.

But after St. Martin was gone, the Emperor suffered himself to be prevailed upon by the evil counsels of the Bishops Magnus and Rufus, the latter of whom is thought to be a Bishop of Spain, who was afterwards deposed for heresy. So the Emperor quitted his feelings of moderation, and committed the cause of the Priscillianists to Evodius, whom he had made Prætorian Præfect[2], a just man, but ardent and severe. He twice examined Priscillian, and convicted him of several crimes by his own confession, for he did not deny that he had studied shameful doctrines, had held assemblies in the night time with corrupt women, and had been accustomed to pray naked. Evodius therefore declared him guilty, and put him into prison until he had made his report to the

[2] [of the Gauls.]

[o] All matters purely Ecclesiastical were confined to the decision of the Bishop. Gothofr. ad Cod. xvi. 2. 23. The law of Constantius, A. D. 355, forbidding any accusation against a Bishop to be brought before a secular magistrate, must at the least signify in Ecclesiastical causes. Cod. xvi. 2, 12. St. Ambrose, Ep. 32, mentions a law of Valentinian, not now extant, to the same purpose, extending, however, the principle to all orders of Ecclesiastics; see ch. 44, below. So Cod. Th. xvi. 2. 23, A. D. 376, of Gratian; and Cod. xvi. 12. 3. of Theodosius (questioned by Gothofr. Extravagans de Episc. Judic. 3., and Boehmer, tom. 1. p. 528; received by Bingham). By Cod. Theod. xvi. 11. 1, A. D. 399, of Honorius, "whenever any cause relating to reli-"gion was debated, the Bishops were "to be judges; but other causes, be-"longing to the cognizance of the ordi-"nary judges, or to the usage of the "Common Law, were to be heard by the Laws." This custom recognised by Valent. III. Novell. 12. ad Calc. Cod. Theod. p. 26. This confirmed by Justinian, A. D. 539. Authent. seu Novell. 83, ad finem. Cod. Justin. Gothof. p. 174. To appeal in such matters to the civil power was to act in opposition to St. Matt. xxii. 21. 2 Tim. i. 14.

Emperor. The proceedings at the trial having been laid before the Emperor, he declared that Priscillian and his accomplices were worthy of death. Then it was that Ithacius perceived how odious he should make himself to the Bishops, if he were present at the last proceedings against these criminals (for it was necessary to bring them once more to trial, in order to pronounce a definitive sentence) and he had done but too much already, having been present even when they were put to the torture[1]. Ithacius therefore withdrew, being afraid of drawing more odium upon himself, and the Emperor put in his place as accuser a man named Patricius, an advocate of the treasury[p]. At his suit Priscillian was condemned to death, and, with him, two clerks named Felicissimus and Armenius, who had lately left the Church Catholic to become his followers. Latronianus, a layman, and Euchrotia[2] were likewise condemned; and all five were put to death[q]. The Bishop Instantius, who had been already condemned by the Councils of Saragoza[3] and Bourdeaux, was banished to Sylina, one of the Scilly Isles off the coast of Britain. Proceedings were afterwards continued against other Priscillianists. Asarinus, and Aurelius a Deacon, were condemned to death. Tiberianus was sent to the beforementioned islands, and his estate confiscated. Tertullus, Potamius, and John were only banished into the Gauls for a time, as well because they were not of such consequence, as because they were more worthy of compassion, having accused themselves and their accomplices before they were put to the torture. Thus were the Priscillianists punished[4]. At the same time the people of Bourdeaux stoned a woman to death, named Urbica[5], for persisting in defending the same impiety.

A. D. 384. c. 51.

[1] Pacati Drepan. Paneg. Theodos. c. 29.

[2] [Widow of the orator and poet Delphidius.]

[3] [A. D. 380.]

[4] [*Pessimo exemplo.* Sulp. 2. 51.]

[5] Prosper. Chron. An. 386. p. 396.

Indeed the death of Priscillian was so far from extinguishing his heresy, that it rather increased and strengthened it. His followers, who already honoured him as a saint, went so far as to pay him the veneration of a martyr[6], and their most

[6] [Ut martyrem *colere* cœperunt. Sulp. Sev. H. S. ii. 51. p. 268.]

[p] The *Patronus* or *advocatus, fisci*, was an officer employed by each of the provincial governors to watch over the interests of the Emperor's exchequer (Cod. Theod. x. Tit. 15. Præf.) Maximus selected Patricius as accuser from the hope of enriching himself from the possessions of the accused. Sev. Dial. 3. 65.

[q] This is the first instance of the judicial execution of a heretic, and was universally condemned, more especially by St. Martin, Bishop of Tours. Sulp. Sev. Dial. III. c. 11—13; and St. Ambrose Ep. 24 and 26. Gieseler, l. c.

A. D. 384. solemn oath was to swear by him. They carried his body, and the bodies of the rest who had been put to death, into Spain, and there solemnized their funerals. When St. Jerome composed his catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, seven or eight years after, he says[1], speaking of Priscillian, that he was put to death by the faction of Idacius and Ithacius, and that he was accused by some of the heresy of the Gnostics, but that others defended him. Afterwards, however, on being better informed, he speaks of him positively as a heretic justly condemned[2]. He tells us that Priscillian had written several short treatises, and speaks also of those of Matronianus and Tiberianus, who were Spaniards, and of the same sect. Matronianus, who is thought to be the same as Latronianus, was a man of learning and a good poet. Tiberianus wrote an apology for his heresy, in a turgid and formal style, but being tired with his banishment in the Scilly Isles, he quitted the sect, but afterwards fell into another crime, by marrying his own daughter who had consecrated her virginity to God.

[1] Catal. scr. Eccl. § 121. to. iv. 2. p. 127. (scr. A. D. 392.)

[2] Ep. ad Ctesiph. adv. Pelag. c. 2. [Ep. 43. scr. A. D. 415.]

XXXI. Remonstrance of Symmachus.

The Pagans, who were depressed by the laws of Gratian, had their hopes raised at his death, under the weak administration of Valentinian and his mother. When Constantius[3] came to Rome in the year 357, he caused the altar of Victory to be removed out of the place where the Senate assembled; Julian[4] however set it up again, and Valentinian I. allowed it to remain. Gratian caused it to be removed again, and confiscated the lands belonging to the temple, the revenues appointed for the expense of sacrifices and the maintenance of the priests, and the salaries of the vestal virgins, whose privileges he abolished; he even ordered that whatever afterwards was left by will to the temples, pontiffs, or vestals, should be paid into the treasury. The Pagan senators complained of this ordinance; they deputed[r] to Gratian [Q. Aurelius] Symmachus[5] who was esteemed the most eloquent man of his age, the son of another Symmachus, and Præfect of Rome under Valentinian I. in 365. The Pagan senators deputed Symmachus the son, in the name of the whole

[3] Amm. lib. xvi. 10. Relatio Sym. (post Ep. xvii. St. Amb.) § 7. Fleury, bk. xiii. ch. 44.

[4] Ibid. bk. xv. ch. 3. Amm. 22. c. 5. Relat. Sym. § 3.

[5] Amm. 27. c. 3. Gothof. Prosopog. Cod. Theod. to. vi.

[r] Four deputations were successively voted to the Emperor, to solicit the restoration of this altar. I. to Gratian, A. D. 382; II. to Valentinian, A. D. 384; III. to Theodosius, A. D. 388; IV. to Valentinian, A. D. 392.

Senate; but the Christian senators[1], whose number was very great[2], on their part also presented a petition, by which they disavowed that of the Pagans, and they protested both in public and private, that they would not come to the Senate if the pretensions of the Pagans were admitted. Pope Damasus sent the petition of the Christian senators to St. Ambrose, in order to deliver it, as he did, to the Emperor Gratian, who took no notice of that of the Pagans, and would not so much as hear them. This happened about the year 382. After the death of Gratian, Symmachus was Præfect of Rome, under the consulate of Clearchus and Ricimer, i. e. in the year 384. A. D. 384.

[1] St. Ambr. Ep. 17. § 10.
[2] [et quidem innumeri.]

Symmachus caused a decree to be made in the name of the Senate in the form of a complaint, concerning all those rights of which the Pagans were deprived, and then, as being bound by his office to give an account of the events at Rome, he drew up a memorial, containing the same complaints, addressed according to the usual form, to the three Emperors, Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius; but it was really presented to none but Valentinian. In this[3], Symmachus having recourse to all the artifices of rhetoric of which he was master, says that he acts in two capacities, both as præfect and as deputy. He complains of the audience which had been denied him in his former deputation, and promises himself that the disorders of the former reign will now be remedied. He lays great stress on the name Victory, by which the altar was called, as though the reality were inseparably joined with it; he insists on the antiquity and prevalence of the custom which had been abolished, and making use of the figure which the rhetoricians call *prosopopœa*, he makes Rome speak, and say, that she wished to retain the religion under which she had been blessed; that she was too old to change, and that it was doing her an injury to pretend to mend her in her old age. That he might not give offence to the Emperors, he endeavours to persuade them, that it is the same God who is adored under different names. He endeavours to touch their feelings of generosity, by shewing how little the confiscations of which he complains will bring into their treasury, and he tries to terrify them by the public calamities which he ascribes to the contempt of the

[3] Relat. Sym. lib. x. Ep. 54; et ubi supra.

§ 4, 5.

§ 9.

§ 10.

§ 11, &c.

A. D. 384. ancient religion; in reference to this last argument he gives
§ 14. a tragical detail of the famine with which Rome had been afflicted in the preceding year. And this is what the most able man of his time thought most solid to be urged in defence of Paganism.

XXXII. Answer of St. Ambrose.

St. Ambrose having received an account of this memorial, wrote immediately to the Emperor Valentinian, to prevent his being prepossessed by the Pagans. "Your subjects," he

[1] Epist. 17. says[1], "serve[2] you, and you serve God, you ought at least to

[2] [Militant.] "prevent their serving false gods; whereas, to restore to the
"false gods what has been so long confiscated, would be to give
§ 4. "them of your own. Those men complain of their losses who
"have never spared our blood, and who have laid in ruins the
"very buildings of the Churches; those men demand privileges,
"who under Julian refused us the common liberty of speak-
§ 5. "ing and teaching. Surely you ought not rashly to annul
"what your predecessors have ordained in respect of religion,
"when what they have enacted in secular affairs is not
§ 6, 7. "lightly tampered with. Let none impose upon your youth.
"If he is a Pagan who gives you this advice, let him leave
"you the liberty which you leave him; you force no one to
"adore that which he does not approve, let him not put this
§ 8. "constraint upon you. If he calls himself a Christian;
"suffer not yourself to be deceived by names, he is in reality
"a Pagan. To oblige Christian senators to swear before
§ 9. "this altar, would be no other than to raise a persecution
"against them; nor think that this memorial represents the
"sentiments of the Senate, for the memorialists are a few
§ 10. "Pagans[3] who usurp the name of the Senate[4]. I beseech you

[3] [Majore jam curia Christianorum numero sit referta.] "therefore as a Bishop, and in the name of all the Bishops, who
"would have joined with me, if this news had not been so sud-
"den and incredible, to ordain nothing in favour of this re-
"quest. At least refer the matter to the Emperor Theodosius
§ 12. "your father, whom you are accustomed to consult upon
§ 13, &c. "extraordinary occasions. Let a copy of the memorial which
"has been sent to you be given me, that I may more fully
"answer it. If a different course is resolved on, we, the

[4] Lardner thinks it improbable that the Christians were the majority of the Roman Senate when Symmachus presented his petition. Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 395.

"Bishops, cannot dissemble the matter; you may come to the A. D. 384.
"Church, but you will find no Bishop there, or you will find
"one who will resist you, and reject your offerings." He
afterwards excuses Valentinian, his father, as having been § 16.
ignorant that there was an altar at Rome in the Senate-house,
and that sacrifices were offered upon it.

St. Ambrose having afterwards received the copy of the
memorial of Symmachus, wrote an answer to it, in which he Epist. 18.
destroys all the false colouring of his oratory. He meets his
prosopopœa by another, in which he makes Rome acknow- § 4—7.
ledge that she does not owe her victories to the gods, whom
she had in common with her enemies, but to the valour of
her warriors; and he enumerates the misfortunes that befel
her under the Emperors who were idolaters. As to the com-
plaint which the Pagans made of losing their revenues and their
privileges, he says: "Behold the manly endurance of Chris- § 11.
"tians. We increased by ill treatment, by poverty, and by
"punishment; they imagine that their ceremonies cannot
"subsist without the support of gain. They cannot believe
"that people preserve their virginity without being paid for
"it. Hardly are there seven vestals; these are all who are
"bound to preserve their chastity, and that only for a certain
"time, by the inducement of a head-dress adorned with
"chaplets, a purple habit, the sumptuousness of carriages,
"and a crowd of attendants, with great privileges and
"revenues." To these he opposes the great number of § 12.
Christian virgins, whose poverty and fasting, as well as their
humble and austere life, might seem rather to deter them
from embracing that profession than attract them to it.

"They complain," he continues, "that salaries are not § 13.
"given to their sacrificers, and to the officers of the temples
"at the public expense; while for our part, on the con-
"trary, the new laws deprive us even of private inherit-
"ances[t], of which the officers of the temples are not deprived.
"Again, if a Priest would be exempt from the municipal[1] [1] [onus curiale.]

[t] Referring to the law which forbade Ecclesiastics receiving bequests of widows, &c. Cod. Theod. xvi. 2. 20. A. D. 370. (a law remarkable as being addressed to Pope Damasus, and read in the churches of Rome.) This law was repealed by Marcian, A. D. 455. Vid. Novell. Marc. de Test. Cler. (Cod. Theodos. App. p. 32.) See on the conduct of many of the Clergy in this respect St. Ambros. de Off. I. 20. § 87. S. Hieron. Ep. 2. [34.] ad Nepot.

A. D. 384. "burdens[u], he must renounce the estate of his ancestors, "whilst a Decurion[x] is exempt from these same offices. I do not "say this by way of complaint, but to shew of how much I "do not complain. The Pagans reply, that the Church hath "revenues; why, I ask, do they not make the same use of "theirs as the Church of hers? The wealth[1] of the Church is "the support of the poor. Let them reckon what captives "they have redeemed, what poor they have maintained, to "what exiles they have sent relief. That which, if given "to the Pagans, would only turn to the advantage of the "sacrificers, is by us, applied to the public benefit; and "this is what they urge as the cause of our calamities." He afterwards confutes the calumny of Symmachus in imputing the famine to the contempt of his religion, by shewing that such accidents have happened in all times, and that the famine of the last year raged only in Italy. He answers him likewise with respect to Gratian's misfortune, by the example of Pagan princes, particularly of Julian, which shews that these things happen by the ordinary course of human affairs[2]. These two memorials of St. Ambrose were read in Valentinian's consistory, in presence of Count Bauto one of the Masters General of the army[y], and of Rumorides who held the same dignity and was a Pagan; and the Emperor being prevailed upon by these remonstrances granted the Pagans nothing of what they desired.

[1] [Possessio Ecclesiæ sumptus egenorum.]

[2] Ep. 57. §3. scr. A. D. 392-3.

XXXIII. Death of St. Damasus. St. Siricius, Pope.

Symmachus in this same year of his Præfecture had a trial of the justice of the Christians. He was accused[3] before the Emperor Valentinian of having ill-treated some of them, by means of a commission which had been given him, in orde

[3] Sym. x. Ep. 34.

[u] Each town had a *Curia* (or Common Council) composed of members called *Decurions*, on whom all the burdensome municipal offices fell. The exemption of the Clergy from these duties by Constantine, A.D. 312 or 313, led many men to seek admission to some of the inferior orders of the Church, for the sake of the immunity alone. This abuse rendered it necessary to introduce some severe restrictions, one of which is referred to by St. Ambrose. See ch. ix. note q; Bingham, Bk. v. 3. 14—16.

[x] There were certain civil and military cases in which the Decurion escaped the Municipal burdens, from which the Clergy could escape only by forfeiting their private property.

[y] Constantine divided the military from the civil administration of the Prætorian Præfects, in order to diminish the power, which, in a subject's hand, had before proved so often dangerous to his master. Hence the institution of the *Magistri militum*, or Masters General of the army, under whose orders Counts and Dukes were stationed in the provinces. Gibbon, ch. xvii. vol. ii. p. 43.

to discover some persons who had damaged the walls of the city. It was said that he had taken Christians out of the sacred enclosure of churches, to torture them, and sent for Bishops out of several neighbouring and distant towns, in order to put them into prison. We have the letter which he wrote to the Emperor in his own defence. He appeals to the testimony of the officers who served under him, who declared that no Christians were either in irons or in prison, though many criminals were confined. But he chiefly insists upon a letter of the Pope Damasus, which testified that no Christians were either ill-used or imprisoned on this occasion. The Pope St. Damasus died in this same year 384, on the eleventh of December, aged about eighty years[1], having held the See eighteen years, from the year 366[2]. There are several miracles ascribed to him during his life, and after his death. He had wished to be buried in a place where lay the relics of St. Sixtus[z] and several other martyrs, but he was deterred from that design through the fear of disturbing their ashes[3]; he was therefore buried in a church which he had built amongst the Catacombs[4], on the road to Ardea, near his mother, and the virgin Irene his sister[5], whose epitaph he had composed. He likewise wrote his own[6], in which he declares his faith concerning the resurrection. He built or repaired the church of St. Lawrence[7] near the theatre, where he had officiated after his father, and which to this day bears his name. He beautified it with paintings of sacred histories, which were remaining four hundred years afterwards[8], and gave to it a paten of silver weighing fifteen pounds, a chased vessel of ten pounds weight, five silver chalices, weighing three pounds each, five silver sconces to hold wax-lights, of eight pounds each, some candlesticks of brass of sixteen pounds weight, several houses that were round the church, rented at fifty-five golden pence[9], a piece of land rented at two hundred and twenty pence, another of one hundred and three, a bath joining to the church, rented at twenty-seven golden pence[10]. All this income amounts to four hundred and five golden

A. D. 384.

[1] S. Hier. de Scr. Ecc. § 103. to. iv. P. 2. p. 125. Prosper. Chron. p. 396. ad An. 384.

[2] Fleury xvi. 8.

[3] Damas. Carm. 29.

[4] Anastas. Bibl. de Vit. Pontif. § 38.

[5] Carm. 28.

[6] Carm. 16.

[7] Carm. 18.

[8] Ep. Hadr. I. ad Carol. Magn. Con. to. vii. p. 955. [xiii. p. 801. Mans.]

[9] [Solidos.]

[10] Anast. ut supra.

[z] St. Sixtus II. was Pope, and suffered martyrdom, in the persecution of Valerian A. D. 257. St. Lawrence, mentioned in this chapter, was his Deacon, and was martyred three days after his Bishop. They are commemorated on the sixth and tenth of August.

A. D. 384. pence; and the silver plate amounts to eighty pounds weight[a]. St. Damasus likewise collected the waters of the springs of the Vatican, which ran over the bodies that
[1] Carm. 39. were buried there, and turned them into baptismal fonts[1].
[2] S. Hieron. ubi supra. He left several writings[2] behind him, amongst which there are several epitaphs, and other inscriptions in verse, and of which there is a collection of about forty.

[3] [Dec. 22. A. D. 384.] Siricius[3] was chosen in his place[4]; he was a Roman by birth, the son of Tiburtius, and a Priest with the title of Pastor; he held the Holy See about fifteen years. The Emperor Valen-
[4] Anastas. c. 39. Baron. A. D. 385. tinian, who was at Milan, approved that election[b], as appears
[5] ap. Baron. A. D. 385. [and, ap. Coustant, p. 639.] by a rescript[5] directed to Pinianus Præfect of Rome[6], who was husband to the young Melania[c]. It relates that Siricius was elected by an united acclamation, and that Ursinus was
[6] Chron. Cod. Theod. A. D. 386. rejected by the outcries of the people; by which we see that Ursinus had not yet given up his pretensions. This rescript was dated on the seventh of the calends of March, that is to say, on the twenty-third of February, A. D. 385.

XXXIV. Decretal of St. Siricius. A. D. 385. Himerius, who for a long time had governed the Church of Tarracona, which was the metropolis of a great part of Spain, had sent a Priest to the Pope Damasus at Rome, named Bassianus, to consult him upon various points of Ecclesiastical discipline. He did not arrive till after the ordination of Siricius, who at the beginning of his Pontificate, returned an
[7] Tom. ii. Conc. p. 1017. [iii. p. 655. Mans. ap. Coust. p. 624.] answer by a famous epistle[7], which was the first of the letters of that kind that have come down to us, and which are called *Decretals*, because they contain determinations, which are of the same force as laws. This letter is dated on the 3rd of the Ides of February, under the consulship of Arcadius and Bauto; that is, on the eleventh of February A. D. 385. "Your enquiry," says the Pope, "hath been "read in the assembly of our brethren:" (these were probably the Bishops who assisted at his election; for the

[a] The value of the *aureus* or *solidus* was, according to Gibbon, ch. xvii. note 180, eleven shillings. Hence the 405 golden pence are equivalent to £222 15s. The pound of silver being in value sixty-two shillings, the silver plate was worth £248, without reckoning the value of the workmanship.

[b] Valentinian thus pronounced against the pretensions of Ursinus, who probably at this time petitioned for his restoration.

[c] Pinianus became Præfect of Rome in A. D. 386; at this time Tillemont supposes that he was Vicar. The Pinianus who married St. Melania was now only seven years old. Tillemont, tom. x. p. 358. 603.

decretals were generally the result of a Council. Then he proceeds:) "I will answer each article, after having ac- "quainted you with my promotion, as is my duty." This shews that the Popes[d] were obliged to make their ordination known to the Bishops of the important Sees. He then gives directions for the reformation of various abuses, which prevailed in the Churches of Spain. As to Baptism, he forbids the re-baptizing of Arians, according to the decrees sent to the provinces by Pope Liberius[1], after the Council of Ariminum was annulled[2]. "They shall be received," says he, "as other heretics, merely by the invocation of the Holy "Spirit, and the imposition of the hands of the Bishop;" that is to say, they shall receive Confirmation. In Spain every Bishop used to baptize as he thought most convenient, either at Christmas, the feast of the Epiphany, or at the festivals of the Apostles and Martyrs. The Pope Siricius condemns this abuse, and in conformity to the custom of all Churches, he commands them to baptize only at Easter, and during the following fifty days to Whitsuntide. And moreover, none were to be baptized then unless they had been first chosen[e], had given in their names at least forty days before, (that is, before Lent,) and had been purified by exorcisms, daily prayers, and fastings. During the rest of the year these holy preparations could not be observed so exactly. But as for little children that cannot yet speak, and those who are in any danger, as in a storm, or in the time of an invasion of enemies, during a siege, or an attack of mortal sickness, "We require," the Pope says, "that "whosoever shall desire to be baptized on such occasions, "shall immediately receive baptism; lest, if any one die "without baptism, we should answer for the loss of his soul, "with the hazard of our own." The exception for little children is remarkable, and shews the antiquity of our custom of baptizing them at any season.

A. D. 385.

§ 1.

[1][See ch. 16. note b.]

[2][See ch. 20. note p.]

§ 2.

[d] This custom of *every* new Bishop's giving intimation of his own promotion to those of his own order, was so necessary, that the omission of it was interpreted a sort of refusal to hold communion with the rest of the world, and a virtual charge of heresy upon them. Liberatus (A. D. 553.) Breviar. c. 17. Concil. tom. v. 766. [ix. 686. Mansi.] referred to by Bingham, ii. xi. 10.

[e] Some read *exceptis* for *electis*, which would mean that none were to be baptized at any other time, "unless they had "given notice forty days at least before, "and been purified, &c."

A. D. 385. Concerning Penance; "the apostates who return to ido-
§ 3. "latry, are to be deprived of the sacraments; and are to be
"reconciled only at their death, if they spend all the re-
§ 5. "mainder of their life in penance. Those, who after having
"performed penance relapse again into sin, either by bearing
"arms, frequenting sports, or contracting new marriages,
"those, receiving no benefit from penance, shall only be
"partakers of the prayers of the faithful, and receive
"the *Viaticum* at the time of their death; upon condition
[1] Fleury xi. 21. "that they have amended their life." It was forbidden[1] to all public penitents either to enter into the army or to marry; so that they were guilty of a new crime, if, during the course of their penance, they either enlisted themselves in military service, contracted a marriage, or used a marriage they had before contracted[2]. And what the Pope says here: "After having performed penance[3]," may be understood to mean after having gone through the greatest part of penance, before they were come to the last period of it, and before
§ 6. absolution had been received[f]. "The monks and religious
"women, who in contempt of their profession have con-
"tracted sacrilegious marriages, which are condemned by
"both civil and ecclesiastical laws, shall be expelled the
"society of monasteries, and the assemblies of the Church,
"and be confined in prison, there to bewail their sins[4], and
"shall not be admitted to the Communion till their death[5]."
We may observe here, that there were at this time religious communities in Spain, as is also observable[5] in the Council of Saragoza[6], and that the marriages of persons who had joined them were condemned by the united voice of both the Powers. "It is unlawful[7] to marry a maiden who is con-
"tracted to another; and it is a kind of sacrilege to violate
"the blessing of the betrothal[h]."

[2] [See Bingham, bk. xviii. 2. 6-8.]

[3] [actâ pœnitentiâ.]

[4] [purificatorio pœnitudinis igne decoquere.] Hist. Ord. S. Bened. i. 6.

[5] Fleury, xvii. 57.

[6] [Conc. Cæsaraugust. A. D. 381.]

[7] Decret. § 4.

[f] This explanation is rejected by Coustant, who maintains from St. Leo, (Epist. 2. ad Rustic. Inquis. 12, 13. tom. i. p. 410.) that the rules with respect to military service, &c. were not relaxed even after absolution had been pronounced.

[g] St. Siricius is not here speaking of the marriage of Monks, but of a criminal life while they continued the Monastic profession. That it was possible to return to a secular life is maintained by Bingham, vii. 3. 7, 22, 23.

[h] *Desponsatam*; i. e. one who has received a veil from the Priest, and his benediction; which were both received at the betrothal. Cf. St. Ambr. Ep. 19. § 7. and Exhort. Virgin. c. vi. § 1. Tert. de Veland. Virg. c. xi.

In Spain there were Priests and Deacons, who, long after their ordination, lived with their wives or with others, by whom they had children, and alleged in defence of their incontinency, the example of the priests of the old law. To this Siricius replies, that "amongst the Ancients it was "customary for Priests to marry, because the Ministers of "the Altar were obliged to have a succession of the same "family, but that even they lived separate from their wives "during the time of their ministration. But since Christ "came to perfect the Law, Priests and Deacons are bound "by an inviolable decree, to observe, from the day of their "ordination, sobriety and continence[1], that they may be "well-pleasing to God, in the sacrifices which they *daily* "offer up unto him. Such Priests then as have sinned through "ignorance, and acknowledge their fault, shall continue in "the order in which they are, on condition that they live in "continence for the time to come; they who persist in their "fault shall be deprived of all Ecclesiastical functions." This is decreed generally for Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. The candidates for ordination used not to be examined with sufficient strictness, more particularly as to whether they had contracted more marriages than one, for which reason the Pope gives these rules: "He who from his infancy is devoted "to the service of the Church, must be baptized before the "age of fourteen, and placed in the rank of Readers. If his "behaviour be approved to the age of thirty, and he have "lived with only one wife, whom he had married a virgin [1 Tim. 3. 2.] "with the blessing of the Priest, he shall be an Acolyte and "Subdeacon. From this office he may rise to the order of "Deacon, if he be judged worthy of it, after having made a "promise of continence. When he shall have served worthily "more than five years, he may enter into the Priesthood. "Ten years after this he may be promoted to the Episcopal "chair, if his faith and morals are approved. But a man "in advanced years, who desires to be received into the service "of the Church, shall not be received, but on condition of

A. D. 385.

XXXV. Rules concerning Ordination.

§ 7.

§ 8.

§ 10.

[1] Peter de Marca is of opinion that it was now for the first time made an Ecclesiastical *law* that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons should preserve continence; and that previously it had been a *custom* of the Church. Coustant shews that he is probably mistaken, and that the law had existed long before.

A. D. 385. "his taking place amongst the Readers or Exorcists, imme-
"diately after his baptism; provided also that he hath had
"but one wife, and hath married her a virgin. Two years
"after he may become an Acolyte or Subdeacon for five
"years, and thus rise to be a Deacon; then in time may be
"promoted to the Priesthood or Episcopal office, if he be
"chosen by the Clergy and people." This is the first Eccle-
siastical ordinance which particularly appoints the age of
those who are to enter into orders, and the intervals between
the offices. We may see by this that the Church does not
disapprove of laymen's offering themselves to be admitted
§ 11. into holy orders. A Clerk who had married a widow, or
§ 12. taken a second wife, is reduced to lay communion. Women
are forbidden to live in the houses of Clerks, except such as
Conc. Ni- are allowed by the Council of Nicæa[k].
cæn. can. 3.
§ 13. "It is our desire," says Siricius, "that such monks as shall
"be deemed worthy, be admitted amongst the Clergy, upon
"condition that if they be under thirty years of age, they
"enter the lowest orders, pass through all the degrees, and
"become Deacons or Priests at a more advanced age; but
"they are not to be promoted at once to the Episcopal
§ 14. "dignity. As the Church does not admit of Clerks doing
"public penance, neither doth it admit any layman, who
"has done public penance, to have the honour of being a
"Clerk, even though he be reconciled, and absolved from his
§ 15. "sins. Indulgence is granted for past offences, in respect of
"those who have transgressed these rules through ignorance,
"and have intruded themselves amongst the Clergy, though
[1][bigamus.] "penitents or not the husbands of but one wife[1]; on condition
"however that they shall continue in their station, without
"hopes of being promoted to any higher dignity." The
Pope sending these decisions to the Bishop Himerius, entreats
him to communicate them to all the Bishops, not only those
of his province of Tarracona, but likewise to the Bishops of
Carthagena, Bœtica, Lusitania, Gallicia, and the rest of the
neighbouring provinces; by which last is understood Gallia
Narbonensis[l].

[k] Viz., a mother, a sister, an aunt, or such persons only as could be liable to no suspicion.

[l] There is another chapter of this Decretal, found in a very ancient manuscript, and appended by Coustant, for-

A. D. 385.

XXXVI. St. Jerome's return into Palestine.

St. Jerome did not reside long at Rome after the death of the Pope St. Damasus[1]. The reputation of his doctrine had created much jealousy amongst a great number of the Clergy, and the freedom which he used in reproving them for their vices made them hate him. During his stay at Rome he wrote a small treatise[2] concerning the means of preserving virginity, which he directed to the virgin Eustochium, daughter of St. Paula, in which he warns her to avoid hypocrites of both sexes, and speaking of Clerks in particular, he says: "There are some of them who aspire to the office of "Priest or Deacon, that they may visit women with the "greater liberty. Their chief care is to be well dressed, "neatly shod, and perfumed; they curl their hair with irons, "they have bright rings on their fingers, and they walk on "tiptoe, looking more like young bridegrooms, than Clerks. "Some of them make it their only business to know the "names and dwellings of ladies of quality, and discover their "inclinations. I will describe one of them, who is a master "in the art. He rises with the sun, the order of his visits is "fixed, he finds out the nearest ways, and the troublesome old "man enters almost the very chambers in which they rest. "If he sees a cushion, a napkin, or any other little moveable "that is to his liking, he praises it, and admires the neatness "of it, he takes it in his hand, then complains that he has "not something of that kind, and in short has snatched it "away before it is given to him." St. Jerome after this mentions their avarice, saying that these interested Clerks, under pretence of giving blessings, reached out their hands to receive money, and so became dependent on those whom they were appointed to govern. In another place[3] he complains of those who paid extraordinary attention to elderly people who had no children, and were ready to do them the meanest and most servile offices, that they might share in their estates.

[1] Præf. S. Hieron. in Lib. Didymi *de S. Sp.* ad Paulin. to. iv. P. I. p. 494.

[2] Ep. 22. [18. p. 40.] c. 12.

[3] Ep. 2. [35. p. 271.] c. 7. ad Nepot.

Several persons were offended[4] at this freedom of St. Jerome, and took what he said as directed against themselves. They

[4] Ep 8. [98. p. 795.] c. ult. ad Demetr. Ep. 100. [26. p. 63.] ad Marcell.

bidding the reference of Ecclesiastical matters to the civil power, and making it lawful for a Bishop to endeavour to recover rights to his Church which his predecessor may have lost through incapacity to maintain them, unprejudiced by the previous Ecclesiastical decision.

A. D. 385. attacked him with all kinds of calumnies, and found fault even with his manner of walking, his smile, his looks; his very simplicity was suspected. In short[1], their calumnies went so far as to attack his reputation, with regard to the women and virgins, to whom he explained the holy Scriptures, though from the time of his baptism his behaviour had been always entirely pure and disinterested, and that he saw no women, but such as were of exemplary piety, and exercised austere penitence. But in general the people of Rome murmured against the monks[2] that came from the East, looking upon them as Greeks and impostors, who misled maidens of rank, and ruined them by a melancholy and austere life.

[1] Ep. 99. [28.] ad Asellam.

[2] Ep. 23. [19.] in fin. ad Marcell. Ep. 25. [22. p. 59.] c. 6. ad Paul.

St. Jerome therefore resolved to give way to their envy, and leave Rome in order to return into Palestine. So he embarked[3] at Porto in the August of this year 385, with his young brother Paulinianus, a Priest whose name was Vincentius, and some other monks. Several pious persons attended him to the ship, and just before he embarked he wrote a letter to St. Asella, acquainting her with the cause of his departure, referring his calumniators to the tribunal of Christ, and commending himself to those holy women whom he left at Rome. Being come to Rhegium, from thence he passed the Ionian sea and the Cyclades, and first landed in the island of Cyprus, where he was received by St. Epiphanius[4]. After this he went to Antioch, and visited the Bishop Paulinus, who attended him when he departed for Jerusalem, where he arrived in the middle of the winter. Then he went into Egypt, and found a new Bishop[5] at Alexandria, for Timotheus died in the year 385, under the consulship of Arcadius and Bauto, and was succeeded by Theophilus, who held the See twenty-seven years. We have the answers[6] of Timotheus to eighteen articles of cases of conscience, concerning the administration of the Sacraments. St. Jerome came to Alexandria chiefly to see the celebrated blind man Didymus[7], and receive instruction from him, though he himself at that time had grey hairs, and was esteemed one of the most learned Doctors of the Church. He resided one month[8] with Didymus, proposing all his difficulties to him[9], upon the Scriptures; and it was at his request that Didymus composed three books of

[3] Apolog. 3. adv. Ruff. c. 7. [to. iv. P. 2. p. 459.]

[4] [Bishop of Constantia.]

[5] Socr. v. 12.

[6] See Conc. Labb. ii. p. 1792. [iii. p. 1249. Mansi.]

[7] Ep. 65. [41. p. 342.] c. 1. ad Pam. et Ocean. Ep. 51. [32. p. 245.] ad Domn. See c. 10, note [u].

[8] Ruff. Inv. [p. 422.]

[9] Præf. ad Ephes.

commentaries upon Hosea[1], and five upon Zachariah[2], to supply what Origen had left undone. A. D. 385.

[1] Adv. Ruff. 3. [p. 465.]

Whilst St. Jerome was on this journey, he visited the monasteries of Egypt, and then immediately departed for Palestine, and retired to Bethlehem[3]. It was thought that after having conversed with Didymus, he could not be further instructed, yet he applied to a Jewish master[4], who, for a sum of money, came to teach him, but in the night time, for fear of the other Jews[5]. It was at this time that St. Jerome undertook the interpretation of some of the Epistles of St. Paul, in the first place that to Philemon, then the Epistle to the Galatians[6], and afterwards that to the Ephesians[7]. About this time died St. Cyril[8] of Jerusalem, after having been often banished from his See, and as often restored, and having held it eight years under Theodosius without molestation. There remain eighteen catechetical discourses composed by him[9] to explain the Creed to the Catechumens, and five[10] others, to explain to those who were newly baptized the three Sacraments which they had just received. St. Cyril was succeeded by John, who till then had led a monastic life.

[2] Præf. in Zachar.

[3] Præf. in Zachar.

[4] Adv. Ruff. 3. c. 7. [p. 461.]

[5] [Named Bar-anina.]

[6] Ep. 65. [41. p. 342.] c. 1.

[7] Præf. ad Gal.

[8] Præf. ad Ephes.

[9] S. Hieron. Scr. Ecc. c. 112.

[10] [*in adolescentia.* S. Hier.]

[10] See below ch. 55.

XXXVII. The travels of St. Paula.

St. Paula departed from Rome soon after St. Jerome, and embarked without any regard to the maternal tenderness which might have prevented her from leaving her daughter Ruffina, who was then marriageable, and her son Toxotius, who was yet an infant[11]. She took her daughter Eustochium with her, with very few of her servants, and went first into the island of Pontia, near the coasts of Italy, in order to visit the cells where St. Domitilla[12] had been in exile under the Emperor Domitian, three hundred years before. From thence St. Paula sailed to the island of Cyprus, where she threw herself at the feet of St. Epiphanius[13], who retained her ten days with him, in order to give her some rest, but she employed that time in visiting all the monasteries of the country, and distributing alms to the solitaries, who had repaired thither from all parts of the world, through the love which they had for that holy Bishop. She then embarked for Antioch, where she was detained a short time by the Bishop Paulinus. She departed from thence in the middle of the winter[14], riding upon an ass, instead of being carried by her eunuchs, as had hitherto been her custom.

[11] Ep. 27. [86. p. 672.] c. 2. 3. ad Eustoch.

[12] Fleury, xi. 52. [a lady of rank, spoken of by Euseb. iii. 18.]

[13] [See ch. 19.]

[14] [of 385-6.]

A. D. 385. She passed through Syria, and came to Sidon, near which place, at Sarepta, she entered the little tower of Elijah. At Cæsarea she saw the house of Cornelius the Centurion, which had been converted into a church; the house of St. Philip, and the rooms of his four daughters, the virgin prophetesses. Near Jerusalem she saw the tomb of Helena[l], Queen of Adiabene. The governor of Palestine, who was acquainted with St. Paula's family, sent some of his attendants to prepare a palace for her reception, but she chose rather to be lodged in a little cell. She visited all the holy places with so great devotion, that she could not be drawn away from those which she saw first, but for the strong desire that she had of going to the rest. Prostrated before the Cross[m], she there adored the Saviour as though she actually saw him fixed upon it. At her entrance into the Sepulchre she kissed the stone which the angel had moved away in order to open it, and much more the place where the body of our Lord Jesus Christ had been laid. At Mount Sion she was shewn the pillar to which He was tied when He was scourged, still stained with His blood, and at that time supporting the gallery of a church. She was shewn besides the room in [p. 674.] which the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. After having distributed alms in Jerusalem, she departed for Bethlehem, and on the road saw the sepulchre of Rachel. When she had entered the cave of the

[l] Fleury, i. 26.

[l] Helena was the Queen of Monobazus, King of Adiabene (called Osdroene by Amm. Marcell.) a country once forming part of Mesopotamia. She became a convert to the Jewish faith, and on the accession of her son, Izates, who had also, by other means, been converted, she visited Jerusalem, and distributed corn among the Jews during the famine, (predicted by Agabus, Acts xi. 28,) in the fifth and sixth years of Claudius. See Euseb. 2. 12. Josephus, Antiq. 20. c. 2. Her tomb, three stades distant from Jerusalem, is mentioned by Pausanias (lib. viii. p. 483.) with that of Mausolus in Caria, as peculiarly remarkable. "While the Jews were "disseminating Monotheism in the "West, in Babylonia their proselytes "were Kings; and the later Jewish "temple beheld an Eastern Queen (by "a singular coincidence, of the same "name with the celebrated mother of "Constantine, the patroness of Christian "Jerusalem) lavishing her wealth on "the structure on Mount Moriah, and "in the most munificent charity to the "poorer inhabitants of the city." Milman's History of Christianity, book i. ch. 2. p. 62. Fleury says, "Some have "said that Helena and Izates became "converts to Christianity." Book i. ch. 26.

[m] Helena, the mother of Constantine, is said to have discovered the Cross. Socr. 1. 17. Soz. 2. 1. Theod. 1. 18. Ambros. in Ob. Theodos. 45. Neither Eusebius nor Constantine (in his letter to Macarius Bishop of Jerusalem, on the discovery of the holy Sepulchre) however, mentions it. St. Cyril speaks of the wood of the Cross as discovered, and dispersed over the world. Catech. 4. 10; 10. 19; 13. 4.

Nativity, she[1] fancied that she saw there the Child worshipped by the wise men and shepherds. She visited the Tower of Ader, or of the Flock, with all the other famous places of Palestine; and amongst other things at Bethphage she saw the sepulchre of Lazarus, and the house of Martha and Mary. Upon Mount Ephraim she venerated[2] the sepulchres of Joshua and the High Priest Eleazar. At Sychar, she entered the church which is built over Jacob's well, where the Saviour conversed with the Samaritan woman. Then she saw the sepulchres of the twelve Patriarchs, and at Sebaste or Samaria those of Elisha and Obadiah, and above all that of St. John the Baptist, where she was terrified[3] at the operations of the evil spirit on the possessed persons who were brought thither to be delivered. At Morasthi, she saw a church in the place where had formerly been the sepulchre of the Prophet Micah. St. Jerome gives us this description of the pilgrimage of St. Paula, and thus informs us of the remains of sacred antiquity, which in his days were shewn in Palestine.

A. D. 385.

[1] [jurabat cernere oculis fidei.]

[p. 675.]

[p. 676.]

[2] [venerata est.]

[3] [cernebat variis dæmones rugire cruciatibus, et ante sepulchra sanctorum ululare homines more luporum, &c.]

St. Paula, accompanied by her daughter Eustochium and several other virgins, went from Palestine into Egypt. She went first to Alexandria, and then to the deserts of Nitria, where the Bishop Isidorus, the Confessor, came to meet her, with a countless multitude of monks, of whom many were Priests or Deacons. She visited the most celebrated solitaries, went into their cells, threw herself at their feet, and she would readily have remained in that desert with her virgins, had she not been induced to leave it, out of the love which she bore to the Holy Land. She therefore returned immediately to Palestine, and settled at Bethlehem, where she lived three years in a small lodging, till she had built cells, monasteries, and houses of entertainment near the road, for the reception of pilgrims. Here she passed the remainder of her life under the direction of St. Jerome, who also himself there ended his days, employed in the study of the holy Scriptures, and in shewing hospitality to strangers.

[p. 677.]

XXXVIII. The Persecution of idolatry by Theodosius.

The Emperor Theodosius[4] was at this time using his utmost endeavours to destroy Idolatry in the East. Constantine[5] the Great indeed prohibited the offering of sacrifices to evil spirits, but he did not pull down their temples, he only

[4] Zos. iv. 36.

[5] [Zos. ii. 29.]

A. D. 385. ordered that no one should enter into them. His children followed his steps; Julian[1] endeavoured by all means to re-establish idolatry, Jovian again opposed it: but Valens made war against the Catholics only, and suffered all others to profess what religion they pleased, so that in his reign, sacrifices were publicly offered up to idols, and it was usual to celebrate the orgies of Bacchus. Theodosius finding affairs in this condition, undertook to destroy idolatry utterly. Not feeling himself yet in a condition to contend with Maximus, he received an embassy from him, and accepted the alliance which he offered him. He acknowledged him for his colleague, and ordered Cynegius, Prætorian Præfect of the East, whom he sent into Egypt, there to proclaim Maximus, *Augustus*, and to set up his statue at Alexandria. But at the same time he charged Cynegius[2] to cause all the temples to be closed, and to forbid the people to worship the idols; which was accordingly done. Egypt appears again and again on those occasions as the fountain-head of superstitions, and as the country in which idolatry had taken the deepest root. We find a law[3] of Theodosius directed to Cynegius, and dated from Constantinople on the eighth of the calends of June, under the consulship of Arcadius and Bauto, that is to say, on the twenty-fifth of May, A.D. 385, by which it is prohibited under pain of a severe punishment, to offer any sacrifices of animals, in order to search their entrails, and so enquire into futurity, or in general, to practise any kind of divination whatever.

[1] Theodor. 5. 21. Fleury, xvi. 25.

[2] Idac. Fast. An. 389.

[3] Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. 10. l. 9. de Pagan.

XXXIX. St. Marcellus of Apameia.

At Heliopolis in Phœnicia, the great and famous temple of Balanius or Belenius[4], which is supposed to be a name for the sun, was converted into a church. The same thing[4] was done at Damascus. St. Marcellus[5] of Apameia was the first among the Bishops that pulled down the temples of his city, in dependance upon the law of the Emperor. He had succeeded John in his Bishopric, who was present at the great Council of Constantinople in the year 381. Marcellus was a man of singular virtue, who had corresponded with the Martyrs, that is to say, probably, with St. Eusebius of Samosata, and the others who were persecuted under Valens; at length he himself suffered martyrdom. The Præfect of the East, Cynegius, came to Apameia with two tribunes

[4] Chron. Pasch. An. 379. et ibi Cang.

[5] Theodor. 5. 21.

and their troops, who kept the people in awe. The Præfect A. D. 385.
attempted to pull down the temple of Jupiter, which was exceedingly large, and enriched with a quantity of ornaments, but it was built with such solidity, that it seemed to him an undertaking beyond the strength of man. The stones of the temple were large, perfectly well joined, and, moreover, cramped with iron and lead. St. Marcellus seeing the Præfect thus discouraged, advised him to proceed to the other towns, and in the mean time he betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching Him that He would supply him with some means of destroying the building. The next morning a man who was neither mason nor carpenter, but only a simple porter, came to offer himself, and promised to pull down the temple with ease, desiring only the wages of two workmen. The Bishop having agreed to this proposal, the other went to work in the following manner. The temple was built upon a height, and on the four sides there was a gallery attached to it, whose pillars, which were of the same height with the temple, were sixteen cubits round. The stone of which it was built was very hard, and the tools made but little impression on it. The labourer therefore dug up the earth at the base of each pillar, which he propped up underneath with pieces of olive tree: having thus undermined three of them, he set fire to the wood, but he could not make it burn, and there appeared a dark Spirit, who hindered the effect of the fire. So, after having tried several times without success to fire the wood, he went to St. Marcellus with the information, who was sleeping in the afternoon according to the custom of those hot countries. He immediately ran to the church, and ordered some water to be carried thither in a vessel. He placed the water under the altar, then prostrated himself with his face to the ground, and prayed God to arrest the power of the Devil, that he might no longer seduce the unbelievers. After this he made the sign of the cross on the water, and ordered a Deacon named Equitius, full of faith and zeal, to run with speed, and throw some of this water on the wood, and then set fire to it. The evil spirit fled, being unable to withstand the virtue of the water, as is related by Theodoret; the water served as oil to light the fire, which consumed the wood in a moment.

A. D. 385. The three pillars being no longer supported, fell down and drew down twelve more along with them, together with one side of the temple. The noise which this occasioned was heard over all the city, and brought the people together, who glorified God. St. Marcellus destroyed the other temples[1] in the same manner, both in the city and in the country, being convinced that it would not otherwise be easy to convert the idolaters.

[1] Soz. 7.15.

St. Marcellus being informed that there was a large temple in a district of the territories of Apameia, called Aulon, set out with a number of soldiers and gladiators: for the Pagans used to defend their temples, and often hired Galileans and inhabitants of Mount Libanus to guard them. When St. Marcellus came within sight of the temple of Aulon, he placed himself out of reach of the arrows, for he was lame, and could neither fight, pursue, nor retire. While the soldiers and gladiators were attacking the temple, some Pagans came out from a part of it which was not attacked, and knowing that the Bishop was alone, surprized him, threw him into a fire, and put him to death. This was not known at first, but in a little time it was discovered, and the children of St. Marcellus wished to revenge his death, but the Council of the province opposed it, judging it unreasonable to avenge a death for which they ought rather to give thanks unto God. The Church commemorates St. Marcellus of Apameia, as a Martyr, on the fourteenth of August[2].

[2] Martyrol. Rom. Aug. 14.

XL. Rescript concerning the Luciferians.

Theodosius directed to this same Cynegius a rescript in favour of the Luciferians, who were schismatics. Two Priests[3] of this sect, named Marcellinus and Faustinus, presented a memorial to the three Emperors, Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius, to demand justice for the persecution which they pretended they suffered from the Catholics whom they called *Prevaricators*[4], because they had received to their communion those who had fallen at the time of the Council of Ariminum. These schismatics owned their number to be very small[5], and condemned the most holy Bishops; among others, St. Hilary[6], whom they accused of having shewn favour to the *Prevaricators*, and even to Heretics; and Hosius, whom they represented as a persecutor after his fall, and whose death they described in a terrible, though fabulous

[3] Libell. Marc. et Faust. à Sirmond. 1650. [ap. Opp. Sirmond. to. i. p. 228. A.D. 1696.] Gennadius, ap. S. Hieron. to. v. p. 31, in Faustin.

[4] [p. 235.]

[5] p. 32. [236.]

[6] p. 29. [235.]

manner[1]; they did not even spare St. Athanasius[2]. But they chiefly exclaimed against the Pope St. Damasus, and declared openly for the Anti-pope Ursinus[3]. The person whom they most extolled, and whom they looked upon as the chief of their Communion, was Gregory[4], Bishop of Elvira[5] in Spain. They ascribed the gift of miracles to him; and said that no one ever dared to depose him from his See, or to banish him[6]. As to the East, they highly commended Heraclides[7], Bishop of Oxyrinchus in Egypt, who, they pretended, had suffered great persecutions, both from Arians and Catholics. They even had a Bishop at Rome called Ephesius or Euresius[8]. They complained of their being called *Luciferians*[9], maintaining that they were simply Christians, and that Lucifer never having maintained any peculiar doctrine, ought not to be considered the head of a sect. In fine, they desired that they might be suffered to live unmolested according to their conscience[10]; declaring that they willingly yielded up the magnificent churches and rich possessions to other people, the love of which they said, had led them to forsake the integrity of the faith. The Emperor Theodosius answered[11] this memorial, by the rescript which he sent to Cynegius, in which he acknowledges Gregory of Spain and Heraclides of the East to be holy and commendable Bishops, and forbids that those of their Communion should in any wise be molested, since they only desired to live in the Catholic faith. Thus Theodosius suffered himself to be deceived by these schismatics; but we do not find that his rescript had any great effect, and the schism vanished in a little time.

A. D. 385.

[1] p. 39. [238.]
[2] p. 72. [250.]
[3] Præfatio in Libell.
[4] p. 65, 73. [248, 251.] Fleury, xvi. 39. [5 Eliberis.]
[6] p. 40. [239.]
[7] p. 76, 77, &c. [253.]
[8] p. 69. 84. [249. 255.] Gothof. in Cod. Theod. xvi. 5. 28. p. 147.]
[9] p. 70. [250.]
[10] p. 97. [259.]
[11] [post Libell.]

XLI. Justina persecutes St. Ambrose.

The peace[12] which St. Ambrose had procured between Maximus and Valentinian, supplied the opportunity to the Empress Justina[13], mother of that young Prince, of persecuting the holy Bishop, which she had never ventured to do during the life of her husband Valentinian, nor of Gratian. As the Feast of Easter approached in the year 385, she sent to St. Ambrose in the name of the Emperor her son to ask a church of him, where the Arians who attended her might meet together. At first she demanded the Portian Basilica, which was without the walls of the city, and at this day bears the name of St. Victor; afterwards she asked for the New Basilica which was larger, and within the walls[14].

[12] Vid. ch. 28. supra.
[13] Ruffin. xi. 15.
[14] Ep. St. Ambr. 20. § 1. ad Sororem. Iter. Italic. Mabillon. p. 17.

A. D. 385. There were sent[1] first to St. Ambrose certain of the *Comites consistoriani*, who were Counsellors of state, requiring him to deliver up the Basilica to them, and to prevent the people from giving any disturbance. He replied to them that a Bishop could not give up the temple of God. This happened on the Friday[2] before Palm-Sunday. The next day, being Saturday, the Prætorian Præfect came into the church where St. Ambrose was attended by the people, and endeavoured to persuade him to yield up at least the Portian Basilica. The people were clamorous against the proposal, and the Præfect retired to report how matters stood to the Emperor.

[1] St. Ambr. ubi supra § 2.

[2] [April 4.] § 3.

§ 4. The Sunday following, after the lessons of the Holy Scriptures, and the sermon, the Catechumens being dismissed, St. Ambrose was explaining[3] the Creed to some Competentes in the Baptistery of the Basilica. The Competentes were, as has been before said[4], the chosen Catechumens who were prepared during the whole of Lent, in order to receive baptism at Easter. Whilst St. Ambrose was employed in this function, he was informed that there were certain Decani[5] sent from the palace to hang up the imperial hangings in the Portian Basilica, and that upon this news, a part of the people were repairing thither. These Decani were a kind of officers of the court; and the hangings were tokens to shew that a house or any other place was confiscated to the Emperor. St. Ambrose hearing this, did not discontinue what he was about, but began Mass[6], that is to say, the oblation. While he was offering up the Holy Sacrifice, a second message came that the people had seized an Arian Priest, named Castulus, as he was passing through the street. "On "this news" (says St. Ambrose, writing to his sister), "I could "not keep from shedding many bitter tears, and while I "made oblation I prayed God's protection, that no blood "might be shed in the Church's quarrel; or if so, that it "might be mine, and that, not for my people only, but for "the ungodly." At the same time he despatched a number of his clergy to the spot, who had influence enough to rescue the Arian priest from his danger.

[3] [tradebam.]

[4] See Fleury xi. 21.

[5] [a kind of lictors.]

[6] [See ch. 6. note s.]

§ 5.

§ 6. The Court looked upon this resistance of the people, as seditious, and immediately laid considerable fines upon the

whole body of the tradesmen of the city. Several were A. D. 385.
thrown into prison during the holy week, at which time it was the custom to release prisoners, according to the laws of the last Emperors, as also by a decree[1] of Valentinian himself, made that same year 385, on the twenty-third of February. They indeed who were guilty of high treason were excepted by those laws, as were also some others. In three days' time, these tradesmen were fined two hundred pounds weight in gold, and they said that they were ready to give as much again, on condition that they might retain their faith. The prisons were filled with tradesmen; all the officers of § 7.
the household, secretaries, agents of the Emperor, and dependent officers who served under various Counts, were kept within doors, and were forbidden to appear in public, under the pretence that they should have no part in the sedition. Men of higher rank were menaced with severe consequences, unless the Basilica were surrendered. In short, the persecution was so violent, that had an opening been afforded, nothing could be expected but the utmost cruelty.

[1] Cod. Theod. ix. 38. 8. de indulg. crim.

At length, a fresh interview was sought with St. Ambrose, § 8.
of which the following is his own description:—"I had a "meeting with the Counts and Tribunes, who urged me to "give up the Basilica without delay, on the ground that the "Emperor was but acting on his undoubted rights, as possess- "ing sovereign power over all things. I made answer, that "if he asked me for what was *my own*—for instance, my "estate, my money, or the like—I would make no opposition; "though, to tell the truth, all that was mine was the pro- "perty of the poor; but that he had no sovereignty over "things sacred. If my patrimony is demanded, seize upon "it; my person, here I am. Would you take to prison or to "death? I go with pleasure. Far be it for me to entrench "myself within the circle of a multitude, or to clasp the altar "in supplication for my life; rather I will be a sacrifice for "the altar's sake.

"In good truth, when I heard that soldiers were sent to § 9.
"take possession of the Basilica, I was horrified at the pros- "pect of bloodshed, which might issue in ruin to the whole "city. I prayed God that I might not survive the ruin,

A. D. 385. "which might ensue, of such a place; nay, of Italy itself. "I shrunk from the odium of having occasioned slaughter, "and would sooner have given my own throat to the knife. . . . "Presently they bade me calm the people. I replied that all "I could do was not to inflame them: but God alone could "appease them. For myself, if I appeared to have instigated "them, it was the duty of the government to proceed against "me or to banish me. Upon this they left me." St. Ambrose spent the rest of Palm Sunday in the same Basilica in which he had been officiating in the morning; at night he went to his own house, that the civil power might have the opportunity of arresting him, if it was thought advisable.

XLII. Continuation of the persecution.

The next morning he went out before day, and the Basilica was surrounded with soldiers; but it was reported that they had sent to the Emperor to tell him that if he wished to come

§ 11. abroad, he might; and that they would attend him, if he was going to the assembly of the Catholics; otherwise that they would go to that which would be held by St. Ambrose. Indeed, the soldiers were all Catholics, as well as the citizens of Milan; there were no heretics there, except a few officers of the Emperor, and some Goths; and besides, the Empress took those of her communion with her wherever she went. But at that time none of them dared to shew themselves. St. Ambrose perceived by the cries of the people that the soldiers were surrounding the Basilica where he was. But whilst the Lessons were being read, he had notice brought him that the New Basilica likewise was full of people, who appeared more numerous than before the persecution, and that a reader was demanded by them. The soldiers who had surrounded the church where St. Ambrose was, having learned that he had ordered the people to abstain from their communion, began to enter into the assembly. The women, seeing them, were frightened, and one of them took flight; but the soldiers said that they were come to pray unto God, and not to fight. The people uttered some exclamations in a moderate and resolute manner, saying, as though the Emperor were present,

§ 14. "We petition your majesty, we use no force, we feel no fear, "but we petition [1]." They desired St. Ambrose to go to the other Basilica, where it was said that the people were impatient to see him.

[1] [Rogamus, Auguste, non pugnamus; non timemus, sed rogamus.]

He now began to preach upon the book of Job, which had just been read, according to the service of the season; which custom is still continued in the Greek Church, where the book of Job is read at evening prayer, during the holy week, beginning on the Monday[1], and ending on the Friday. St. Ambrose, applying the subject to the present occasion, commended the patience of his people, and compared it with that of Job. He likewise compared the temptations which he then suffered with those of that holy Patriarch. "Satan," said he, "endeavoured to deprive me, in you, of my children "and my riches; and it is perhaps because God knoweth my "weakness, that He hath not as yet given him power over my "body." He draws a comparison between the wife of Job, and the Empress, who was urging him to deliver up the church, and blaspheme against God. He compares her to Eve, Jezebel, and Herodias. "I am commanded," said he, "to deliver up the Basilica. I reply, that it is not lawful for "me to deliver it up, nor is it profitable for you, O Emperor! "to receive it. Some assert that all things are lawful in the "Emperor, and that every thing belongs to him. To this I "answer, 'Do not wrong yourself so much as to believe, that "'being an Emperor, you have any right over divine things.' "*It is said by the Emperor,* 'I too ought to have a Basilica.' "To this I reply, 'What have you in common with an "'adulteress, that is, with the Church of the heretics?'" Whilst St. Ambrose was preaching in this manner, he was told that the Emperor's hangings[2] were taken down, and that the Basilica was full of people, who requested his presence. He sent Priests thither, but would not go himself, saying, "I "put my trust in Jesus Christ, that the Emperor will be for "us." Then immediately turning his discourse on this news, he continued preaching, and said: "How deep are the "oracles of the Holy Ghost! You remember, brethren, with "how much affliction we answered[3] to the words which were "read this morning: *Lord, the heathen are come into Thine "inheritance.* There came Goths and other strangers in arms, "they have surrounded the Basilica. They came as Gentiles, "they are become Christians. They came to invade the "inheritance, they are become co-heirs of God. I have those "for my protectors, whom I looked upon as my enemies."

A. D. 385.

[1] Triodium. Sheet ω. 1111, &c.

§ 16.

§ 17, 18.

§ 19.

[2] [Cortinæ.]

§ 20.

[3] [respondemus, i. e. chanted.]

Ps. 79. 1.

§ 21.

A. D. 385. He continued to give thanks to God for this happy change,
§ 22. admiring how the Emperor was pacified by the affection of the soldiers, the instances of the Counts, and the prayers of the people. When he was informed that a secretary of the Emperor was come with some orders to him, he retired a little apart, and the secretary said to him: "What has been your "design in acting in opposition to the Emperor's orders?" St. Ambrose replied: "I know not what order you mean, "nor what is the cause of your complaint." The officer said: "Why have you sent Priests to the Basilica? If you are a "tyrant, I should like to know it, that I may prepare myself "against you." St. Ambrose answered: "I have done "nothing that assumes too much for the Church. When I "heard that the Basilica was invested with soldiers, I con-"tented myself with mourning, and when several persons "pressed me to go thither, I said, I cannot deliver up the "Basilica, yet I must not fight. When I was told that the "Emperor's hangings were taken down, though the people "required my presence, I sent Priests thither, and did not go "myself, in hopes that the Emperor would be on our part.
§ 23. "If you call this domineering, why do you delay to strike "me? My only arms are the power of exposing myself. "Priests have by old right bestowed sovereignty, never "assumed it; and it is a common saying that sovereigns "have coveted the priesthood, more than Priests the sove-"reignty. Maximus does not say that I am the tyrant of "Valentinian, though he complains that my deputation has
§ 24. "prevented him from passing into Italy." The Catholics spent all that day in sorrow; only the children, as they were at play, tore the Emperor's hangings[1], which were made like flags, and bore his image, to denote that the place where they were suspended belonged to him. The Basilica being surrounded with soldiers, St. Ambrose could not return to his own house, he therefore read the Psalms with his brethren, in the little Basilica of the church, that is to say, apparently, they passed the night in prayer, in some private oratory, which was in the same enclosure with the great church[2]. For there were joined to the churches several buildings, rooms, halls, baths, gardens, courts, and galleries, from which it may be understood how the people used to pass days and nights together

[1] Cod. Justin. ii. Tit. 16. 2. p. 174. ut nemo privatus. Greg. Mag. Ep. v. 33. [41.] ad Constant. Aug. to. ii. p. 769.

[2] Cod. Theodos. ix. 45. 4. de his qui ad Eccles.

in it. There were also convenient places where they could eat and sleep with decency. A. D. 385.

§ 25. The next day, which was Holy Thursday, according to custom the book of Jonah was read, which the Church still reads, but only on Saturday[1]. After the lesson was ended, St. Ambrose began to preach as follows: "We have read a "book, brethren, which foretells that sinners shall return "again to repentance." The people received these words with the hope that this would soon come to pass. St. Am-

[1] [See Triod. Græc. Sheet E. 11.]

§ 26. brose was continuing his discourse, when he was told that the Emperor had withdrawn the soldiers from the Basilica, and that he had restored to the tradesmen the fines which he had exacted from them. This news gave joy to the people, who expressed their delight with applauses and thanksgivings, and called to mind that it was the day on which the Church granted absolution to the penitents[2]. The soldiers themselves were eager to bring the news, throwing themselves on the altars, and kissing them in token of peace.

[2] [Bingham, 19. 2. 10. and 21. 1. 13.]

§ 1. St. Ambrose gave an account of all that passed on this occasion, to his sister St. Marcellina, who was at Rome, and who, having heard of the beginning of this persecution, wrote often, and in very pressing terms, to him concerning it. At the conclusion of his account, he adds that he foresees still

§ 27. greater commotions, "for," says he, "as the Counts were "begging the Emperor to go to the church, he replied, 'If "'Ambrose were to bid you, you would deliver me up, bound "'hand and feet.'" St. Ambrose after this says: "The eunuch "Calligonus, Præfect of the Chamber, sent me this message; "'Thou despisest Valentinian whilst I am living; I will cut "'off thy head.' To which I replied: 'God grant thee to "'perform thy threat; I shall suffer like a Bishop, and thou "'wilt act like an eunuch.'" Soon after Calligonus[3] was beheaded, on being convicted of an infamous crime.

[3] S. Aug. vi. Contra Jul. Pelag. c. 14. § 41. to. x. p. 683.

The Empress Justina, who was still more exasperated against St. Ambrose, on account of the resistance of the people, persuaded her son Valentinian to pass a law, authoriz-

XLIII. Law in favour of the Arians.

ing the assemblies of the Arians. Benevolus[4], Præfect of the Memorials, that is, Secretary of State, refused to draw up the law, for he was attached to the Catholic religion from his infancy, though he was not yet baptized. He was promised

[4] Ruff. xi. 16. Soz. vii. 13. S. Gaudent. Præf. p. 219.

A. D. 386. a higher dignity, if he would comply with the order; but he generously replied, "Rather take from me the office which I "now hold, and leave me the integrity of my faith." Saying these words, he took off the girdle which was the badge of his dignity, and threw it down at the feet of the Empress. After this action he was disgraced, and his place being taken from him, he retired into Brixia, his native place, where he had learned the holy doctrine from the instructions of St. Philastrius. Benevolus being baptized, became one of the greatest ornaments of this Church, and one of the closest friends of the Bishop St. Gaudentius, who succeeded St. Philastrius. However the law in favour of the Arians was made and published, and we have it still[1], dated from Milan, the tenth of the calends of February, under the consulship of Honorius and Evodius, that is, on the twenty-third of January, in the year 386. Honorius was the second son of Theodosius, born on the ninth day of September, in the year 384[2], and designated Consul, with the title of Most Noble Child, soon after his birth. Evodius was one of the principal ministers of the Emperor Maximus, under whom he had been Prætorian Præfect in the year 385, and it was customary at this time to appoint one consul for the East, and another for the West.

[1] Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. 1. 4. de fide Cath.

[2] Idac. fasti. A. D. 384. Chron. Pasch. A. D. 384. Socr. v. 12.

The law of Valentinian in favour of the Arians, was as follows: "We give leave to all those to assemble, whose "opinions are conformable to the exposition of faith, which "was drawn up under Constantius of happy memory, in the "Council of Ariminum, by the Bishops assembled from the "whole[n] Roman Empire, even by those who now oppose it, "and which was confirmed at Constantinople. Those likewise "shall be at liberty to assemble, to whom we have given "leave, that is to say, the Catholics; but let them know, "that if they occasion any disturbance in opposition to our "statute, they shall be punished with death, as the authors of "sedition, the disturbers of the peace of the Church, and as "guilty of high treason. Those likewise shall be subject to

[n] See ch. 20. note p. Had the Council at Ariminum been really Œcumenical, it had not erred as it did. In fact, the Arians prevented the assembling of an Œcumenical Council, and by procuring two Councils, one at Ariminum, the other at Seleucia, they succeeded for the time in their attack on the Catholic Faith.

"the same punishment, who attempt openly or in private to "make any resistance against this present decree." The true author of this law was Auxentius, whom the Arians acknowledged as Bishop of Milan. He was a Scythian[1] by nation, and was named Mercurinus, but being cried down for his crimes, he took the name of Auxentius, which was agreeable to the Arians, on account of the former Auxentius, the predecessor of St. Ambrose. A. D. 385.

[1] St. Ambr. Serm. de Basil. trad. § 22. p. 869.

XLIV. St. Ambrose's Remonstrance.

Some time after the publication of this law, Dalmatius[2] a tribune and notary, came to St. Ambrose from the Emperor, to tell him that he might choose umpires, as Auxentius had done, in order to their cause being tried by the Emperor in his consistory, declaring to him that if he would not submit to this he was to retire whithersoever he pleased; that is to say, he was to surrender the See of Milan to Auxentius. St. Ambrose consulted the Bishops who were at Milan, and they were of opinion that he should not go to the palace, nor subject himself to that trial; for that there was even reason for being apprehensive that amongst the umpires chosen by Auxentius, there might be pagans or Jews. He therefore by their advice drew up a remonstrance, which he sent to the Emperor, and by which he excused himself from obeying this order; first by the example of his father Valentinian, who had often declared, both by word of mouth and by his laws[3], that in matters of faith, or where Ecclesiastical persons were concerned, the judges should be both competent by office and qualified by profession; in other words, Bishops ought to be judged by Bishops[4]. "Who can deny," he adds, "but that in "matters of faith, Bishops judge even Christian Emperors, so "far are they from being judged by them?" Afterwards, speaking of the umpires chosen by Auxentius, he says: "Let "them come to the church, not to sit as judges, but to hear "with the people; that every one may choose him whom he "will follow. The matter relates to the Bishop of that Church; "if the people hear Auxentius, and think that he teacheth "better, let them follow his faith; I will not be jealous of it." St. Ambrose speaks thus, because he was very confident of the people's adhering to the Catholic faith.

[2] Ep. 21. ad Valent. § 1.

§ 13.

§ 2.

[3] [No such law is *extant*, but comp. Soz. 6. 7.]

[4] [See ch. 29, note o.]

§ 4.

§ 6.

He insists upon the law which had just been published, and by which people were no longer at liberty to decide

A. D. 386. otherwise than in favour of the Arians, since it was not per-
§ 9. mitted even to present any petition to the contrary. "That," says he, "which you have enjoined others to do, you have "likewise prescribed to yourself; for the Emperor makes laws
§ 12. "in order to observe them first himself. Would you then "have me," says he, "choose umpires that are laymen, when, "if they preserve the true faith, they may be proscribed or "put to death? Would you have me make them either liable
§ 13. "to prevaricate or to be punished? Ambrose is not so pre- "cious as to dare for his own sake to degrade the Priesthood; "the life of one single man is not to be put in comparison with "the dignity of all the Bishops [by whose advice I have "acted."]

§ 14. He afterwards declares his abhorrence of the Council of Ariminum, and his adherence to the Council of Nicæa. "This is the faith," says he, "which is followed by the "Emperor Theodosius your father; it is that which is held "in Gaul and Spain. If I preach, I have learned to preach "in the Church as my predecessors have done. If a con-
§ 15. "ference is to be held concerning the faith, the Bishops "ought to hold it as they did under Constantine of august "memory, who left them the liberty of judging. It was "likewise so done under Constantius; but that which had "begun well, did not so end." He speaks here of the
§ 17. Council of Ariminum, and adds, "I should have come to "your consistory, to represent this to your majesty by word "of mouth, if the Bishops and people had not hindered me.
§ 18. "I could have wished your majesty had omitted the alterna- "tion, which you sent me,—of betaking myself to exile, "whither I would. I daily went abroad; no one guarded "me, you should then have sent me whither you thought "fit; but now the Bishops tell me, there is very little "difference between voluntarily leaving the altar of Christ,
§ 19. "and betraying it. I would that I were certain that the "Church would not be delivered to the Arians, I would "then willingly offer myself to whatever you thought fit to "enjoin me."

After this remonstrance, St. Ambrose retired into the church, where he was for some time guarded by the people both day and night, who feared that he might be taken

away by force; and indeed there was a company of soldiers sent by the Emperor[1], who guarded the church without, and let all go into it that would, but suffered none to come out. St. Ambrose being thus shut up with his people, comforted them by his discourses, one of the most remarkable of which is still extant, delivered on Palm-Sunday, as seems probable from the Gospel that was then read. For this second persecution arose about the same time as the other of the preceding year, that is, about the end of Lent. This Sermon begins as follows;— A. D. 386.

[1] Paulin. Vit. § 13.

XLV. His sermon against Auxentius.

"I see[2] what is unusual with you, that you are under a "sudden excitement, and are turning your eyes on me. "What can be the reason of this? Is it that you saw or "heard that an imperial message has been brought to me by "the tribunes, desiring me to depart hence whither I would, "and to take with me all that would follow me? What! "did you fear that. I would desert the Church, and, for fear "of my life, abandon you? Yet you might have attended to "my answer. I said that I could not for an instant enter- "tain the thought of deserting the Church in that day; in "truth, that, should force hurry me off, it would be my "body, not my mind, which suffered the violence; that, "should he act in the way of kingly power, I was prepared "to suffer after the manner of a priest. Why, then, are you "thus disturbed? I will never leave you of my own will; "but if compelled, I may not resist. I shall still have the "power of lamenting, of weeping, of moaning: when weapons, "soldiers, Goths assail me, tears are my weapons, for such "are the defence of a priest. In any other way I neither "ought to resist, nor am able; but as to retiring and deserting "the Church, this is not like me; and for this reason, lest I "seem to do so from dread of some heavier punishment. Ye "yourselves know that it is my principle to submit to our "rulers, but not to give way to them; to present myself "readily to legal punishment, and not to fear what is in con- "templation."

[2] Sermo de Basilicis tradendis (post Ep. 21.) § 1.

§ 2.

"A proposal was made to me to deliver up at once the "Church plate. I made answer, that I was ready to give "any thing that was my own, estate or house, gold or silver; "but that I could withdraw no property from God's temple,

§ 5.

A. D. 386. "nor surrender what was put into my hands to preserve, and
§ 6. "not to surrender. If they aim at my body and my life,
§ 7. "you ought only to be spectators of the combat; if it is
"appointed by God, all your precautions will be vain: he
§ 8. "that loves me cannot give a better testimony of his affec-
"tion, than by suffering me to become the victim of Christ."
§ 10. And afterwards he says: "You are concerned at finding a
"door open, through which it is said a blind man passed, in
"order to return home. Acknowledge then that it is to no
"purpose to be guarded by men. Do you not also remember,
"that two days ago there was found a free passage on the
"left side of the Basilica, which you thought very secure;
"and which has stood open several nights, notwithstanding
"the vigilance of the soldiers? Disquiet yourselves therefore
"no longer; that will come to pass, which Christ ordaineth,
§ 13. "and which is expedient." It is here that he urges the example of St. Peter, to whom the LORD[o] appeared at the gate of the city of Rome, saying that He was going to be crucified again, and this is the most ancient testimony that remains of that tradition. St. Ambrose adds; "I expected something
§ 15. "extraordinary, the sword or the fire, for the name of
"Christ. They offer me pleasures instead of sufferings.
"Let none therefore disturb you, by saying, that a chariot
"is prepared, or that Auxentius hath spoken hard words."

Fleury, 2. 25.

Paulin. Vit. § 12.

What St. Ambrose says concerning the chariot, Paulinus explains in his life. A certain person named Euthymius had procured a house near the church, and had placed a chariot there, that he might more easily take St. Ambrose, and carry him into banishment. But a year after, on the very same day in which he intended to have forced him away, he was himself put into the same chariot and carried from the same

[o] The tradition, as gathered from St. Ambrose and Hegesippus (apparently a cotemporary of St. Ambrose) in his third book (de Excid. Urb. Hierosol.) is as follows. After the defeat and death of Simon Magus at Rome, the heathens, those especially who had been deceived by him, sought the destruction of St. Peter. At the earnest entreaty of the Christians, the latter with difficulty was induced to retire from Rome. As he was going out at one of the gates by night, he saw the LORD entering, who told him that He was going to be crucified again. St. Peter, knowing that this could not be intended literally, for, *In that He died He died unto sin once, but in that He liveth He liveth unto* GOD, interpreted it of His suffering in His members, and so of his own martyrdom. He accordingly returned, and was crucified, with, at his own request, his head downwards.

house into banishment, and St. Ambrose furnished him with money and other necessaries for his journey. Paulinus moreover reports that a certain wizard[1] named Innocentius, mounted to the top of the roof of the church, and there sacrificed at midnight, in order to excite the hatred of the people against St. Ambrose; but that, the more witchcrafts he used, the more attached did the people grow to the Catholic faith, and their holy Bishop. He even sent evil spirits to kill him, but they brought him word that they could not so much as approach the door of his lodging, much less his person, because the whole house was surrounded by an insurmountable fire, which burnt them even at a distance. So the wizard was forced to give over his enchantments. He himself related all this afterwards, when the Empress Justina was dead. For being put to the torture for other crimes, he cried out that the Angel which took care of St. Ambrose made him undergo greater tortures, and he declared all that has been related. Another came with a sword to the chamber of St. Ambrose in order to kill him, but when he had lifted up his hand with the naked sword, his arm remained extended in the air. He confessed that Justina had sent him, and immediately his arm recovered.

A. D. 386.

Ibid. § 20.

[1] [Haruspex.]

See note m, p. 66.

St. Ambrose's discourse agrees with this relation, for he continued speaking to his people as follows:—"It was "generally said, that murderers were sent, that I was con- "demned to die; I do not fear it, and will not leave this "place. For whither should I go? is not every place full of "groans and tears? since orders are every where given for "driving away the Catholic Bishops; for putting those to "death who resist; and for proscribing all the officers of "cities who do not put these orders in execution. And it is "a Bishop who writes these orders with his own hand, and "dictates them with his own mouth." He afterwards enumerates the cruelties of Auxentius in very strong terms, whom he all along supposes to be the author of this law in favour of the Council of Ariminum, which was to be observed under pain of death. He urges the example of Naboth, whose story had been read, and says: "I answered those who pressed "me in the Emperor's name: 'God forbid that I should

Serm. de Basil. tradend. § 16.

§ 23, 24.

1 Kings 21.

§ 18.

A. D. 386. "'surrender Christ's heritage, the heritage of our fathers,
"'the heritage of Dionysius[p][1] who died in exile for the faith,
[1] Fleury, bk. 13. 18. A. D. 355. [Martyrol. May 25.] "'the heritage of the Confessor Eustorgius[2], the heritage of
"'Myrocles[3], and of all the faithful Bishops my predecessors.'"
[2] [Martyrol. Sept. 18.] Eustorgius is reckoned the tenth Bishop of Milan, and Myro-
ut supra, § 26-28. cles[4] the seventh. St. Ambrose insists upon the unworthiness
of the tribunal which Auxentius had chosen to determine
[3] [Martyrol. Rom. Dec. 3.] concerning the faith, namely, the Emperor, who was only a
young Catechumen, and four or five Pagans; then he adds,
[4] Mus. Ital. 1. p. 110. "The last year when I was sent for to the palace in the pre-
§ 29. "sence of the nobles and the consistory, when the Emperor
"wished to take away a Basilica from us, was I moved at
"the sight of the court? Did I not retain the sacerdotal
"firmness? Does he not remember, that when the people
"heard that I was gone to the palace, they ran with such
"violence that none could withstand them, and that when a
"Military Count came out with armed men to drive away
"this multitude, they all offered to die for the faith of
"Christ? Was I not entreated to speak to the people in
"order to appease them, and to give my word that they
"would not seize the Basilica? They desired this office of
"me as a favour, and though I had brought back the people,
"they were for throwing the odium of this concourse at the
§ 30. "palace, upon me. This odium likewise do they wish to
"throw upon me; I think that I ought to moderate it, but
§ 33. "without being afraid of it." And afterwards: "In what
"respect was my answer other than respectful? Does the
"Emperor wish to tax us? I do not refuse it. The Church
"lands pay taxes. Does he require our lands? He has
"power to claim them; we will not prevent him. The con-
"tributions of the people will suffice for the poor. Let not
"our enemies take umbrage at our lands; they may take
"them if it please the Emperor; not that I give them, but I
"make no opposition. Do they seek my gold? I can truly
"say, silver and gold I ask not. But they bring against me
"my raising contributions. I have no great fear of the
[5] [Ærarii.] "charge. I confess I have stipendiaries[5]; they are the poor
[6] [*Pauperes Christi.*] "of Christ's flock[6]; a treasure which I am well used in

[p] The predecessor of the Arian Auxentius, who had been succeeded by St. Ambrose.

"collecting. May this at all times be my offence, to exact A. D. 386.
"contributions for the poor. And if they accuse me of
"defending myself by means of them, I am far from denying,
"I court the charge. The poor are my defenders, but it is
"by their prayers; blind though they be, lame, feeble, and
"aged, yet they have a strength greater than that of the
"stoutest warriors. We render unto Cæsar the things that
"are Cæsar's, and unto God, the things that are God's; the
"tribute is Cæsar's, the Church is God's. No one can deny § 35, 36.
"that in what we say we pay to our sovereign due honour.
"What indeed can be higher than to style him a son of the
"Church? In saying this we are loyal to him, without
"sinning against God. The Emperor is *within* the Church,
"*but not over the Church.*"

XLVI. The singing of hymns.

St. Ambrose likewise observes that he was reproached with misleading the people by his hymns, and he allows that he taught them by this kind of singing to testify their faith in the Trinity. Indeed, one of the methods which he made use of to comfort his people in this persecution, was the singing of the hymns which he composed, and of the *Antiphons*[1], as Paulinus calls them, that is, Psalms sung alternately by two choirs. It was at this time that the custom first began of chanting Hymns and Psalms at Milan, after the usage of the Eastern Churches, during the watches of the night, and at the other hours of public prayer; and this custom spread[2] from the Church of Milan to all[3] the Churches of the West. But as Psalms were always sung throughout the whole Church, it does not appear what St. Ambrose introduced, unless it were the antiphonal or responsorial kind of chanting. Several hymns which St. Ambrose composed are still in use; and they were so much in repute, that in the succeeding ages, a hymn was commonly called '*Ambrosianum*[4].'

§ 34.

[1] Paulin. Vit. § 13. [Comp. Hooker, book v. ch. 39.]

[2] Conc. Agath. [A.D.506.] c. 30.

[3] Isidor. Hispal. [A.D.595.] de Off. I. c. 7. S. August. Confess. ix. 7.

[4] Reg. S. Bened. [A.D.532.] c.9. 12. 13. 17. [ap. Galland. xi. p. 298.]

God even gave a visible consolation to the Church of Milan, by discovering to St. Ambrose by revelation the relics of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius, two brothers and martyrs, whose names and place of burial had long been forgotten[5]. When the persecution of Justina was at its height, St. Ambrose having[q] dedicated the Basilica which is

XLVII. The relics of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius.

[5] Paulin. Vit. § 14.

[q] *Cum ego . . . dedicassem*, i. e. St. Ambrose had consecrated the church, but had not yet deposited any relics in it, as he had in the church near the Roman gate. See book 20, ch. 13.

A. D. 386. still called the Church of St. Ambrose [the Greater] from him; the people with one voice desired him to dedicate it like the Basilica Romana[1], another church in Milan near the Roman gate, which he had lately consecrated in honour of the Apostles. St. Ambrose replied: "I will do so, if I "find any relics of martyrs," and immediately his heart burned within him, in presage, as he felt, of what was to happen. Indeed [according to St. Augustine[2]], God revealed to him in a dream, that the bodies of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius, were in the Basilica[3] of St. Felix and St. Nabor[r]. Notwithstanding the apprehensions of his Clergy, he caused the ground to be opened before the rails that surrounded the sepulchres of the martyrs. He found probable signs; perhaps palm-leaves engraved, or some instrument of their torture. He caused certain that were possessed to be sent for, in order to lay hands on them, but before he had begun to speak, one of them, a woman, was seized with an evil spirit, and stretched upon the ground in the place where the martyrs, whom they were seeking, lay. Having discovered their sepulchres, two skeletons were discovered, of more than ordinary size, all their bones entire, a quantity of blood about, and their heads separated from their bodies[4]. They arranged the bodies, putting every bone into its proper place, and they covered them with cloths, and laid them on litters. In this manner were they carried towards evening to the Basilica of St. Fausta[5], where vigils were celebrated all night, and several that were possessed received imposition of hands. That day and the next there was a great concourse of people, and then, the old men recollected that they had formerly heard the names of these martyrs, and had read the inscription on their tomb. The next day the relics were transferred to the Basilica Ambrosiana. There was at Milan a blind man named Severus, well known in the place, who, having become blind several years before, had been obliged to give up his trade, which had been that of a butcher. This man, hearing the joyful shoutings in the streets, asked the

[1] [called above, the *New* Basilica.]

[2] Confess. ix. 7. De Civitat. 22. 8. [to.7.p.663.]

[3] [now of St. Francis.]

[4] S. Ambr. Ep. 22. 12.

[5] [now of St. Vitalis and St. Agricola[5].]

[r] St. Felix and St. Nabor were martyrs of Milan (S. Ambros. in Luc. vii. § 178. tom. i. p. 1453), supposed to have suffered under Maximian. Martyr. July 12.

[5] St. Vitalis and St. Agricola, martyrs at Bononia, now Bologna, (S. Ambros. Exhort. ad Virgin. c. 1.) possibly, under Diocletian and Maximian.

reason, and being told, he rose up hastily, and caused himself to be led to the bodies of the Saints. When he was come thither, they let him approach so near as to touch the bier on which they lay with a handkerchief. As soon as he had applied the handkerchief to his eyes, they were opened, and he returned without any one to lead him. This miracle was performed before a vast number of people, and among the rest in the presence of St. Augustine, who was then at Milan, and who bears his testimony to it in three separate passages in his works. Severus having thus recovered his sight, devoted it for the future wholly to God, and spent the rest of his life in serving in the Basilica Ambrosiana, where the bodies of the martyrs lay. He was still alive when Paulinus wrote the life of St. Ambrose. This translation was attended by a great many other miracles: persons possessed were delivered, sick persons were healed, by touching with their hands the cloths that covered the Saints, and some merely by their shadow. A great number of handkerchiefs[1] and garments were cast upon the holy relics, and preserved as remedies against diseases. It is St. Ambrose himself who bears testimony to this in one of his sermons, which he made upon this occasion.

A. D. 386.

S. Aug. Confess. ix. 7. Serm. de divers. 286.(al.39.) c. 5. De Civit. 22. 8. § 2.

[1] [oraria.]

Ep. 22. § 9. [See above ch. 2.]

For after the holy relics were brought to the Basilica Ambrosiana, he spoke to the people upon this occasion of public joy and these miracles, making use of the eighteenth and hundred and twelfth Psalms, which had just been read. He returns thanks to Christ for having given such relief to His Church, at a time when she stood so much in need of it; and declares that he desires no other defence. He afterwards says: "Let us bring these victorious victims to the spot "where is Christ the sacrifice. But He, Who hath suffered "for all, upon the altar, and they, whom He hath purchased "by His passion, beneath it. It is the place which I had "designed for myself, for it is fitting that the Priest repose "where he hath been accustomed to offer; but I yield the "right side to these sacred victims." He wished to bury the relics immediately, but the people desired clamorously to have that ceremony, which was called the *depositing*, deferred until Sunday. At last St. Ambrose prevailed with them to let it be performed the next day. He then made a second

Ep. 22. 3, 4, &c. [Ps. 19.] [Ps. 113.]

§ 13.

§ 14.

§ 15, &c.

A. D. 386. sermon, the chief subject of which was a reply to the calumnies of the Arians. For although these miracles put a stop to the violence of the persecution without, the court of Justina made a jest of them in the palace. They said that Ambrose had suborned people by money to pretend to be possessed, and they denied that the bodies which were found were really those of martyrs. St. Ambrose answers them by the evidence of the facts, of which all the people were witnesses, and insists chiefly upon the miracle of the blind man. "I desire to know," he adds, "what is it that they do not "believe? Is it that martyrs have power to afford assist- "ance? This is to disbelieve Christ, for He hath said, '*Ye* "'*shall do greater things than these.*' What then is the object "of their envy? is it I? but it is not I who work miracles. "Is it the martyrs? they therefore shew that the Faith of "the martyrs was different from theirs; otherwise they "would not be jealous of their miracles." These are the words of St. Ambrose.

Paulin. Vit. § 15.

Ep. 22. § 19.

St. John 14. 12.

He wrote to his sister Marcellina, an account of the discovery and translation of these holy martyrs, and joins with this letter the two sermons which he made upon the occasion. In order to confound the Arians the more, a man from amongst the multitude was suddenly seized with an unclean spirit, and began to cry out, "That those were tor- "mented like him who denied the martyrs, or who did not "believe the Unity of the Trinity, which Ambrose taught;" whereupon the Arians took him and drowned him in a canal[1]. One[2] of those who were the most violent in disputing, and the most hardened, testified that while in the church, when St. Ambrose was preaching, he had seen an Angel whisper in his ear, so that he only seemed to report to the people the words of the Angel. The Arian who had this vision was converted, and began to defend the faith which he had opposed. Thus were the Arians put to silence by the force of miracles, and the Empress obliged to let St. Ambrose remain at peace. Perhaps her apprehensions of the Emperor Maximus might contribute somewhat towards this result. For he wrote[3] a letter to the Emperor Valentinian, exhorting him to put a stop to the persecution. He represented to him, that had he not been desirous of maintaining peace with him, he should

Ep. 22. scr. A. D. 386. to. ii. p. 874.

Paulin. Vit. § 16.

[1] [*Piscina*, fish-pond.]

[2] Paulin. § 17.

[3] Conc. II. p. 1031. [III. p. 673. Mans.] Theod. 5. 14.

not have given him such advice, because these divisions would be for his advantage. He represented to him the danger of changing the Faith, which hath been settled so many ages. "All Italy," says he, "Africa, Gaul, Aquitaine, "and all Spain believe thus, and venerable Rome herself, which "holds[1] the first rank, in this particular too," i.e. in religion as well as in the Empire. At length St. Ambrose and the Catholic Bishops were suffered to remain unmolested. A. D. 386.

[1] [*cujus etiam in hac parte principatus est.*]

St. Augustine had now been two years at Milan, where he was an eye-witness of the miracles and struggles of St. Ambrose, and he was converted soon after. He was an African, born[2] on the thirteenth of November in the year 354, at Thagaste, an Episcopal city of Numidia; his parents[3] were Christians, and of no mean condition, his father's name was Patricius, and his mother's Monnica. They were very careful to have him instructed in human learning, and every one observed in him an excellent genius, and a wonderful disposition for knowledge. Falling sick in his infancy[4], and being in danger of death, he desired Baptism, having been already made a Catechumen by salt and the sign of the Cross[5]. His mother, being alarmed, got every thing ready for his receiving Baptism, but he grew better suddenly, and it was deferred. He first studied grammar and rhetoric at Madaura[6], until he was sixteen years old, when his father made him return to Thagaste, and kept him there a year. Meanwhile he made preparations for sending his son to finish his studies at Carthage, for the great desire which he had of making his son a scholar, made him strive even beyond his circumstances. Whilst he thus stayed at Thagaste, the young Augustine, slighting the good advice of his mother, began to indulge in a licentious course, led to it by idleness and the indulgence of his father, who had not yet received Baptism, though he was baptized before his death, which happened soon after. Augustine coming to Carthage plunged himself still more and more into licentiousness, which he increased by frequenting the public theatres. He prayed indeed to God for the spirit of chastity, "Give me chastity and continence, but not

XLVIII. Beginning of St. Augustine's history.

[2] Pagi. A. D. 377. § 3.

[3] Vita S. Aug. auctore Possid. [A. D. 430.] § 1.

[4] Confess. 1. xi.

[5] [*Signabar signo crucis et condiebar ejus sale.*]

[6] Confess. 2. 3.

Confess. 3. c. 1.

8. c. 7.

[t] See Bingham, x. 1. 3.—The salt was expressive of the purity necessary in a Christian. See S. August. de Catechiz. Rudib. c. 26. § 50. tom. vi. See Can. 5. of the third Council of Carthage, below, book 20, ch. 26.

A. D. 386. "at once." He feared that he should be heard too soon, and wished that his prayers might not yet be heard. In the mean time he made great progress in his studies, the design of which was to raise him to the magistracy and public offices, for oratory was then the way to such distinctions. Among
3. c. 4. the works of Cicero which he studied, he read *The Hortensius*, which is now lost, and which was an exhortation to philosophy. He was affected by it, and began at that time, though only nineteen years of age, to slight the vanity of worldly expectations, and to desire wisdom and immortal goods; and this was the first step towards his conversion.

XLIX. Augustine becomes a Manichee. The only thing that displeased him in the Philosophers was, that he did not find in them the name of CHRIST, which he had sucked in, as it were, with his mother's milk, and which had made a deep impression upon his heart; he
c. 5. desired therefore to see the holy Scriptures, but the simplicity
c. 6. of the style displeased him. He then fell into the hands of the Manichees, who, always speaking of CHRIST, of the HOLY GHOST, and of Truth, seduced him by their inflated discourses, and inspired him with an inclination for their dreams, and an aversion for the Old Testament. In the mean time
c. 11. his mother, who was more concerned than if she had seen him dead, would no longer eat with him. She was, however, comforted by a dream. She imagined herself standing upon a piece of timber, and that she saw a shining youth, who came to her with a smiling countenance, asking her the cause of her grief; she answered, that she was lamenting the loss of her son. "Behold," he said to her, "he is with you;" and when she looked, she saw him standing with her upon the same piece of timber. She told this dream to Augustine, who said to her, "The meaning is, that you will become what "I am." But she replied without hesitation, "No! For it "was not said, *Thou shalt be where he is*, but *he shall be where "thou art.*" And from that time she lived and eat with him as formerly.

c. 12. She then applied to a holy Bishop, and besought him to speak with her son. The Bishop replied: "He is as yet "unteachable, and much puffed up with that heresy which is "new to him. Let him alone, and be satisfied with praying "for him; he will then find out, by reading, what this error

"is. I who speak to you was in my infancy put into the A. D. 386.
"hands of the Manichees by my mother, whom they had
"seduced; I have not only read, but transcribed nearly all
"their books; and I was, without any argument or proof
"from any one, undeceived." St. Monnica would not be
persuaded by the words of the holy Bishop, and as she con-
tinued, with abundance of tears, to press him to speak with
her son, the Bishop replied, with some displeasure, "Go your
"way, it is impossible that the son of these tears should
"perish;" which she accepted as an oracle from heaven.
However, her son continued nine years a Manichee, namely, Confess. 4. c. 1.
from nineteen to twenty-eight years of age.

He kept a concubine, but was faithful to her, as though Confess. 4. c. 2.
she had been his lawful wife. Having finished his studies, Possid. Vit. c. 2.
he taught grammar in his own city Thagaste, and afterwards
rhetoric. A wizard offered to make him win the prize in a
poetical contest, to effect which he would sacrifice certain
animals, but Augustine rejected the proposal with horror,
refusing to have any intercourse with the evil spirits. How-
ever he did not scruple to consult astrologers[1], and to read [1 [Mathematici.] Confess. 4. c. 3. and 7. c. 6.
their books. But he was persuaded to give it up by an acute
and wise old man named Vindicianus, a famous physician,
who knew by experience the vanity of such kind of studies.
Augustine had at that time an intimate friend, whom he had 4. c. 4.
misled into the heresy of the Manichees; for he took much
pains in seducing others. This friend fell sick, and con-
tinued senseless a long time, and, as his life was despaired of,
he was baptized. When he came to himself, Augustine made
a jest of the baptism which he had received in that condition[u],
but the sick man rejected his discourse with horror, and died
a few days after, faithful unto grace. Augustine was about 4. c. 13, 14.
twenty-six years of age when he wrote two or three books
concerning *The Becoming and the Beautiful*[2]; but this work is lost. [2 De Pulchro et Apto.]

He began to be disgusted with the fables told by the L. Augustine becomes disgusted with the Manichees.
Manichees, especially concerning the system of the world,
the nature of the heavenly bodies and the elements. This kind

[u] From the idea which the Manichees had that *matter* was essentially evil, they would naturally reject Holy Baptism, of which the necessary outward part is *water*. "They hold that Baptism "in water contributes nothing to the "salvation of any, nor do they think "that any of those whom they deceive "should be baptized." S. Aug. de Hæres.

A. D. 386. of knowledge, said he, is not essential to religion; but it is
Confess. 5. c. 3. essential not to lie, and not to boast of knowing what we know not; especially when we would be thought like Manes
c. 3. § 6. to be guided by the Holy Ghost. He liked much better the accounts which the mathematicians and natural philosophers assigned for the eclipses, solstices, and the course of the stars.
c. 3. There was a Manichæan Bishop named Faustus, much boasted of by those of his sect, as a wonderful man, and perfectly skilled in the sciences. After long expectation he came at length to Carthage, where Augustine was teaching
c. 6. rhetoric. Augustine found him to be a very plausible man, and a good speaker, but who in the end said nothing more than the rest of the Manichees; he only explained it with greater facility and more gracefully. Augustine wanted something more, and was of too solid a mind to be contented with externals. All the knowledge of Faustus consisted in having read some of Cicero's orations, a very little of Seneca, some of the poets, and the Latin writings of the Manichees. But when Augustine was for examining deeply with him the difficulties which he found in explaining the course of the sun, the moon, and other heavenly bodies, Faustus freely owned to him that he had not studied these questions. Augustine, perceiving how little satisfaction he received from the most famous doctor of the Manichees, was entirely disgusted with them, being then twenty-nine years of age. At
c. 8. that time he was persuaded to go and teach at Rome, where scholars were under better discipline than at Carthage. Accordingly he embarked against his mother's inclinations, and deceived her under the pretence of accompanying a friend, and remaining on board with him till a fair wind
c. 9. should enable him to set sail. On his arrival at Rome he fell sick of a fever, which reduced him to the utmost ex-
c. 10. tremity, but he did not ask to be baptized. He lodged at the house of a Manichee, and he continued to associate with that sect, being held by the bond of friendship. But he had no longer any hopes of finding the truth amongst them, neither did he think of seeking it in the Catholic Church, so great was his prejudice against her doctrine. He then began to think that the Academics who doubted of every thing might well be the wisest men; and he reproved his host for

giving such implicit credit to the fables of the Manichees. A. D. 386.
In the mean time the city of Milan sent to Symmachus the c. 13.
Præfect of Rome for a professor of rhetoric; and by the interest of the Manichees, Augustine obtained the place, after having given a proof of his ability by an oration. Thus he came to Milan in 384, being thirty years old.

LI. Augustine at Milan.

St. Ambrose received him with fatherly kindness, which from the first won his affection; and Augustine diligently attended his sermons, merely for the sake of the beauty of his style, and in order to discover whether his eloquence answered his reputation. He found what he said less alluring than the discourses of Faustus, but more judicious and infinitely more solid. He at first paid no attention to the c. 14. subjects of St. Ambrose's discourses; but however he was insensibly affected with them whether he would or not, and saw that the Catholic doctrine had at least something to be said for it. He resolved entirely to forsake the Manichees, and to remain in the rank of a Catechumen, as he then was, in that Church which his parents had recommended to him, *i. e.* in the Catholic Church, until the truth appeared more plainly to him. St. Monnica had come in search of him, Confess. 6. c. 1. with so much faith, that as she crossed the sea she even comforted the seamen in the greatest dangers, by the assurance which God had given her, that she should come to her son. When he told her he was no longer a Manichee, but that he was not yet a Catholic, she was not at all surprised, but calmly answered him, that she was confident that she should see him a Catholic believer before she departed this life. In the mean time she continued her prayers, and attended the sermons of St. Ambrose, whom she loved as if he had been an Angel of God, knowing that he had brought her son to this doubtful state, which would be the crisis of his distemper. As in Africa she used to carry wine and certain cakes to the c. 2. [comp. De Civit. churches of the martyrs, and once wished to do the same at 8. 27. and Milan, the porter of the church hindered her, and told her Ep. 64. (22.) ad Aurel.] that the Bishop had forbidden it. She immediately obeyed, without being zealous for her own practice. St. Ambrose had abolished these meals in the churches; because instead [1] [*Feasts of Charity.* St. Jude v. 12. Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 20—22.] of the ancient sober and modest *agapæ*[1], they were now only occasions of intemperance. However he esteemed St. Monnica

A. D. 386. for her piety and good works, and frequently congratulated
Confess. 9. c. 13. 8. 9. St. Augustine for having such a mother; for her whole life
5. c. 9. Lib. de Ordine I. c. xi. to. i. p. 327. had been virtuous. She was born in a Christian family, where she had been well educated. She was perfectly obedient to her husband, bearing with his irregularities and passions, with such patience as might give example to other women, and she gained her husband to the faith of Christ towards the end of his life. She had a particular talent in conciliating enemies; and ever since her widowhood she gave herself up entirely to works of piety; she bestowed abundance in alms, served the poor, and no day intermitted the oblation at the altar: came to church twice every day, in the morning and evening, to hear the word of God, and offer her prayers, to which her whole life was devoted. She was very fond of the Holy Scriptures; God communicated Himself to her by visions and revelations, and she knew
Confess. 6. 13. how to distinguish them from dreams and common thoughts; such was St. Monnica, according to St. Augustine.

He thought St. Ambrose very happy as to the world, seeing him honoured by persons of the greatest consideration. But he could not get an opportunity of conversing with him, as he could have wished, on account of the great crowds who came to him, upon various accounts, and he did not venture to interrupt him during the time which the holy Bishop spent in reading. "Frequently," he says, "when we "had come to his house, (for it was not usual to hinder any "person from coming in, or to announce him,) we saw him "reading to himself; and after having sat a considerable time "in silence, we withdrew, supposing that he would be loath "to be interrupted in the short space which he had to recruit "his spirits and his voice. I heard him preach to the people "every Sunday; I conceived more and more, that the "calumnies, with which impostors attacked the sacred "writings, might be dissipated, and I began to perceive the "necessity of authority and faith."

He had with him two intimate friends, Alypius and Nebridius. Alypius was born as well as himself at Thagaste, where his parents were people of the highest rank. He was younger than Augustine, whose disciple he had been at Thagaste, and Carthage. He came to Rome to study law,

and was afterwards assessor to the Count of the Italian treasury[x]. When Augustine came to Rome, Alypius went with him from thence to Milan, not being able to leave him; and continued to perform the same office of assessor or counsellor to other magistrates with great integrity; Nebridius came from the neighbourhood of Carthage, and had left his country, his mother, and an excellent estate which he possessed, in order to come to Milan and live with Augustine, and search after the truth, which was the most earnest desire of these three friends. They even resolved to make one household, and there were about ten persons who were capable of putting this design into execution; some of whom were very rich, particularly Romanianus, another citizen of Thagaste, and a relation to Alypius, whom his affairs had brought to court. Augustine looked upon him as his patron; he had assisted him in his youth to support the expence of his education, particularly after the death of his father, and had afterwards helped him in all his affairs, both with his wealth and his counsel. But this design of living in common was broken off, because some of them had wives already, and others intended to marry; and it was thought that this kind of society would not then be agreeable. Augustine was one of those who intended to marry; his mother had found out a proper person for him; but she was so young that he was obliged to wait two years. In the mean time his concubine had left him, and returned into Africa, making a vow of continence for the rest of her life, and leaving him a son, whom he named Adeodatus, i. e. given of God. He took another concubine for the short time that intervened till his marriage, such a slave was he to that evil habit. On the first of January 385, he spoke a panegyric for the Consul Bauto, who on that day entered upon his office. At that time being thirty-one years old, he began to reject corporeal images, to which he had been accustomed by the Manichees, and to form juster notions of God, of the spiritual nature, and of the origin of evil. But he did not

A. D. 386.

c. 10.

c. 14.

II. contra Academ. c. 2. to. i. p. 262.

c. 12, 13.

c. 16.

[Contra Lit. Petilian. 3. c. 25. to. 9. p. 311. F.]

De Vita Beata. § 4. to. 1. p. 299. Confess. Lib. 7.

[x] The Lord High Treasurer of the Western Empire was called *Comes sacrarum Largitionum*. His jurisdiction was divided into six provinces, over each of which was a treasurer subordinate to him. One of these was the Treasurer of Italy. The *assessor* was employed in arranging the proportions in which the tax-payers severally contributed towards the whole sum levied. See Du Cange.

A. D. 386. yet comprehend the Incarnation, looking upon Christ only as a man of excellent wisdom; however he was already fond of the Holy Scripture, particularly of St. Paul. In this state he addressed himself to the Priest Simplicianus, who from his youth to a very advanced age had lived in a state of piety. He had instructed St. Ambrose, who loved him like a father. Augustine gave him an account of the whole course of his errors, and told him that he had read some of the books of the Platonists which the rhetorician Victorinus had translated into Latin[y]. Simplicianus told him, that it was well that he had not met with the writings of other philosophers which were very seducing, whereas these every where give intimations of God and His Word. He gave him an account of the conversion of Victorinus, to which he had himself greatly contributed. Augustine was sensibly touched with it, and earnestly desired to imitate him, not only by receiving Baptism, but by renouncing, like him, his office of Professor of Rhetoric.

Confess. 8. c. 1, 2.

Fleury, Book 15. ch. 6.

LII. Conversion of St. Augustine.

One day being at his lodging with Alypius, an African named Pontinianus, who held a considerable place at court, came to them. When they sat down to discourse together, Pontinianus perceived a book upon the table which stood before them; he opened it, and found it to be St. Paul. He was astonished to find that book there alone, instead of books of literature; he looked at Augustine with a smile mixed with surprise and joy; for he was a Christian, and offered frequent and continued prayers, prostrating himself before God, in the church. Augustine having told him that he bestowed very great pains on the Scriptures, the conversation fell upon St. Anthony, whose life Pontinianus related, as being very well known amongst the faithful. Augustine and Alypius had never heard of him; they were surprised to hear such wonders, and of so late a date; and Pontinianus was no less astonished that they had till then been ignorant of it. He told them of the great number of Monasteries which filled the deserts, and of which they had not the least knowledge.

[y] C. Marius Victorinus was an African professor of Rhetoric at Rome. He made public profession of Christianity in his old age (Hieron Chron. an. 355.) and when Julian forbade (conf. ch. 32. See Confess. 8. c. 5.) the Christians' acting as instructors of any kind, gave up his school of Oratory. He defended the Faith against Arianism in a dry, logical form (Hier. de Scr. Ecc. c. 101.) and wrote on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. Ejusd. Præf. in Gal. Tom. iv.

They did not so much as know that there was one under the direction of St. Ambrose, without the walls of the city of Milan where they lived. At length Pontinianus gave them an account of the conversion of two of the Emperor's officers, who as they were walking with him at Treves, found the life of St. Anthony amongst certain Monks, and were so affected with it, that they immediately embraced a monastic life. A. D. 386.

Augustine was deeply affected by this discourse. It was twelve years since the reading of Cicero's Hortensius had excited him to the study of wisdom. He had sought for the truth, and he had found it; he only wanted to come to a determination, and he had no longer any excuse. Ponti- c. 8. nianus being gone, Augustine rose up, and addressing himself to Alypius, he said to him very earnestly, with his countenance entirely altered, and with an extraordinary tone of voice: "What ails us? What is this? The unlearned start up "and take Heaven by force, and we with our learning, and "without heart, lo, where we wallow in flesh and blood! "Are we ashamed to follow? Is it not more shameful to be "unable even to follow?" Alypius gazed upon him in silence, astonished at the change, and followed him step by step into the garden, whither the emotion under which he lay carried him. They sat down at as great a distance as they could from the house. Augustine groaned with indignation that he could not resolve upon what seemed only to depend upon his will; he tore his hair, he beat his forehead, and he clasped his knee with his hands clasped together. Alypius did not leave him, but waited in silence the event of this extraordinary agitation. Augustine, constrained to give vent c. 12. to his grief by cries and tears, rose up to seek retirement, and leaving Alypius in the place where they had sat, he lay down under a fig-tree, where, unable to contain himself any longer, he shed torrents of tears, and cried out: "When, O "Lord, when will Thine anger cease? Why to-morrow? "why not now?" Then he heard from a neighbouring house as it were the voice of a child, which, singing, often repeated these words in Latin: "Take up and read; take up "and read[1]." His countenance then changed, and he considered very attentively whether children used to sing thus in any kind of play, but he did not remember ever having

[1] [Tolle lege, Tolle lege.]

A. D. 386. heard the like. Upon this he refrained his tears, and thought that God had admonished him to open the book, and to read the first passage he should find, recollecting that St. Anthony had been converted during the reading of the Gospel[1]. He returned therefore with all speed to the place where Alypius was sitting; he took up the volume of St. Paul which he had left there; he opened it, and read in silence the first passage on which his eyes fell. It was this: *Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying: but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof.* He read no farther; for immediately all his doubts vanished.

[1] [Sc. S. Mat. 19. 21. S. Athan. Vit. 2.]

Rom. 13. 13, 14.

He shut the book after marking the place, and with a calmed countenance told the matter to Alypius. He desired to see the passage, and made Augustine take notice of what followed: "*Him that is weak in the faith receive;*" applying the words to himself. They then came in and told this good news to St. Monnica, who was transported with joy. Augustine resolved at the same time to renounce marriage and all worldly expectations, and first of all to quit his school where he taught rhetoric. But he desired to do it without being taken notice of, and as there wanted but about three weeks to the vacation which was allowed for the vintage, he deferred declaring his intention until that time. He had also a plausible pretext to the world, for he had felt a pain in his chest that very summer, so that he would have been forced to quit his profession, or at least to leave it off for a time.

Rom. 14. 1.

LIII. The first works of St. Augustine.

When he was at liberty he retired into the country, to a place called Cassiciacum, to the house of a friend whose name was Verecundus[1], a citizen of Milan, and professor of grammar. Augustine retired thither with his mother, his brother Navigius, his son Adeodatus, Alypius and Nebridius, and two young men his disciples, named Trygetius and Licentius, the latter of whom was the son of Romanianus. During this retreat he composed his first works, which are written in a very polished style, but they still savoured, as he himself owns, of the vanity of the school. The first is *Against the Academics*[2], who affirmed that every thing is obscure and doubtful, and that a wise man ought to affirm nothing as sure and certain[3]; so that many being persuaded by their

[1] Confess. 8. c. 6. and 9. c. 3, 4.

[2] Retract. lib. 1. c. 1. [to. 1. p. 3.]

[3] [Cic. de Nat. Deor. I. c. 5.]

arguments, despaired of ever finding out the truth. St. Augustine himself had been moved by them, and he composed this treatise chiefly to fortify himself against this error. The second work is his treatise *On a Happy Life*, consisting of a conversation with which he entertained the company as with a spiritual feast on his birth-day, the 13th of November, and the two following days. The subject is to shew that a happy life is only to be found in the perfect knowledge of God. The third[1] work is his treatise *On Order*, in which he considers the grand question, whether the order of divine Providence comprehends all things both good and evil; but perceiving that what he treated of was too sublime for those to whom he spoke, he confined himself to discourse of the order of our studies[2]. The fourth book is his *Soliloquies*[3], in which St. Augustine converses with his reason as with a second person. In the first book he enquires what sort of person he ought to be who desires to acquire wisdom; and proves in the conclusion that whatever things truly are, are immortal. In the second book he treats of the immortality of the soul, but this piece remained imperfect. These are the four treatises which St. Augustine composed at Cassiciacum during his retreat towards the end of the year 386.

A. D. 386.

Contra Acad. 3. c. 20. [to. 1. p. 294.]

De Beata Vita § 6. [to. 1. p. 300.]

Retract. 1. c. 2.

[1] Ibid. c. 3.

[2] De Ordine, 2. c. 8.

[3] Retract. 1. c. 4.

[ea quæ verè sunt, immortalia esse.]

The three first are the result of the learned conversations which he had with his friends, and which he caused to be taken down in notes at the time they were spoken, that he might afterwards preserve what he thought proper. We here find a long account of the free and cheerful manner in which they lived together. Trygetius and Licentius, who were the youngest among them, continued their studies in literature, and St. Augustine explained to them every day after supper, half of a book of Virgil. Licentius followed his inclination for poetry[3], and made verses upon the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, while St. Augustine laboured to disengage him gently from these trifles. When it was fine weather they discoursed as they sat in a meadow; when the weather was bad[4] they shut themselves up in the bathing-room. In these conversations they were not forward to answer, but they often considered a long time what answer to give, and when they thought they had gone too far they readily retracted. For these were not vain disputes in order to shew their wit, but

Contra Acad. I. c. 1. § 4.

De Ordine, I. c. 8. § 26. Cont. Acad. II. c. 4.

[3] Ibid. c. 3, and III. c. 1. De Ord. 1. c. 3. § 8.

[4] [Ibid. c. 8. § 25.]

A. D. 387. enquiries into the truth. On one occasion Trygetius[1] being mistaken, would not have what he had said written down, but Licentius insisted upon its being written. St. Augustine earnestly reproved him for this childish emulation; and as Trygetius laughed in his turn at the confusion of the other, he gave them both a severe reprimand, and concluded by imploring them with tears to strive seriously after virtue in return for the care which he took in instructing them. St. Monnica was present at most of these conversations, for she easily comprehended whatever related to morality and religion, how sublime soever. St. Augustine spent near half the night[2] in meditating upon these important truths; and in the morning prayed[3] long and earnestly with tears[4]; he was greatly affected with reading the Psalms[5].

[1] De Ord. l. c. 10.

[2] De Ord. l. c. 3. § 6.

[3] Ibid. c. 8. § 22.

[4] c. 10. § 29.

[5] Confess. 9. c. 4.

The vacation being over, he gave notice[6] to the citizens of Milan to provide themselves with another Professor of Oratory. He wrote to St. Ambrose, giving him an account of his former irregularities and his present desires, entreating him to give him directions what part of the Scripture he should read, in order to prepare himself for Baptism. St. Ambrose recommended the Prophet Isaiah, but St. Augustine not being able to comprehend what he first met with, put off the reading it till he was more used to the style of the Scriptures[7]. When the time came when he was to enter his name among the candidates for Baptism, in order to prepare himself, he left the country and came to Milan, about Lent in the year 387. It was there that he wrote his treatise on *the Immortality of the Soul*, which was nothing but a book of memoranda for finishing his Soliloquies. During this time he undertook to write upon *The Liberal Sciences*[8], viz. grammar, music, logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, and philosophy. He finished his treatise upon *Grammar*, and afterwards lost it; he composed *Six Books upon Music*, which he did not finish till two years after, in Africa; he only began the rest, and of all these pieces only that upon music is extant. His design in all these works was to raise the thoughts of his friends who applied themselves to these studies to God, and to make them ascend by degrees from sensible to spiritual things, as is plain from the sixth book of his Music. For after his conversion he devoted all his studies to the service of God. Alypius[9] likewise pre-

[6] c. 5. § 13.

[7] [*in Dominico eloquio.*] c. 6. § 14.

Retract. 1. c. 5.

[See to. 1. p. 387.]

[8] [*Disciplinarum Libri.*] c. 6.

[to. 1. p. 443.] c. 11. c. 12.

[9] Confess. 9. c. 4. § 7. and c. 6.

pared for Baptism by a sincere self-humiliation, and by an extraordinary resolution in bringing his body under subjection, to such a degree as to go barefoot during the winter in that part of Italy, a country peculiarly cold to natives of Africa. A. D. 387.

LIV. St. Ambrose's treatise on Mysteries.

At length St. Augustine was baptized[1] by St. Ambrose, with his friend Alypius and his son Adeodatus, who was then about fifteen years of age. They were baptized on Easter eve, which in this year, 387, fell on the seventh[2] of the calends of May, i. e. on the twenty-fifth of April, as was determined by St. Ambrose, when consulted by the Bishops of the province of Æmilia. It is thought that upon this occasion St. Ambrose composed his book *On Mysteries,* or those who are initiated into them, for the instruction of those who were newly baptized. It had been preceded during Lent with the moral instructions which he daily gave them, upon the lives of the patriarchs and on the Proverbs. This shews that the Book of Genesis and the Proverbs of Solomon were then read in Milan at the Evening Service, as it is still the custom of the Greeks. Several works of St. Ambrose were taken from these sermons upon Genesis: the *Hexaëmeron* and the following books, particularly those on Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, which with great probability are referred to this year, 387, though it is not to be doubted but that during the course of his office, he might have treated of the same subjects every year, as the same passages happened to be read.

[1] Confess. 9. c. 6.
[2] Ambr. Ep. 23. § 15. p. 884.
S. Ambr. de Myst. c. 1.
Triod. Græc. [sheet F. f. 1111.]
Vid. Admonit. in Lib. de Joseph.

In the book *On Mysteries* St. Ambrose explains to those who were newly baptized, the nature and ceremonies of the three Sacraments which they had just received, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist. Which he could not do before; "Because," says he, "that would be betraying the secret of the mysteries, rather than explaining them." He then takes notice of the chief ceremonies of Baptism; first, the opening the ears of the Catechumen, with the words *Ephphatha*[3], i.e. *be opened;* then of their being brought into the *holy of holies*[4], i. e. the *Baptistery;* then of the presence of the Deacon, Priest, and Bishop[5], and of the renunciation of the devil and all his works, the world and its luxury and pleasures. In renouncing the devil, the Catechumen was to turn towards

De Myst. c. 1.
[3] St. Mark vii. 34.
[4] [St. Ambrose explains *Sancta Sanctorum* by *Regenerationis sacrarium.*]
[5] [*Noli considerare*

A. D. 387. the West, as it were to oppose him to his face; then he turned towards the East, as it were to behold Christ[1]. St. Ambrose afterwards explains the benediction[2] of the font, magnifying the mysteries of water taken notice of in the Lessons of the Old and New Testament, which had been read during Lent, particularly on Holy Saturday, namely, the Creation, the Deluge, the Passing over the Red Sea, the Cloud, the waters of Marah, Naaman, and the paralytic at Bethesda. When the baptized persons came out of the font[3], they were anointed on the head[4]; then their feet were washed, and they were clothed in white garments. Afterwards they received the seal[5] and pledge of the Holy Spirit, the seven gifts being pronounced, that is, they received the Sacrament of Confirmation. Then they walked towards the altar, saying, as is still the custom when we approach it, *"I will go unto the altar of the Lord, to God who rejoiceth my youth."* They find the altar prepared, and are present at the Holy Sacrifice for the first time.

corporum figuras sed mysteriorum gratiam. Præsentibus angelis locutus es, sicut scriptum est, Mal. 2. 7.]

[1] c. 2. § 7.

[2] [*consecrantem.*]

[3] c. 6.

[4] c. 7.

[5] [*signaculum.*]

8. [Ps. 43. (42. Vulg.) 4.]

c. 8. Here St. Ambrose explains to them the ancient types of the Eucharist; viz. the offerings of Melchisedec, the manna,

c. 9. and the water flowing out of the rock. He then adds: "You will say, perhaps, 'I see something else, how can I "'be sure that I receive the body of Christ?' Let us prove "then that it is not what nature formed it, but what the "benediction hath consecrated it; and that the benediction "is more powerful than nature, because by the benediction "even nature itself is changed." He urges the example of the rod of Moses changed into a serpent, and several other

§ 52. miracles, and adds, "If a *human benediction* availed so much "as to change the nature of things, what do we say of the "*Divine consecration*, where the very words of our Saviour "Himself operate? The word of Christ, which could make "that which was not out of nothing, can it not change things "which are, into that which they were not?" He says that

[1 Cor. 14. 16.] the people answered *Amen* to the words of consecration, which

§ 55. shews that it was pronounced aloud. He recommends to the new believers to keep the mysteries secret.

LV. St. Cyril's catechetical discourses.

The five *Mystagogical Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem agree entirely with this work of St. Ambrose, and shew that the tradition is the same both in the East and West, for the

celebration of the Sacraments; St. Cyril's are indeed some years older[1]. He speaks thus in the first of these instructions which are called *Mystagogical*, i. e. introductory to mysteries: "You first," says he, "enter into the porch of the Baptistery, "and being in a standing posture, and turned towards the "West, you are ordered to extend your hand, and you "renounce Satan as though he were present." And afterwards; "Why do you look towards the West? because it is "the symbol of the darkness of which he is the prince." He explains the renouncing the *works* of Satan, which are our sins; his *pomps*, which are the shows of the theatre, the circus, and the like; his *worship*, that is, not only idolatry, but all manner of superstition, such as enchantments, charms, and divinations. He takes notice of the confession of faith; and adds: "All this is done without; you afterwards entered "into the holy of holies, i. e. the Baptistery.—Immediately "you put off your tunic, an image of the putting off of the "old man.—Afterwards you were anointed with the oil, which "had been consecrated by exorcism, from the top of your "head to your feet." This is the oil of the Catechumens with which the Greeks still anoint the whole body. St. Cyril continues: "You were led to the sacred bath[1] of Baptism.— "Every one of you was asked whether he believes in[2] the "Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy "Ghost; you made the confession of salvation[3]; you were "dipped three times in the water, signifying the three days "of Christ's being in the grave." In the third Catechetical discourse he explains the unction after Baptism and Confirmation. "Christ," he says, "having sanctified the waters "of Jordan by his Baptism, came out of them, and the Holy "Ghost lighted upon Him after a sensible manner[4]; you, in "like manner, having come out of the sacred bath, received "the unction, the image[5] of that of Christ.—You were first "anointed upon the forehead,—then on your ears,—your "nostrils,—and your breast." He then explains the meaning of all those anointings, which are still observed by the Greeks.

A. D. 387.

[1 written prob. A.D. 348.]

p. 306. c. 2. [278.]

p. 307. c. 4. [279.]

c. 5.

c. 6.

p. 310. [283.] c. 11. Catech. 2.

p. 311. [284.]

c. 3.

Eucholog. ξ

c. 4. p. 312. [286.]

[1] [κολυμβήθραν]

[2] [εἰς]

[3] [τὴν σωτήριον ὁμολογίαν]

p. 316.

[4] [οὐσιωδὴς ἐπιφοίτησις]

[5] [ἀντίτυπον]

p. 317. c. 4. [290.]

Eucholog. ξδ.

St. Cyril in his fourth Catechetical Discourse, explains the Sacrament of the Eucharist. He first gives an account of the institution of it from the words of St. Paul; then he adds:

p. 320 [229.]

A. D. 387. "He Himself having declared, speaking of the bread, 'This
1 Cor. xi. 24. "is My Body,' who will dare any longer doubt thereof? He
"Himself having said, 'This is My Blood,' who will ever
"doubt and say that it is not His Blood? He once changed
[1] [οἰκείῳ νεύματι, fors. legend. οἰκεῖον αἵματι, sc. τὸν οἶνον] "the water into wine, at Cana of Galilee, by His will only[1];
"and shall we refuse to believe Him, that He hath changed
"wine into Blood? Let us therefore partake, with all full
"assurance of faith[2], as of the Body and Blood of Christ.
[2] [πληροφορίας] "For under the figure[3] of bread, the Body is given thee, and
[3] [ἐν τύπῳ ἄρτου—οἴνου] "the Blood under the figure[3] of wine; to the end that
"partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ thou mayest
"become of one body and of one blood with Him[4]." And
[4] [σύσσωμος - σύναιμος] afterwards, "If sense suggest doubt, let faith confirm thee;
c. 6. p. 321. "do not judge by the taste, but by faith, and out of a full
"assurance undoubtingly believe, that thou art so far
"honoured as to receive the Body and Blood of Christ."
c. 8. p. 322. And again, "Be fully assured, that what appears to be
"bread, is not bread, although it seems so to the taste,
"but the Body of Christ. And that what appears to be
"wine, is not wine, although the taste will have it so,
"but the Blood of Christ." At the beginning of his fifth Catechetical Discourse, he distinctly takes notice of the three Sacraments, when he says, "We have said enough of "Baptism, of Unction, and of partaking of the Body and "Blood of Christ." He afterwards explains all the ceremonies of the Holy Sacrifice. The Deacon gave water to the Bishop and the Priests who surrounded the altar to wash, and to it are applied, by St. Cyril, the words of the twenty-
Ps. 26. [Vulg. 25.] 6. sixth Psalm, "I will wash mine hands among the innocent,
"and will encircle Thy Altar, O Lord." The Deacon cried,
'Embrace ye each other,' and they then gave each other the kiss of peace. The Priest[5] then said, "Lift up your hearts,"
[5] [ὁ ἱερεύς] and the rest of the preface is repeated, as it is still used. He
[6] [τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν] then beseeches God that it may please Him to send down the Holy Spirit upon those His gifts, that He may make the bread, the Body of Christ, and the wine, the Blood of Christ.
"After having finished this spiritual and unbloody sacrifice[6]," says St. Cyril, "we pray over that sacrifice of the propitiation[7],
[7] [θυσίας τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ] "for the common peace of the Churches, the quietness[8] of the
[8] [εὐστα-θείας] "world, for Kings, for soldiers, and for all that have need of

"assistance. We commemorate[1] those that are departed[2], A. D. 387.
"first the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, that
"by their prayers[3] God may receive ours; then we pray
"for the holy Fathers and Bishops and all the rest of the
"departed, believing that prayer together with the holy and
"most tremendous[4] sacrifice will be of the greatest advantage
"to their souls." Then was said the Lord's Prayer, the
people answering, *Amen.* Afterwards the Priest said[5], "Holy
"things are for the holy:" then they proceeded to the Com-
munion: "When you approach it," says St. Cyril, "do not
"stretch out your hands, and do not spread your fingers; but
"put your left hand under your right that it may serve for a
"throne, since it is to receive this great King, and then
"receive the Body of Christ in the hollow of your hand,
"saying, *Amen.* Sanctify your eyes by touching them with
"this sacred body; then partake, and take heed that ye lose
"not any of it. If you had gold-dust in your hands, how
"cautiously would you hold it! this is much more valuable
"than gold or precious stones; take great care therefore not
"to let fall the least crumb. After having communicated of
"the Body of Christ, approach likewise to the cup of the
"Blood without extending your hands; bend yourself in a
"posture of adoration[6], saying, *Amen;* and sanctify yourself
"by partaking also of the Blood of Christ. Whilst your
"lips are still moist, touch them with your hands in order to
"sanctify your forehead, your eyes, and the other organs of
"your senses.—Hold fast these traditions inviolate[7], and
"never deprive yourself of these holy mysteries by your
"sins."

[1] [μνημονεύομεν]
[2] [τῶν προκεκοιμημένων]
[3] [ταῖς εὐχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πρεσβείαις]
[4] [φρικωδεστάτης]
[5] c. 19.
c. 21.
[6] [κύπτων (quod malè vertit Bellarm. *genu flexo*) καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος]
[7] c. 23.

LVI. Death of St. Monnica. Confess. 9. c. 8.

St. Augustine after his baptism, having seriously considered upon a place where he might serve God more usefully, resolved to return into Africa with his mother, his son, his brother, and a young man named Evodius. Evodius also, was of Thagaste; he was an agent of the Emperor, and having been converted, was baptized before St. Augustine, and laid down his employment in order to devote himself to the service of God. On arriving at Ostia, they there refreshed themselves for some time, after their long journey from Milan, and made preparations for embarking. One day, St. Augustine and St. Monnica his mother, leaning c. 10.

A. D. 387. together out of a window which looked into the garden of the house, were entertaining each other with the most kind and tender discourse; forgetting all their past cares, and thinking only on the future, they endeavoured to represent to themselves what kind of life the Saints would probably lead to all eternity; they raised themselves above all the pleasures of sense; and ran over in their imagination the whole compass of created bodies, even Heaven itself, and the stars which it contained. They proceeded to the soul, and passing over all creatures, even those that are spiritual, they arrived at last at Eternal Wisdom, Who gave being to them all, and Who exists for ever without distinction of time. They dwelt on it for a moment, with the most intense reflection of their minds, and sighed that they were obliged to return to the sound of the voice and fleeting words. Then St. Monnica said, "My son, as for me, I no longer take any "delight in this life. What I do here, or why I am any "longer here, I know not. One thing there was, for which "I desired to linger for a while in this life, that I might see "you a Catholic Christian before I died. God has granted "me still more than this, for I now see you, despising "all earthly felicity, consecrated to his service: what do "I here?"

c. 11. About five days after she fell sick of a fever. During her illness, she one day fainted away; on coming to herself, she looked on St. Augustine and his brother Navigius, and said to them, "Where was I?" and afterwards, observing them to be overwhelmed with grief, she added, "Here shall you bury "your mother." Navigius expressed a desire that she might rather die in her own country, but she looked upon him with an anxious look, by way of reproof, and said to St. Augustine, "Lo! what he says!" then directing herself to them both, "Lay this body," she said, "anywhere, let not that give "you the least anxiety; all that I desire of you is, that you "would remember me at the altar of the Lord wherever you "be." On the ninth day of her sickness, in the fifty-sixth year of her age, and the thirty-third of St. Augustine's, which was the same year in which he had been baptized, viz. 387, "was that religious and holy soul freed from the body."

c. 12. As soon as she had breathed her last, St. Augustine closed

her eyes; the boy Adeodatus burst out into a loud lament; A. D. 387.
then, checked by all, held his peace. All thought that the death of St. Monnica was no subject for tears, and St. Augustine suppressed his own, though with the greatest difficulty. Evodius took up the Psalter, and began to sing the hundred-and-first Psalm; *My song shall be of mercy and judgment; unto Thee, O Lord, will I sing.* He was joined by the whole house, and immediately a great number of devout persons of both sexes came into it. The corpse was carried to the burial; the sacrifice of our ransom was offered for the deceased; prayers were offered, where now the corpse was, by the grave's side, as was the usual custom previous to its being laid therein. St. Augustine did not weep during the whole ceremony, but in the night he let his tears flow, in order to soothe his grief. He then prayed for his mother, as he did a long time after, when c. 13.
he wrote all the circumstances of her death in his Confessions; and he entreats his readers to remember his mother Monnica and his father Patricius at the Holy Altar.

LVII. The second embassy of St. Ambrose to Maximus.

Though the Empress Justina had used St. Ambrose so ill, yet she besought him to go upon a second embassy to the Emperor Maximus, which he accepted. The object of it was to demand the body of the Emperor Gratian, and to ratify the peace: for there was great reason to fear that Maximus, not satisfied with commanding in Gaul, would invade Italy, in order to deprive Valentinian of his dominions. St. Ambrose being arrived at Treves, Maximus refused to admit him to audience but publicly in his consistory, and though it had not been customary for Bishops to go thither, St. Ambrose chose rather to descend from his dignity, than fail to execute his commission. He therefore entered into the consistory, where he found Maximus seated, who rose in order to give him the kiss of salutation. St. Ambrose stayed among the councillors[1], who advised him to go up to the Emperor's throne; and the Emperor himself called to him. St. Ambrose answered, "Why do you salute with a kiss him whom "you will not acknowledge for a Bishop? for did you "acknowledge me as such, you would not see me in this "place." After some discourse had passed between them, Maximus fell into a passion, and reproached him with having mocked him, by preventing his entering Italy, when nothing

De Obitu Valent. § 28.

Epist. 24. § 2.

[1] [consistoriani.]

A. D. 387. could have opposed him. St. Ambrose answered him calmly, "I am come to justify myself from that reproach, although "it were glorious for me to have drawn it upon myself for the "sake of saving the life of an orphan. But where did I "oppose your legions, in order to prevent their overrunning "Italy? did I shut up the Alps against you with my body? "And wherein have I mocked you? When you told me "that you intended to have Valentinian come to you, I "answered that it was not reasonable that a child should "cross the Alps with his mother, in the depth of winter, nor "that he should be exposed to the danger of so long a
§ 9, &c. "journey without her." He afterwards reproached him with Gratian's death, and desired him at least to deliver up his body. After some other discourse, Maximus said he would take it into consideration, and then St. Ambrose withdrew, declaring
[Vit. Paulin. § 19.] that he would not hold Ecclesiastical communion with him, and telling him, that he must do penance for having shed his
Epist. § 12. master's innocent blood. St. Ambrose abstained even from the communion of those Bishops who either communicated with Maximus, or who took part in the execution of the Priscillianists. Maximus enraged at all these circumstances, commanded him to return forthwith, and accordingly St. Am-
De Ob. Valent. § 39. brose gladly departed, though Maximus had threatened him, and many people imagined that he was exposing himself to inevitable danger. The only thing that troubled him at his departure was, to see an aged Bishop, named Hyginus, who seemed just ready to die, hurried into banishment. St. Ambrose besought some of Maximus' friends, to obtain leave for
[1] [vestem—plumarium.] his having at least a curtain and a feather cushion[1], in order to give him some little ease, but was himself driven away.
Epist. 24. § 1. On his journey he wrote to the Emperor Valentinian, and gave him an account of his embassy, being apprehensive lest the Emperor should be prejudiced against him by some false report. He concluded his letter with these words, "Guard "yourself against a man, who under the cloak of peace, "conceals war."

We shall not wonder that St. Ambrose refused to communicate with those who sought to put the heretics to death, if we consider how much the Church abhorred the blood even of other criminals. About this same time, a judge, named Studius,

consulted St. Ambrose upon this question, viz. whether it be lawful to condemn a man to death. St. Ambrose applauded his piety, and immediately declared it to be lawful, since St. Paul says, that *the ruler beareth not the sword in vain.* He indeed owns that some would not receive to the communion of the Sacraments, those who had at any time pronounced sentence of death; but he adds that all such are out of the pale of the Church, and they are thought to have been the Novatians. He said that many judges voluntarily abstained under such circumstances from communicating, and that he could not help applauding them. "If you communicate," says he, "you are excusable; and praiseworthy if you do "not.—Several heathens have boasted that they had never "stained their axes with blood during their administration; "what should Christians then do?" He quotes the example of our Saviour, who sent back the adulteress, and he adds the reason why the guilty should be pardoned. "It may happen," he says, "that there may be hopes of their amendment; if "they are without baptism, that they may be baptized; if "they are baptized, that they may be admitted to penance, "and offer their bodies for Christ." We must remember that the canonical penances inflicted for great crimes, were at that time so very severe, that they were equal to a rigorous punishment. "Our fathers," said he, "have been tender "and indulgent with respect to the judges, lest if they should "refuse them communion, they might seem to side with the "criminals, and procure a general impunity.

A. D. 387. Epist. 25. § 1. Rom. 13. 4. § 2.

He also treats of the same question in another letter, and says that "people are grown warm about it, ever since the "time that Bishops prosecuted criminals in the public courts "of justice, and have never given over their prosecution till "they were executed, and that others have approved their "proceedings. When we put," says he, "the criminal to "death, we destroy the person rather than the crime; but "when we cause him to forsake his sin, the man is delivered, "and the crime is destroyed." He recommends moreover in another place, the custom of interceding for the life of criminals, "provided," says he, "it may be done without any "great trouble; lest we should seem to act rather from a "principle of vanity, than charity; and while we are en-

Ep. 26. § 3. § 20. In Ps. 118. [119.] Serm. 8. § 41. [p. 1071.] De. Off. II. c. 21. § 102.

A. D. 387. "deavouring to remedy less evils, we should commit greater." For it sometimes happened that this zeal to save criminals was carried to such an indiscreet height, as to be the occasion of sedition.

Cod. Theod. ix. Tit. 40. de Pœn. l. 15. [A.D. 392.] and 16. [A.D. 398.]

About the same time St. Martin happened to be at Treves, and the reluctance which he discovered to communicate with Maximus sufficiently justifies the behaviour of St. Ambrose, who was not his subject, as the Bishops of Gaul were. Many from various provinces paid their court to Maximus, and that with flattery and subserviency; but St. Martin always recollected his Apostolical authority. He came to intercede for certain criminals; he was again and again invited to the Imperial table, but he refused a long while, alleging "that he "could not eat at the same table with the man who had "deprived one Emperor of his dominions, and another of his "life." However when Maximus protested that he had not assumed the Imperial power of his own will, but that the troops had forced it upon him; that the incredible success which had crowned him with victory, seemed to testify that it was the will of God; and that not one of his enemies had been killed, except in the field, St. Martin at length yielded to his arguments, or his entreaties, which gave the Emperor the utmost satisfaction. He invited to the entertainment as to an extraordinary feast, the most considerable of his courtiers, his brother and his uncle, both Counts of the highest rank, and Evodius the Prætorian Præfect. A Priest who had accompanied St. Martin was seated in a most honourable place between the two Counts, and on the same couch. St. Martin himself sat down on a little seat close to the Emperor. In the midst of the entertainment, an officer presented the cup as usual to Maximus, who caused it to be given to St. Martin, expecting to receive it from his hand; but when he had drunk, he gave it to his Priest, as higher in true rank than any other person in the company. The Emperor and all who were present were surprized, and broke out into admiration, the whole palace rang with it, and St. Martin was applauded for having done at the Emperor's table what no other Bishop would have attempted at the table of the most inconsiderable magistrate. The Holy Bishop foretold to Maximus, that if he went into Italy to

LVIII. St. Martin at the table of Maximus.

Sev. Sulp. Vit. § 23.

make war upon Valentinian, as was his wish, he would come off with victory at first, but that he would lose his life soon after. Maximus[1] often sent for him to the palace, and all their discourse used to be upon the present life, the life to come, and the eternal glory of the saints. [A.D.384.]

[1] Sulp. Sev. Dial. ii. c. 6. §. 7. tom. i. p. 109.

The Empress, who attended day and night to the Bishop's discourses, sat always at his feet upon the ground, unable to tear herself from him, and being desirous of serving up a repast by herself begged the Emperor to further her plan; and both of them together were so urgent with St. Martin to accept the invitation, that he at last could not refuse them. Not but that he did it with the utmost reluctance, for he never had been touched by any woman; but he found it unavoidable in the palace, where he had several things to petition for, such as the delivery of prisoners, the recalling exiles, and restoring estates that had been confiscated. He was touched with the Empress's faith, and his age justified the act, for he was then seventy years old. The Empress did not sit down at table with him, but joyfully attended upon him. She herself spread a seat, placed a table by it, offered him water for his hands, and set the meat before him, which she had dressed with her own hands. All the time that he was eating she stood at a distance without moving, in the humble posture of a handmaid. She herself mixed his draught and presented it to him; and when the moderate repast was ended, she swept up with all carefulness the fragments of bread he had left, not leaving so much as the smallest crumbs.

LIX. St. Martin communicates with the Ithacians.

But no more[2] would St. Martin than St. Ambrose communicate either with Ithacius, or with the Bishops who by communicating with him had incurred the same reproach. Maximus supported them, and prevailed so far by his authority, that none ventured to condemn them: there was only one Bishop, named Theognistus, who gave a sentence publicly against them. These Ithacian Bishops being assembled at Treves, to conduct the election of a Bishop, prevailed upon the Emperor to send military commissioners into Spain, with full power to search out, pillage, and kill all heretics. None doubted but that a great number of Catholics would fall in this search, for at that time it was usual to pronounce a man a heretic by his look, the paleness of his countenance, and

[2] Dial. iii. c. 11. §. 15. tom. i. p. 139. [A.D.386.]

[A.D.387.] peculiarity of his dress, rather than by his confession of faith. Having obtained this order, they heard the next day, when they least expected it, that St. Martin was close at hand and almost arrived at Treves, whither he was often obliged to go, about affairs of charity. They were greatly alarmed at it, well knowing that he would be displeased with their late procedure, and fearing that the authority of so great a man would draw over many to him. They consulted with the Emperor, and it was resolved to send officers to meet St. Martin, to command him not to come nearer the city, unless he would promise to maintain peace and unity with those Bishops who were in it. St. Martin skilfully eluded them, saying that he would come with the peace of Christ.

Having entered the city at night, he went into the church to offer his prayers, and the next day to the palace. The object of his journey was concerning Count Narses and the governor[1] Leucadius, who were obnoxious to Maximus, on account of their loyalty to Gratian. But that which now St. Martin had most at heart, was to prevent the tribunes being sent into Spain, with power of life and death; and he was troubled not only for the sake of the Catholics, who might be molested on this occasion, but even for the heretics whose lives he wished to save. The Emperor kept him in suspense the two first days, either in order to make him duly estimate the favours he was asking, or from an implacable disposition, or it might be that avarice led him to wish to profit by the spoils of the accused. In the mean[2] time the Bishops finding that St. Martin refused to communicate with them, went to the Emperor, and told him that their reputation would be destroyed, if the obstinacy of Theognistus [who had openly, though standing alone, passed a sentence of condemnation on their proceedings] was supported by the authority of Martin; that he ought not to have been permitted to enter the city, and that nothing would be gained by the death of Priscillian if Martin undertook to avenge it. In short they prostrated themselves before the Emperor, and besought him with tears to exert his utmost power against him.

However attached Maximus might be to these Bishops, he dared not use violent measures against a man so eminent for

[1] Præside.]

[2] c. 12. p. 140.

sanctity. He took him aside privately, and using the utmost courtesy, represented to him that the heretics had been justly condemned, rather by the civil law than at the suit of the Bishops; that he had no reason for refusing to communicate with Ithacius and his party: that Theognistus alone had separated from them, and that he had done it more from hatred than from any other cause; and that even a council held a few days before had declared Ithacius to be innocent. As St. Martin did not appear to be moved by these arguments, the Emperor fell into a passion, left him abruptly, and immediately gave orders for the execution of those for whom he had interceded. St. Martin being warned of it rushed to the palace, though it was already night, and promised to communicate, provided that these unhappy men were pardoned, and that the tribunes also who had been sent into Spain were recalled. Immediately, the Emperor[1] granted him every thing. [A.D. 387.]

[1] c. 13.

On the morrow, when the Ithacians were to ordain Felix[2] Bishop, St. Martin that day communicated with them, preferring for a time to yield, rather than suffer those to perish, who were on the point of being put to death. But, whatever efforts the Bishops could make to force him to subscribe in writing to this act in sign of Communion, they could never prevail on him to do so. The next day he hastened from Treves, groaning by the way for having engaged in this criminal communion. Having nearly reached a small town named Andethanna, now called Echternach, in Luxembourg, two leagues distant from Treves, he stopped for a short time in a wood while his attendants went on before him. There, while he was meditating upon the crime with which his conscience reproached him, an angel appeared to him, and said, "Thou hast cause, Martin, for thy compunction, but thou "couldest not have extricated thyself otherwise; retrieve thy "virtue, resume thy constancy, lest thou endanger not thy "glory only, but thy salvation." From that time he took great care never to communicate with the party of Ithacius; and during the sixteen[z] years that he lived afterwards, he was never seen at any council, and kept himself from every

[2] [Sanctissimi quidem viri et plane digni qui maliore tempore sacerdos fieret. Sulp. Sev.]

[z] Fleury places St. Martin's death in A. D. 400. Supposing him to have died A. D. 397, he survived these events eleven years.

[A.D.386.] assembly of Bishops. It is Sulpicius Severus who gives us this account, and he adds: "Indeed, finding his grace "diminished, and that he could not so readily as afore-
[1 energumenos.] "time deliver the possessed[1], he used to confess to us from "time to time with tears, that he felt in himself a dimi-"nution of power, in consequence of that unhappy commu-"nion in which he had engaged, though but for a moment "and that of necessity, not with his own will." Felix, who was ordained on this occasion, was, as is believed, Bishop of
[2 Martyrol. Rom. Mart. 26.] Treves; a man of worth, and numbered[2] amongst the Saints.

END OF THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XIX.

A. D. 387.

I. Sedition at Antioch.

THE Emperor Theodosius levied new taxes, in order to defray the expense of several wars[1] in which he was engaged, and to bestow largesses on the soldiers, particularly in the tenth year of his reign, which began in A.D. 388, and in the fifth of his son Arcadius, which was the year before. These[2] taxes occasioned a sedition at Antioch, which is supposed to have happened in A.D. 387. The people seeing those who did not pay put to the torture, were enraged at it, and began with throwing stones at the painted representations of the Emperor; afterwards they threw down his brazen[3] statues, and not his only, but also those of his father, his children, and of[4] the Empress Flaccilla or Placilla his wife, who died[5] some time before, and was very much esteemed on account of her virtues, particularly her humility and charity to the poor. She[6] used to visit them in the hospitals[7], and at their houses, without any attendants; she dressed the sick in their beds, tasted what was prepared for them, helped to feed them, cut their bread, served them with drink, and performed all the offices of a nurse and a servant. She continually warned the Emperor, who had married her before he was raised to the Empire, to be mindful of his former condition. Such was the Empress Flaccilla.

[1] Theodor. v. 20.

[2] Liban. in Helleb. p. 526. A.

[3] p. 527. A.

[4] See too Zos. 4. c. 41.]

[5] A.D. 386. Gothofr. Chronol. Cod. Theod.]

[6] Theodor. v. 19.

[7] τῶν ἐκκλησίων τοὺς ξενῶνας.]

The people[8] of Antioch were not satisfied with throwing down the Emperor's statues, but they tied cords to them, dragged them through the city and broke them in pieces, with insolent outcries and jeers. These extravagancies were chiefly committed by children[9], strangers[1], and the meanest of the people; but the commotion was so great throughout the city, that the magistrates durst not oppose them, nor even shew themselves, being in danger of their lives. Soon[2] after the whole people fell into the utmost consternation

[8] Soz. vii. c. 23. Zos. iv. c. 41. [p. 766.]

[9] Liban. ad Theodos. p. 395. D.

[1] S. Chrys. Hom. ii. ad pop. Ant. tom. ii. p. 24. D. (tom. i. p. 26. E.) [See too Hom. xvii. p. 174. D.]

[2] c. 2. (p. 25.) p. 23. A.

when they foresaw the Emperor's resentment; many forsook the city[1], and fled to several places in the neighbourhood; others[2] hid themselves in the houses, no one ventured to appear, and the public places became desolate; for the magistrates began to make search for the guilty in order to bring them to justice. Various reports were spread concerning the punishment which the Emperor designed them. It[3] was said that he would confiscate all their estates, that he would cause them to be burnt in their houses, and entirely destroy the city, insomuch that the plough might pass over it. All the comfort which Antioch received in this great affliction was from the Christians[4]; especially from the Bishop Flavian, and the Priest John, who was better known by the surname of Chrysostom, or the Golden-mouthed, which was given him by after-ages on account of his eloquence.

A. D. 386.

[1] τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω κειμένων ἡ κεφαλή. [2] p. 23. A. [3] p. 22. [3] Hom. xvii. p. 171. E. (p. 193. B.) [4] Cf. Hom. xvii. p. 172-3.]

Flavian[5] set out as soon as the disorder happened, to go to the Emperor, being hindered neither by his great age nor the season of the year, for it was a little before Lent, and still winter; nor yet by the condition in which he left his sister, who had long lived with him, and who was then at the point of death. He set forward, and his journey was very successful. The weather was fair all the while notwithstanding the season; and the holy Bishop was more[6] expeditious than those who set out on the very day when the sedition happened, in order to carry the news; for though they went before him they met with so many obstacles that they were forced to quit their horses, and to get into a carriage.

[5] Hom. xxi. p. 214-15. (xx. p. 224. E. 225.) [6] Hom. vi. p. 75. B. (28. C. 29.)

II. Homilies of St. Chrysostom to the people of Antioch.

In the mean time the Priest John comforted the people of Antioch, by those discourses[7] which are still remaining, being twenty in number, and the first of which was spoken in the church called the *Palæa*, or the Old Church. He tells[8] them that he was silent for seven days, like the friends of Job, that is to say, before he spoke to the people, he waited till the first heat of the sedition was over, and their minds appeased. He[9] gives a melancholy description of the calamity of that great city, which he ascribes to the little care which they took in suppressing blasphemers, as he had exhorted them in his last sermon, which is placed before these. He afterwards explains[1] the text of Scripture which had been read according to the course of the service. It was this passage

[7] Tom. ii. [Ed. Sav. tom. vi.] [8] Hom. ii. p. 20. D. [9] Hom. i. p. 18. (p. 20. D.) [1] p. 26. B. (p. 28.)

A. D. 387. of the first Epistle to Timothy: *Charge*[1] *them that are rich in this world that they be not high-minded.* This shews that they concluded the reading of the Epistles of St. Paul, as we[2] still do about the same time. In the following[3] homily it appears that Lent was begun. During this holy season, he recommends them to strive against three sorts of sins, viz. hatred, evil-speaking, and blasphemy, against which he had begun to speak, and continues to speak throughout these twenty homilies. It is very plain that the present misfortunes of the city excited them to commit these sins. He particularly attacked swearing[4] the first week, during which he spoke every day. He observes however, the *good* effect which affliction and fear had upon the people. "The[5] public "place is empty," says he, "but the church is full; men are "sought for in the city as in a solitude, but in the church "we are crowded by them; every body flies thither as into "a port to avoid a storm." For four days together he spent his whole time in comforting them and exhorting them to patience, and to repent; by the example of Job, of the three children in the fiery furnace, and of the Ninevites, which are generally[6] made use of to excite people to repentance. He did not begin[7] till the fifth day to explain Genesis to them, which is read after Lent is begun. In the Greek[8] Church it begins on the Monday of the first week at evening service; for that is their first day of fasting. St. John Chrysostom continued this explanation on the following days; but he all along applies it to comfort them, and excite them to repentance.

In one[9] of these discourses he takes notice of an abuse which prevailed very much at that time; which was to take precautions against fasting, by plenteous meals before and after them, as it were to repair a loss. In another[1] he reproves those who rejoiced that Lent was half over, as though they had gained a great victory; and those who grieve during Lent at the prospect of the recurrence of the fast the year after. "This all proceeds," he says, "from our supposing "fasting to consist in the mere abstinence from food, instead "of a right disposition of the soul." In another[2] place he reproves those who scruple coming to church after they have eaten. "Perhaps," says he[3], "the ill state of your health

[1] 1 Tim. 6. 17.
[2] Vid. Brev. Rom. Rub. General 26. §. 8.]
[3] Hom. iii. p. 39. A. (p. 52, D.)
[4] Hom. iv. p. 57. E. (p. 63. c.)
[5] p. 49. A. B. (p. 53.) [and p. 52. c.]
[6] Const. Apost. lib. ii. c. 22.
[7] Hom. vii. p. 84. (p. 93. E.)
[8] Triod. Græc. ℣. *init.* [See Brev. Rom. Fer. 2da. infra Hebd. Septuag.]
[9] Tom. ii. Hom. xv. p. 151. D.
[1] Hom. xviii. init p. 180. B.
[2] Hom. ix. p. 97, D. (107. D.)
[3] p. 98. A.

"excuses you from fasting; but it does not excuse you from "hearing the word of God;" and "the expectation of going "to church should lead to a becoming moderation in food." This discourse had its effect; and in that[1] which followed St. Chrysostom congratulated his hearers, inasmuch as many who had not[2] kept the fast, nevertheless came to church after they had dined; for in Lent the sermon was preached in the evening, and the sacrifice followed[a]. This holy preacher did not value the applause[3] which was sometimes expressed by the people: he simply desired and cared for their salvation. He did not rest satisfied with speaking, he made a strict enquiry into what advantage was derived by his hearers, as a physician[4] enquires into the condition of his patients; and on this he was continually employed. From hence it is that he reverts to swearing[5] again and again in his homilies, and does not leave off till he has cured his people of it. He had often spoken to them against the public shows[6], but fear was now more effectual than all his discourses. The people withdrew from them of their own accord in this time of affliction, and not only the Christians

A. D. 387.

[1] Hom. x. init. p. 105. D.

[2] [τῶν ἠριστηκότων.]

[3] Hom. ii. p. 25. A. and 5. p. 61. A.

[4] p. 97. B.

[5] Hom. xv. p. 152. (p. 169.)

[6] [Gieseler, 2nd. Period. §. 100.]

[a] This looks like a mistake. The Homily from which Fleury is quoting seems at first sight to speak of the Holy Eucharist, but the context shews that where St. Chrysostom speaks of *spiritual food* and a *Holy Feast*, he is only speaking of Christian preaching, to which he exhorts the people to come, though not fasting. The fact that St. Chrysostom denied solemnly the charge of admitting persons, not fasting, to the Oblation, makes against the statement in the text. (Fleury, bk. xxi. ch. 20.)

However, though the Oblation was, as the rule, made in the morning, in token of the Resurrection of our Lord, even as He made the offering in the evening in token of the "sunset and "evening" of the world, (St. Cypr. Ep. 63. ad Cæcil. p. 109.) yet there were occasions, on which it was made in the evening. 1. As a local custom, in the Thebaid and among the Egyptians near Alexandria, (Socr. 5. 22.) viz. on the Sabbath (Saturday) after feasting. 2. As a custom of the Church Catholic, (See St. Ambrose, Serm. viii. in Ps. 118. §. 43. tom. i. p. 1073. and compare Epist. Supposit. Chrom. et Heliod. ad B. Hieron. de opere Martyrol. colligendo.) viz. (α) on Thursday in Holy Week (Maundy Thursday) to commemorate more exactly the Institution of this Sacrament, S. August. Ep. 54. (118) ad Januar. §. 5, 6. (on which one day, for the same reason, it was a common practice in the African Church to break the fast before communicating, to which St. Augustine (ubi supra) refers, and which is ordered in Can. 28. (85) Conc. Carth. A. D. 398. Mansi, tom. iii. p. 923. though disallowed in the rest of Christendom by Conc. Laodic. A. D. 320. Can. 50. Mansi, t. iii. p. 571. and again, with express reference to the Carthaginian Canon, in Conc. Quinisext. in Trullo. A. D. 680-1. Can. 29. Mansi, tom. xi. p. 956. Comp. Concil. Calibon. A. D. 643-4. Mansi, tom. x. p. 1196. inter canones hoc titulo apud Vet. Collect. inscriptos, Can. 5.) (β) on the Great Sabbath or Easter Eve. See Fleury, bk. xxi. ch. 36. and St. Chrysost. Epist. 1. ad Innocent. tom. iii. p. 518. E. (Comp. Hom. in Ps. 145. tom. v. p. 525.) On the subject of this note see Hospinian. Hist. Sacrament. ps. i. lib. ii. p. 49. Cassander, p. 88. and Bingham, xv. 7, 8.

A. D. 387. but the Pagans forsook the theatre and the hippodrome, in order to come to church and sing the praises of God. A daily improvement[1] was perceptible, and instead of impure songs and merriment, with which the streets and public places formerly resounded, nothing was heard but groans, [2εὐφημίαι.] prayers, and pious supplications[2]; the shops were shut, and the whole city became a church.

[1] p. 153. A. (170. A.)

III. Arrival of the Imperial Commissioners.

In the mean time the Emperor heard of the sedition at Antioch, being then at Constantinople[3], in the beginning of the year 387. At first he only heard it by common report, on account of the delay of the messengers, and in the first excitement of his indignation he resolved to deprive that city of all its privileges, and to transfer the dignity of the metropolis of Syria and of all the East to Laodicea, which had long been jealous of the greatness of Antioch. He immediately sent thither two of his principal ministers, Hellibicus the *Magister*[4] *Militum*, and Cæsarius the *Magister*[5] *Officiorum*, in order to enquire into the affair, and punish the ringleaders. The Bishop Flavian[6] met them half way, and on being informed of the cause of their journey, with the view of the afflictions of his flock full before him, he shed torrents of tears, and with redoubled earnestness besought God to soften the heart of the Emperor. And indeed their arrival spread terror throughout Antioch. They declared the city deprived of its privileges, they forbade the public shows of the theatre, and of the hippodrome, and, which was a severe punishment in hot countries, ordered the baths to be closed. They began to prosecute the criminals, and chiefly the senators and magistrates[7] who had not quelled the sedition. All the people[8] who remained in the city, appeared at the gates of the palace where the tribunal was set. And these wretched citizens, each man suspecting his neighbour, stood gazing at each other, not daring to speak, for they had seen several persons apprehended contrary to all expectation, and confined in the palace. Thus they continued silent, lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven, and praying that God would soften the hearts of the judges. The hall[9] was filled with soldiers, armed with swords and clubs commanding silence, in order to prevent the tumult which might be occasioned by the wives and relations of the persons accused. Amongst

[3] Gothofr. Chronol. Cod. Theod. p. cxviii. Soz. vii. 23.

[4] See note y page 74.]

[5] See note l page 65.]

[6] Hom. xxi. p. 216. B. (20. p. 227. C.)

[7] Hom. xiv. §. 6. p. 149. D. (p. 166. D.)

[8] Hom. xiii. p. 133. (p. 148.)

[9] p. 134. A.

others, were seen the mother and sister of one of these unhappy men sitting at the door of the room, where the judges were examining them, though they were women of the greatest distinction in the city; there they remained, alone, disregarded, and covering their faces through shame. They could hear from within the room the threatenings of the judges, the voice of the executioners, the strokes of the rods, and the cries of those who were tortured, which pierced their hearts. The judges themselves, who were humane and virtuous men, were distressed at the punishments which they were obliged to inflict. When evening came, the event was anxiously looked for; and in the mean time the people offered up prayers and vows to God, that He would incline the hearts of the judges to suspend the verdict, and refer it to the Emperor. At last, the criminals, loaded with irons, were sent to prison, and in this condition those who had exhibited shows at their own expense, and filled the other public employments in the state, passed through the open square exposed to the gaze of all. Their estates were confiscated, and banners[1] were set up at the doors of their houses. Their wives being turned out of doors, were forced to go and seek for a shelter, which it was very difficult for them to find, because every one scrupled to take them in, for fear of bringing himself under suspicion. A. D. 387.

[1] See bk. xviii. ch. 41.]

IV. The Monks afford help to Antioch.

Then the Monks[2] who lived in the neighbourhood of Antioch, came down from the mountains, left the caves and huts in which they had immured themselves for many years, and came into the city of their own accord, purely to administer consolation to the afflicted. They needed but to shew themselves, for they had lived a life of such austerity that their very aspect inspired a contempt of life. They spent the whole day at the gate of the palace, spoke boldly to the magistrates, and interceded for the criminals, declaring that they would not move till the judges had pardoned the accused. The judges[3] told them that this was not in their power, and that it would be of dangerous consequence not to punish such disorders. The Monks offered to go with the accused to the Emperor, in order to solicit their pardon, "For," said they, "the master of our empire is pious, and "we shall certainly appease him, we will either prevent you

[2] Fleury, bk. xvii. §. 7. Hom. 17. §. 1. p. 172. A. (p. 193. C.)

[3] §. 2. p. 174. (p. 195. D.)

A. D. 387. "shedding the blood of these unhappy people, or we will die "with them. *We* own the crimes which they have committed "are great, but the Emperor's clemency is still greater." The judges, astonished at their resolution, for they were ready to undertake the journey to Constantinople, would not suffer them to go, and gave them hopes of obtaining pardon from the Emperor, provided only that the Monks would give them their remonstrances in writing, which they did. Having therefore obtained from the judges what they desired, they immediately returned back to their solitudes.

[1] Fleury, bk. xvii. ch. 7. [2] Theodor. 5. 20. et ejusd. Philoth. sive Rel. Hist. c. 13. tom. iii. p. 834. [3] From living on *barley* only, moistened with water.] [4] [καὶ τῶν θείων δὲ λογίων πάμπαν ἄπειρος ὤν.] [5] Vid. S. Chrys. Hom. xvii. p. 172. D. (194. A.)

Among these holy Monks[1], Macedonius[2], surnamed *Crithophagus*[3], distinguished himself in a particular manner. He was a person of great simplicity, unlearned, and had not the least knowledge of the world[4], having spent his life on the mountains in prayer night and day. Meeting with the Emperor's two commissioners in the middle of the city, he took one of them by the cloak, and commanded them both to alight from their horses. They at first were indignant, seeing only a little old man covered with tatters, but when some of their company told them who he was, they alighted, and embracing his knees, begged his pardon. "My "friends," said he[5] to them, "speak thus to the Emperor: "'You are not a king only, but a man; your subjects are "'also men made after the image of God. You are exas-"'perated for the destruction of brazen images; but a living "'and reasonable image is far different from them; the loss "'of the former may easily be supplied, it is easy for *us* to "'create many such images for every one that has been "'destroyed, and indeed others are already set up in their "'places; but you cannot *yourself* possibly create a single "'hair of those whom you shall have put to death.'" Macedonius said this in Syriac, and it was explained in Greek to Hellebicus and Cæsarius. They were surprised; for such words they never expected from a rude and ignorant man; and they promised to repeat them to the Emperor. The Bishops[6] discovered as much zeal as the Monks. They stopped the judges, and would not suffer them to proceed on their way, till they had promised that this matter should have a happy issue. If they refused they grew bolder, in order to prevail upon them the sooner; but when they obtained what they

[6] p. 175. A. (p. 196. E.)

sued for, they embraced their knees and kissed their hands, A. D. 387.
shewing that their moderation was equal to their courage. We may suppose, that the Bishops in the neighbourhood of Antioch hastened thither on this occasion, and that the Priests seconded their exertions.

But the heathen philosophers did not imitate them in this respect; and St. Chrysostom did not fail to upbraid them in consequence. "Where are now," said he, "those cloak-"clad philosophers, displaying their long beards, and with "their staves in their hands, those infamous Cynics, more vile "and wretched than the dogs they imitate? they have all "left the city, and are gone to hide themselves in caves. "Those only whose works prove them to be true philosophers, "have shewn themselves in the market-place, as if no evil "had befallen the city. The inhabitants of cities are fled "into the deserts, and the inhabitants of the deserts are "come into the city." And afterwards[1]: "The present [1] p. 174. D. (196. C.)
"transactions are a proof of the falsity of their histories, "and the truth of our own. Our Monks, who have suc-"ceeded to the religion of the Apostles, exhibit their virtue "and their boldness. Thus we have no need of writings to "prove the virtue of the Apostles; facts themselves declaring "it, and the disciples representing the masters. We have "no occasion to have recourse to arguments, in order to "discover the trifling of the Greeks, and the weakness of "their philosophers; acts themselves declaring, that the "whole has been throughout a series of fictions and de-"lusion." Neither would he suffer the Christians to expect consolation from the unbelievers. A heathen magistrate, upon a false report which had been raised of certain soldiers that were said to be arrived, had spoken to them to encourage them, and St. Chrysostom[2] reproaches them with it in this manner; [2] Hom. xvi. init. p. 160. D.
"I have applauded the vigilance of this magistrate, but have "blushed for shame at the thought of your standing in need "of any such consolation. I wished that the earth would "open and swallow me up, when I heard the terms in which "he spoke to you, sometimes to comfort you, sometimes to "upbraid your unreasonable timidity; it was not for you to "receive instruction from him; it is yours rather to instruct "*all* who are unbelievers. With what face shall we look at

A. D. 387. "them henceforward? With what tongue shall we address "them, in order to animate and encourage them in their "afflictions?"

The informations and enquiries being ended, and the criminals thrown into prison, the Emperor's two Commissioners still agreed to make a report to him, and to await his orders, before they proceeded further. Cæsarius[1] set out in order to receive them, and returned to Constantinople with the utmost expedition; Hellibicus remained at Antioch. Every thing grew calm there; and when the people saw that no one had been put to death, and that the Emperor would have time to soften his resentment, they began to revive, and to raise their desponding hopes. St. John Chrysostom[2], who during the time that the Emperor's commissioners were engaged in these affairs, had remained silent, began again now to speak, and[3] for four or five days successively, he began his Sermons with a thanksgiving upon the happy turn of affairs; continuing at the same time to preach on the Creation, and against swearing. In one[4] of his succeeding discourses, he censures those, who under pretence of the prohibition, by which they were forbidden to go to the baths, used to go and bathe in the river; where they danced, and committed a thousand irregularities, drawing even women along with them to the place, and this too at a time when the principal citizens were either in prison or had fled, and the whole city was under the utmost alarm. He tells his hearers that he was sensible that they had no share in these disorders, but he exhorts them to endeavour to reform those who had been guilty of them.

[1] Liban. in Cæsar. Tom. ii. p. 515. (p. 510.) et in Hellebic. p. 525. (p. 533. B.)

[2] Hom. xi. p. 114. D. (p. 127. B.)

[3] Hom. xi, xii, xiii, xvii.

[4] Hom. xviii. p. 187. E. (p. 211.)

V. Flavian at Constantinople.

In the mean time Flavian the Bishop arrived[5] at Constantinople. After he had entered the palace, he stood at a distance from the Emperor, without speaking, holding down his head and hiding his face, as though *he* had been guilty of the crime which the inhabitants of Antioch had committed. The Emperor advanced towards him, and without shewing the least anger in his countenance, laid before him his beneficence towards the city of Antioch[6], during the whole course of his reign, and as he enumerated each particular favour, he remarked, "Is this then the requital I ought to "have met with? what complaint, great or small, have they

[5] Hom. xxi. p. 216. D. (xx. p. 226. D.) Ed. Sav. tom. vi. p. 595.

[6] p. 217. A.

" to make against me? and why must they attack *the dead?* A. D. 387.
" have I not always shewn a greater love for this city than
" for any other, not even excepting that in which I was born?
" and have I not continually declared the desire which I had
" to see it?" Upon this the Bishop groaning bitterly, and
bursting out again into tears, cried out: "We are indeed
" sensible of the affection which your Majesty has ever dis-
" covered for our country, and this truly is our most bitter
" reflection. Destroy, burn, kill, do what you will; our
" punishment will still be less than we deserve; the evil we
" have already done *ourselves* is worse than ten thousand
" deaths. For what can be a more bitter thought to us,
" than for the whole world to know that we have been
" guilty of the utmost ingratitude? The devils have em-
" ployed all their efforts[1] to deprive this city, once so dear [1] p. 218. B
" to you, of your good will. If you destroy it, you will
" gratify their wishes; but if you pardon it, you will inflict
" on them the most severe blow you can. You may[2] now [2] p. 218. B. (p. 229.)
" adorn your head with a brighter diadem than the crown
" you wear, since you owe *that* in part to another's gene-
" rosity; whereas the glory that will accrue to you from
" hence, will be the fruit of your own virtue. Your statues
" have been thrown down. True! but you may erect[3] others [3] p. 219. A.
" of much greater value in the hearts of your subjects, and
" by that means have as many statues as there are men in
" the world." He then quoted the example of Constantine[4], [4] Ibid. B.
who took no further vengeance on those who had thrown
stones at his statue, than by laying his hand on his
face, and saying that he felt nothing of it; he reminded
Theodosius of his own laws[5], by which the prisoners were [5] Cod. Theod. ix. tit. 38. de indulg. crim. l. 1. 6. [A.D. 381.] 7. [A. D. 384.] 8. [A.D. 385.]
set free at Easter, and of those noble words he had added,
" Would to God, I could also raise the dead!" "It is now
" in your power to do it," continued Flavian, " and you will
" raise from the dead the whole city of Antioch. Its obli-
" gation[6] will be greater to you than to its founder, greater [6] p. 220. A.B. (p. 230.)
" than if you had delivered it, after having been taken by
" the Barbarians.

" Consider[7], that not only the safety of this city, but even [7] p. 220. B.
" your own glory, or rather that of Christianity, is at stake.
" Jews and Heathens are acquainted with this event, and have

A. D. 387. "their eyes fixed upon you. If you follow the dictates of
"clemency, they will say to one another: 'Behold the
"'mighty force of the Christian religion! it has checked
"'the indignation of a man, who has not[1] his equal upon
"'earth; and has inspired him with a spirit of wisdom, of
"'which even a private man would be incapable. The God
"'of Christians must certainly be a great God, since[2] he
"'raises mankind above nature.' If any one tell you that
"your clemency will be the occasion of making other cities
"more insolent, do not listen to them. You might[3] indeed
"be afraid on this account, if your *weakness* obliged you to
"pardon; but these men are already dead with fear, and are
"every moment in expectation of punishment. Had you
"slain them all, they would not have suffered so much as
"they have done. Many, who fled into the deserts are
"become the prey of wild beasts: others have hidden them-
"selves in caves, where they have spent their days and nights;
"not men only, but even little children, and delicate and
"free-born women. The city is reduced to a condition
"worse than slavery; the whole world knows it; and you
"could not give so terrible an example to others, were you
"to raze them to their foundations. Suffer it now therefore
"to breathe again. It is easy for any man to punish, but it
"is a rare glory for an insulted Emperor to pardon.

"How[4] glorious will it be for you, when it shall one day be
"said, that so great a city being involved in general guilt,
"when all were in the utmost terror; when governors, judges,
"or generals, dared not to open their lips in intercession, that
"a single old man invested with the Priesthood of God, ap-
"peared before the prince, and simply by his presence, and
"his ungarnished words prevailed with him! For, O Emperor!
"our city in sending me on this mission honours you not
"slightly, since by this act it judges that you esteem the
"Priests of God, how contemptible soever they may in them-
"selves be, higher than any other[5] office beneath your rule.
"But I am come not only from these people, but from the
"Master of the angels in heaven, to declare to you, that *if*[6]
"*you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will*
"*likewise forgive you.* Call to mind therefore that day, when
"we shall all of us give an account of our actions. Reflect

[1 δμότιμον. Cf. Hom. ii. c. i. p. 2. A.]

[2 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀγγέλους ποιεῖ κ. τ. λ.]

[3 p. 220. D. (p. 231.)

[4 p. 222. A. (p. 232. E.)

[5 τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπὸ σοὺ (σὲ. Sav. p. 602.) κειμένης.]

[6 St. Matt. 6. 12.

" that if you have any sins, you will be able to blot them out A. D. 387.
" without difficulty, by the sentence you pronounce. Other
" deputies bring you gold, silver, and such like costly gifts; I
" am come to your Majesty with our holy laws, and exhort
" you to imitate your Master, who though wantonly each day
" offended by us, faileth not to supply us with His blessings.
" Do not disappoint my hopes, do not put to shame my
" promises; for know, that if you restore our city to your
" favour, I shall return to it with confidence; but if you cast
" it off, not only will I never return thither, but I will
" henceforth renounce it, as being no longer my country."

VI. Theodosius pardons the inhabitants of Antioch.

Flavian having spoken thus, Theodosius could scarce refrain from tears, and said; "What great wonder will it be if we " who are but men, should pardon those who are like our- " selves, seeing that the Master of the world came upon " the earth, and made Himself a slave for our sakes; and " when He was crucified by those whom He had loaded with " benefits, interceded with his Father for them, saying[1], *Father,* [1] St. Luke 23. 34. *" forgive them, for they know not what they do?"* Flavian wished to continue at Constantinople, to celebrate the Feast of Easter with the Emperor, but the Emperor said to him[2]; [2] p. 223. (p. 234.) " I know that your flock are still in a state of affliction, go " and comfort them." Flavian pressed Theodosius with entreaties to send his son thither, but he answered him: " Offer " up your prayers to God, to obtain the removal of the ob- " stacles, and the termination of these wars, and I will " concede myself." The Emperor[3] also answered the letter [3] Theodor. v. 20. which Cæsarius had brought him from the Monks of Antioch, and seemed to wish to justify his conduct in their eyes. The heathens were also desirous of having a share in the credit of this reconciliation, and ascribed it to the eloquence of Libanius the sophist. And indeed, he[4] went to Constantinople, not- [4] Liban. Orat. xii. init. withstanding his great age, and presented himself before the Emperor, not, as Zosimus pretends[5], as deputy of the senate [5] Zosim. iv. 41. p. 359. (p. 766.) of Antioch, but as he himself assures us, of his own accord, without having been sent by any one. Four speeches which he made on this occasion, have been transmitted to us; viz. two[6] to the Emperor Theodosius, the first to persuade him to [6] Orat. 12, 13. pardon the inhabitants of Antioch, and the second to thank him for having done it; the two[7] others are panegyrics in- [7] Orat. 20, 21.

A. D. 387. scribed to Cæsarius and Hellebicus, the Emperor's two commissioners.

[1] S. Chrys. Hom. xxi. p. 223. D. (xx. p. 234.) Ed. Sav. xx. p. 602.

Even after Flavian[1] had set out, and had passed the Straits, Theodosius sent after him to know whether he pursued his course to Antioch with expedition, for he was afraid that he might stop by the way, and [lessen the rejoicings of the city by] celebrating the Easter Festival in another place. Flavian lost no time, but still did not make a point of being the *first* to carry this happy news to Antioch, but despatched messengers before him, to whom he gave the Emperor's letters.

[2] Ibid. p. 223. E. (225. C.)

The inhabitants[2] of Antioch, on hearing this news, adorned the public place with garlands, lighted up lamps, and celebrated this Festival, as if it had been that of the nativity of their city. When Flavian[3] arrived he had the happiness of finding his sister alive, whom he had left at the point of death, and of celebrating Easter with his flock. However[4] he did not ascribe any of this good success to himself; and when he was asked by what means he had appeased the Emperor, he said: "I contributed nothing; it was God who "softened his heart, he was appeased of his own accord, "before I opened my mouth; and he spoke of what had "happened with as much calmness, as though not himself, "some other person had been insulted." Such was the result of the sedition of Antioch.

[3] Hom. xxi. p. 215. D.

[4] p. 216. (226. A.)

VII.

St. Chrysostom. [5] Tille. tom. ix. note 2. on St. Chrys.] [6] Pallad. Vit. S^ti. Chrys. ap. S. Chrys. Op. tom. xiii. p. 16. [7] Soz. viii. 2. [8] Soc. vi. 3. [9] S. Chrys. de Sacerd. i. c. 5. tom. i. p. 364. B. [Sav. vi. p. 2.] [1] Pall. p. 18. A. [2] Taught rhetoric at Antioch from 354-390.] [3] Apud. Isid. Pelus. Epist. ii. 42. p. 116.

St. John Chrysostom, who afforded so much consolation to the people on this occasion, was born about the year 347[5], at Antioch[6], and was now about forty years old; he was descended from noble ancestors[7], who had served with reputation amongst the officers belonging to the *Magister Militum* of the East. His parents were Christians; his father's name was Secundus[8] and his mother's Anthusa; they had two children, a daughter [born A. D. 346.] and this son, who very much resembled[9] his father, and whose countenance was noble and frank[1]. Soon after he was born, Secundus died, having been married but two years to his wife, who was now only twenty years old, and spent the rest of her life in a state of widowhood. The great abilities with which John was born, led him to apply himself to learning; he was a disciple of the sophist Libanius[2] and the philosopher Andragathius; he pleaded several causes and composed discourses[3] which Libanius himself admired;

and this sophist[1] declared when he was dying that he had chosen John for his successor, if the Christians had not snatched him away from him. When he was eighteen[2] years old he was dissatisfied with the vanity of the rhetoricians and the injustice of the tribunals, and applied himself to the study of the sacred writings. St. Meletius, who then governed the Church of Antioch, observing the abilities and good disposition of this young man, permitted him to be his constant companion; and when he had instructed him for three years he baptized him, and made him a Reader[3]. John[4] prevailed also on Theodorus and Maximus, who had studied with him under Libanius to adopt the life of poverty[5]. Theodorus was afterwards Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, and Maximus of Seleucia in Isauria. They all three were disciples of the ascetic life under the discipline of Carterius and Diodorus, who were at the head of the monastic establishments[6]. Diodorus was afterwards Bishop of Tarsus.

[1] Soz. viii. 2.

[2] [More than *twenty*. A. D. 368.]

[3] [A.D. 370.]

[4] Socr. vi. 3.

[5] [τὸν λιτὸν βίον.]

[6] [Probably in the suburbs of Antioch. Compare bk. xviii. ch. 52.]

John had a more intimate[7] friend than these, named Basil, with whom he deliberated as to the kind of life they should embrace, and they determined in favour of the monastic. Basil made up his mind to it without hesitation, but John found it more difficult to forsake the world, and was mainly detained by the entreaties and tears of his mother[8], who desired no other recompense for having lived a widow, and taken so much care of his education, but that he would not forsake her; leaving him at liberty to live as he thought fit after her death. Basil exhorted[9] John to raise himself above these considerations; when a report suddenly arose that they were to be made Bishops. John was surprised and perplexed, being unable to conceive why he had been fixed upon, and he feared that he might be ordained by force[b], which was a proceeding of no unusual occurrence in those times. Basil came to him in private, thinking to inform him of this news, and desired him to act in concert with him upon this occasion, as he had always been accustomed to do. "For," said he, "I shall make the same choice as you, whether it be to avoid "the Episcopate, or to accept it." John felt that he ought

[7] De Sacerdot. lib. i. (c. 1.) tom. i. p. 363. [Savil. vi. 1.]

[8] (c. ii.) § 5.

[9] § 6. [Savil. p. 3.]

[b] In accordance with a principle acknowledged in the Church, and having for its Scripture precedent the Conversion of St. Paul. Other cases are, Infant Baptism, Baptism of households, National Conversions. See chap. 38.

not to injure the Church so much as to deprive it of the service of a man, who, notwithstanding his youth, was so well qualified for a guide of souls. He therefore now dissembled with him for the first time, saying, that there was no hurry, and that it would be better to defer the consideration of the matter to another time. In the mean while John concealed himself. Soon after, the person who was to ordain[1] them arrived, and Basil, who was under no suspicion, was brought to him for some pretended reason, and then, when brought, suffered himself to be ordained, supposing that John would do the like. Some even who were present deceived him, by saying that he who was most obstinate and resolute [meaning John] had yielded to the determination of the Bishops. But when Basil knew[2] that John had concealed himself, he came to him and complained seriously of the stratagem which he had made use of to engage him in this office. John gave him his reasons, and this conversation was the subject of the books *Concerning the Priesthood,* which John afterwards wrote. It is not known who this Basil, the friend of St. John Chrysostom was, unless perhaps[3] Maximus Bishop of Seleucia in Isauria was the same person, who in that case must have had two names.

[1 χειροτονήσειν.]

[2 c. (3.) 6.]

[3 Vie de S. Chr. par Hermand. l. i. c. 12.]

In the mean time[4], *St. John Chrysostom after having been* ordained Reader[5], *not thinking in his conscience that his employment in the city was sufficient to allay the heat of his youth, retired to the neighbouring mountains*[6], and having found an old man, a Syrian, who greatly mortified himself, he imitated his austere way of living, and continued under his discipline four years. He afterwards retired to a cave alone, endeavouring to conceal himself[7]. He stayed there two years, hardly ever sleeping, and never lying down either by night or day, and some parts of his body became so benumbed by the cold as to be almost dead. He employed himself in reading the Holy Scriptures[8] and composing certain religious works.

[4 Pallad. p. 17. (41.)]

[5 At the end of A.D. 370.]

[6 A.D. 374-5.]

[7 A.D. 378-9.]

[8 τὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διαθήκας.]

VIII. *Defence of the Monastic Life.* [written A.D. 375.]

It was during this retreat that he wrote his three books[9] in defence of the monastic life; for many thought that its austerities were carried to excess, and used threats and violence to hinder its propagation. This was done not only by Pagans[1],

[9 Tom. i. p. 44. (tom. iv.)]

[1 p. 46. B. [Sav. tom. vi. p. 162. lin. 25.] (lib. i. c. 2. tom. iv. p. 356. A.)]

but even by Christians[1]; and there was one man, who went so far as to say: "This is enough to make me renounce the faith, "and sacrifice to devils." It was the common subject of jest in the public square, and in all places where idle people met together. One might be heard saying[2], "I was "the first who laid hands upon such a Monk, and I beat him "heartily." A second, "But I was the first to discover his "hiding-place." And a third added, "I have exasperated "the judge against him more than any body." Another boasted that he had dragged him along the street and thrown him into a dungeon. And upon this all the bystanders burst out into laughter. Thus did Christians act[3], and the Pagans made a jest of both.

[1] τῶν ἤδη μεμυημένων.

[2] p. 47. C.

[3] c. 3.

St. John Chrysostom undertook to shew the world their mistake in this matter; not for the sake of the Monks, who indeed gloried in their sufferings, but for the benefit of their calumniators. In the first book, he shews the usefulness of the monastic state, and the necessity of retirement, by reason of the corruption which prevailed at that time, even amongst Christians, especially in the great cities. In the second, he addresses himself to a Pagan father, whom he supposes to be overwhelmed with grief because his son had embraced the monastic state. He shews him that it is the true philosophy; that by contemning riches, glory and temporal power, a Monk is the richest, the freest, the most powerful and most honoured of all men, and the most able to comfort a father. In order to shew the power of the Monks, he has these remarkable words: "Let us persuade your son to desire any one of the "richest who is also religious[4], to send him what quantity of "gold you please, or rather to give it to such a poor man; "you will see the rich man obey him more readily than one "of your stewards obeys you. And if this person should "become poor, your son might bid another do the same, "and afterwards another." He concludes with this story: "I had a friend[5], the son of a Pagan, who was rich, in great "esteem, and considerable in every respect. The father at "first incensed the magistrates against him, threatened him "with imprisonment, stript him of every thing, and left him "in a strange country, in want even of necessary food. By "this means he hoped to bring him to a more secular life[6]. [6 βιωτικωτέραν ζωήν.]

[4] lib. ii. p. 62. C. [Sav. p. 174. lin. 19.] (c. 5.)

[5] p. 75. C. (Sav. p. 183. 31.)

"But finding him invincible, he changed his tone, and he "now pays his son more respect than if he had been his "father, and though he has several other children of great "repute in the world, he says that they are not worthy to "be this one's slaves."

The third book is addressed to a Christian father, and in it the Saint describes more at length the excellency of the monastic life. He there plainly says[1], that we see as few Monks grow remiss as we see other men succeed in their studies; and that that which throws the whole world into confusion[2], is, that we think that it concerns none but Monks exactly to practise the rules of the Gospel, and that others are allowed to live in a careless manner. He brings in a remarkable story of a Monk[3], who by the persuasion of a virtuous mother undertook to instruct her son. He carried him from his father's house to another city, under pretence of studying the Greek and Latin authors. There the young man lived in appearance like other people[4]; there was nothing rigid[5] or severe in his behaviour, nothing particular in his dress, his looks, or the tone of his voice; but in his own house you would have thought him one of the solitaries of the mountains. His house was ordered according to the exactness of a monastery, having nothing in it beyond what was absolutely necessary. As he had great quickness, a small part of the day was sufficient for his study of human literature, and he devoted all the rest to prayer and reading the Holy Scripture, and frequently also the night. He went all day long without eating, frequently two days and even more. He slept in a hair garment, having found out this invention for rising at a moment. He could not endure to have his manner of living mentioned abroad, for there was reality in his virtue, and his tutor had so impressed him with the desire of perfection that all his trouble was in checking him, and keeping him from retiring into solitude. It might reasonably be hoped that youths like him should gain many of their companions to the service of God. St. Chrysostom relates this story, on the authority of the Monk who was the tutor. He considers the monastic state as a school of virtue for every one, and he advises a father to engage his son in it[6], as soon as he comes to a responsible age, (as, for instance, at ten

[1] c. 12. p. 99. D. [Sav. 201. 37.] (c. 11. p. 426. E.)
[2] c. 13. p. 101. A. [Sav. 202. 28.] (c. 12. p. 430. C.)
[3] c. 11. p. 97. B. [Sav. 199. 41.] (c. 10.)
[4] Sav. p. 201. 2.]
[5] κατεσκληκὸς.]
[6] c. 16. p. 107. B. [Sav. p.

years old,) and to leave him in it as long as is necessary, even ten or twenty years[1], after which he may bring him again into the world. This shews that all that were in monasteries were not equally engaged to a solitary life. [207. 18.] (c. 15. p. 436. C.) [1] p. 109. A. [Sav. p. 208. 28.]

IX. Other works of St. Chrysostom.

We find however by St. Chrysostom's two discourses to his friend Theodorus[2], that it was not looked upon as a matter of indifference to quit the exercises of a monastic life in order to return into the world and live without restraint. This Theodorus[3] was of a noble family, possessed great riches, had great talents, and wrote and spoke with eloquence, being well versed in the pursuits of the rhetoricians and philosophers. When he began to read the sacred writings, and to associate with religious persons, he imitated their mode of life, and signalized himself amongst the solitaries. But he soon yielded to temptation, returned into the world, and had serious thoughts of marriage. He even pretended to justify his conduct by examples drawn from history, in which he was well skilled. St. Chrysostom being informed of it, wrote[4] to him in such strong terms that he brought him back to a better mind; he renounced marriage, quitted his estate, and resumed the monastic life. He was now only twenty years old, and became afterwards Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. In one[5] of these discourses St. Chrysostom expressly says; "For a man, who hath been united in heavenly wed- "lock, to renounce that, and unite himself to a wife, is "adultery."

[2] Tom. i. p. 1. [Sav. vi. p.55.](tom. iv.) [3] Soz. viii. 2. [4] Before his retreat, A. D. 369.] [5] Ep. 2. a l Theod. § 3. p. 38. [Sav. λόγος ά. p. 57.] (c. 2. p. 588. A.)

His two discourses *On Compunction*[6] are referred to this time, and are addressed to two Monks, Demetrius and Stelechius. In the first he says: "When[7] I had resolved[8] to leave "the city to go to the cells[9] of the Monks, I made strict "enquiry who was to supply me with necessaries; whether "I could have new bread every day; whether I should not "be obliged to use the same oil for my lamp and my food; "whether I was to live upon pulse, to be employed in hard "labour, such as digging the ground, and carrying wood or "water; in a word, I was very careful to make myself easy." He corrected[1] this infirmity so thoroughly that he ran in the contrary extreme, so that after having been five years in the desert, finding his constitution weakened, and that he could not recover it there, he was forced to return to Antioch[2], and

[6] Tom. i. p. 121. [7] Lib. i. c. 6. p. 132. C. [Sav. p. 145. 27.](p. 111. A.) [8] πρώην, whence the date, A. D. 375-6.] [9] σκηνὰς.] [1] Pallad. p. 17. (41.) [2] [A.D. 380.]

to enter again into the service of the Church; he was then at least twenty-six years of age.

When he had served[1] five years[2] at the altar, probably as subdeacon, St. Meletius ordained[3] him Deacon, being thirty-one[4] years old. It is thought that he at this time composed three books, in which he enlarges on God's providential care for His saints, for the consolation of one of his friends, a Monk named Stageirius, who was possessed with an evil spirit. He had fallen into a deep melancholy since that calamity, which had not happened till after[5] he had "crucified "himself to the world," and against which he had in vain had recourse to all kinds of remedies[6]. In this work St. Chrysostom dwells chiefly upon the advantages of afflictions.

His capacity[7] for instructing was already universally known, and the people were much benefited by his private exhortations. He was consequently ordained Priest[8] by the Bishop Flavian, and officiated as such at Antioch twelve years. His ordination is referred to the year 385[9]; and as Flavian at the same time conferred the ministry of the word upon him, he made a Homily upon this occasion, which begins with expressions of great astonishment[1], asking whether it was a dream or a reality, that a man so young and of so little experience was raised to so high a station; and however few years we suppose him to have been a Deacon he could now hardly be less than thirty-five years old. A great part of this discourse consists of an eulogy upon Flavian[2], and soon after St. Chrysostom made a panegyric upon[3] St. Meletius, in which he takes notice that he had been dead five years, which fixes the date of this Homily to the year 386.

He composed several discourses[4] to shew, in opposition to the Anomœans[5], that the nature of God is incomprehensible to created beings; but of his first sermons, the most famous is that *Concerning Anathema*[6]. Several of the Catholics of Antioch through a mistaken zeal had pronounced anathema against those whom they thought heretics[7], *i. e.* against such as were not of their own communion. For the followers of Flavian charged those of Paulinus' party with Sabellianism; and the followers of Paulinus accused Flavian's party of Arianism. St. Chrysostom thought himself obliged to speak against this excess. "I see," says he[8], "men with minds not

[1] Pall. ubi supr. (p. 42.)
[2] δύο πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν.
[3] χειροτονεῖται διὰ τοῦ M.
[4] A.D. 380. or 381.
[5] ad Stageir. tom. i. p. 154. [Sav. tom. vi. p. 84.]
[6] νηστείαις καὶ πανυχίσι καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ σκληραγωγίᾳ.
[7] Pallad. ibid.
[8] χειροτονεῖται.
[9] A.D. 386 ineunt. Tille.
[1] Tom. i. p. 436. [Sav. vi. p. 443.] (tom. iv. p. 834.)
[2] p. 838-40.
[3] Tom. ii. p. 519. [Sav. v. p. 537.] (i. p. 523.
[4] Tom. i. p. 444. (i. p. 294.) Sav. vi. p. 389.
[5] Fleury, bk. xiv. c. 4. and xii. c. 47.
[6] Tom. i. p. 691. (i. p. 803.) Sav. vi. p. 439.
[7] Fleury, bk. xvii. c. 45.
[8] p. 691. D. Sav. 439. lin. 39.

"only undisciplined by the Holy Scripture, but entirely "uninstructed in it, (I omit the rest for shame,) infatuated "men, babblers, *understanding*[1] *neither what they say, nor* [1] 1 Tim. i. 7. "*whereof they affirm;* venturing to teach doctrines, though "ignorant, and to anathematize what they know not; so that "infidels make a mock of us." He afterwards represents to them the force of the word *anathema*[2], which signifies an [2] p. 692. (805.) Sav. 440. *abandonment to Satan,* and adds: "How then do you usurp "so great an authority, which none but the Council of the "Apostles has been honoured with, and those who in all "exactness are their true successors [full of grace and "power]? *They* exactly kept the commandment, and cast "out the heretics from the Church as though they were "plucking out the right eye. We ought[3] to anathematize [3] p. 696. A. (809. A.) Sav. 443. "the *heresies* that are contrary to our tradition; but we "ought always to spare the *persons* [and pray for their salva-"tion]." It is plain that St. Chrysostom in this discourse speaks only against laics, who pronounced anathema against whomsoever they pleased on their own private authority; and we may there too, plainly see the difference between anathema and want of intercommunion[c], for neither he nor Flavian, nor any of their communion, communicated with the followers of Paulinus.

It was about the same time that St. Chrysostom first preached[4] on the Feast of the Nativity of our Saviour, which had lately been introduced into the Church of Antioch in imitation of the Western Church[5], as he tells us in the beginning of that discourse. It was whilst he was a Priest, and at Antioch, that he composed his Homilies[6] upon Genesis, during Lent[7]. He there cites the Hebrew[8] in some places, which he might have learnt by intercourse with the Jews, who were very numerous at Antioch, and by its agreement with the Syriac, which was the language of the country. At Antioch, he likewise explained the Psalms[9]; the entire Gospels of

[4] Tom. v. p. 417. ii. p. 354. Sav. v. 511.
[5] Sav. p. 512. lin. 6.
[6] Tom. iv. p. 1, 645. Sav. v. 1. Morel. ii. 725.
[7] See Brev. Rom. et Triod. Græc.
[8] Hom. xx. p. 171. D. et Hom. xli. [Quær. Hom. lxiii. in cap. 41. p. 606. A.? cf. tom. v. p. 198. D.]
[9] Tom. v. Sav. i. p. 522. and viii. p. 1.

[c] The Schism between the Catholics of Antioch, with one party of whom only the Church of Rome was in communion, seems to be a parallel case to the present separation of Rome from other Churches, and, among the rest, from our own. "It is remarkable that "Meletius was summoned to the [Œcu-"menical] Council of Constantinople, as "Bishop of Antioch, instead of Paulinus, "and was even made a πρόεδρος of the "Council." Gieseler, § 81. note 22. and § 92. The happy instrument, by whom the reunion was effected, (A. D. 413.) was also a successor of St. Meletius. Theodor. v. 35.

[1] Tom. vii. Sav. ii. [2] Tom. viii. Sav. ii. [3] Tom. ix. Sav. iii. [4] Tom. x. Sav. iii. [5] Tom. xi. Sav. iv. ([6] Tom. v. Serm. 51.) vid. 4. p. 730. B. Sav. vi. p. 72. [cf. Præf. § 7.] [7] Serm. i. de Anna. tom. iv. p. 701. A. B. (Serm. 66.)

St. Matthew[1] and St. John[2]; the Epistle to the Romans[3]; the two Epistles[4] to the Corinthians[d] and those to Timothy[5]. He takes notice that after Easter he preached only on Sundays[6], and during the course of the year about once a-week, though he preached at all the assemblies[7]. Such was the Priest John, who comforted the people of Antioch, when under apprehensions of the just resentment of the Emperor Theodosius.

X. Maximus in Italy. A. D. 387.

In the mean time Maximus[8], amusing Valentinian with proposals of peace, and under the appearance of friendship, advanced without noise towards Italy, passed the Alps, and marched to Aquileia, in order to take him by surprise; but Valentinian[9] embarked with his mother Justina[9], crossed the sea and came to Thessalonica, that he might throw himself into the arms of Theodosius, about the end of the year 387. Maximus easily made himself master of Italy, and even of Rome itself, and he also subdued Africa. Being[1] informed that they had burnt a synagogue at Rome, he sent an edict thither, as a vindicator of public discipline. This led the Christian population to say, "No good waits for *him*, he is "become a Jew."

[8] Zos. iv. c. 42. (p. 766-7.) [9] Ruffin. xi. c.16.Chron. Cod. Theod. p. 118. [1] S. Amb. Ep. 40. ad Theod. § 23.

Theodosius being informed that Valentinian was at Thessalonica, went[2] thither to him, leaving his son Arcadius at Constantinople[3]. He had written[4] to Valentinian, "You ought "not to be surprised at your ill success, nor at the progress "of Maximus; you oppose the true religion, he supports "it." He rescued the young Prince from the false doctrines which he had received from his mother, and brought him back to the doctrine of the Church. He then undertook to restore him, and to revenge the death of Gratian; though it would have been more to his interest[5] to have taken advantage of Valentinian's misfortune, and to have divided the empire with Maximus, who was very powerful, and with whom he had until then kept measures. Theodosius now declared against him, and prepared for war.

[2] A.D.388. [3] Soc. v. 12. Soz. vii. 14. [4] Theodor. v. 15. [5] S. Aug. de Civit. v. c. 26. tom. vii.

Whilst Theodosius stayed at Thessalonica, he made a law

[d] The Homilies on Genesis were delivered at different times; the *Eight* A.D. 386, the *Sixty-seven* A. D. 395. Vid. Monitum in Serm. viii. in Genes., and Præf. Bened. tom. iv. § 2; those on the Psalms A.D. 370-386, on St. Matthew A. D. 389-90, on St. John A. D. 391-5, on the Epistle to the Romans after A.D. 388, to the Corinthians and to Timothy before A. D. 398.

against heretics, dated the tenth of March, A.D. 388, and addressed to Cynegius the Prætorian Præfect of the East. It ordered them to be driven out of the cities[1], particularly the Apollinarians, and forbade their making any Bishops or Clerks, or holding assemblies, and even from appearing before the Emperor. On the fourteenth of June following, the two Emperors being at Stobi in Macedonia, made[2] another law addressed to Trifolius the Prætorian Præfect of Italy, which contains in general the same prohibitions, and seems intended to revoke a law, which Valentinian, or rather his mother Justina, had made[3] in favour of the Arians on the twenty-third of January in the year 386. A. D. 388.

[1] Cod. Theod. xvi. tit. 5. 14. de Hæret. [cf. Soz. vi. 25.]

[2] Ibid. 15.

[3] bk. xviii. ch. 43.

XI. Conclusion of the History of St. Gregory of Nazianzus.

With respect to the law against the Apollinarians, it is thought to have been owing to the zeal of St. Gregory Nazianzen. His retreat did not prevent his being concerned for the misfortunes of the Church, and particularly of that at Constantinople. He wrote[4] on this subject to the Bishop Nectarius as follows: "They who are of the sect of Arius "or Eudoxius boast of their heresy, holding assemblies as if "they were permitted. The Macedonians are so insolent "that they assume to themselves the name of Bishops, and "boast that Eleusius is the author of their ordinations[5]. "Eunomius, who is our domestic evil, is not satisfied with "being on any terms what he is, but thinks himself a loser "if he does not draw every body over to his pernicious "doctrine[6]. And what is the most intolerable is the pre-"sumption of the Apollinarians. I cannot but wonder how "your Holiness suffers them to usurp the right of holding "assemblies as solemn as ours." He concludes[7] with exhorting Nectarius to represent to the Emperor, that the affection which he had shewn to the Church in all other respects, would be unprofitable, if this error should prevail over the sound doctrine. St. Gregory calls Eunomius his domestic evil[8], because he was a native of Cappadocia, and was at that time banished thither. For[9] the Emperor Theodosius having found that certain of the officers of his bedchamber were attached to the doctrine of Eunomius, he banished them from the palace, and caused him to be immediately carried away from Chalcedon. He at first sent him to Halmyris in Mœsia, but the place of his exile being

[4] Soz. vi. 27. (Orat. xlvi. p. 721.) Ep. 202. ad Nectar. tom. ii. p. 166.

[5] [χειροτονίαις.]

[6] [τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπωλείᾳ.]

[7] p. 169.

[8] [τὸ ἐγκόλπιον ἡμῶν κακόν.]

[9] Philost. x. 6.

A. D. 388. taken by the Barbarians, he was banished to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and being obnoxious there on account of what he had written against St. Basil, he was sent to his own estate in a place called Dacoroëni.

After this letter to Nectarius we find nothing of St. Gregory's, relating to the affairs of the Church. He was still in his retirement of Arianzus, his native country. All his luxuries were a garden, a fountain, and some trees. His life was spent in fastings[1], tears, and watchings; his knees were worn and wounded with kneeling; his bed[2] was of straw, his coverlet a coarse sack-cloth, his habit a single tunic, he went barefoot, lived without the use of fire, and had no company but wild beasts. But notwithstanding his austerities, his continual sickness, and his great age, he still felt[3] violent struggles of the flesh against the spirit. And this is the reason that he says, that[4] although he was a virgin in respect of his body, he is not certain that he is so in mind. He very carefully avoided the sight of women, as we find by a letter to one of his relations named Valentinian, who under pretence of enjoying his company[5], came and lived with some women over against him. This neighbourhood made him leave the place, though he had cultivated it by his own labour, and though it was near a church of martyrs. But this is not supposed to have happened during his last retreat[6].

[1] Carm. lx. p. 138. [Ben. tom. ii. p. 914. scr. A. D. 383.]
[2] Carm. v. p. 70. [Ben. p. 926. v. 145.]
[3] v. 165.
[4] Carm. lix. p. 136. A. [p. 406. v. 58.]
[5] Ep. 196. [203. p. 169. tom. ii.]
[6] Bened. A. D. 387.]

The chief remedy[7] which St. Gregory made use of against temptations, was prayer, and trust in the grace of God. He speaks of it in this manner in one of his poems: "Virtue is "not only a gift of God, but it proceeds likewise from thine "own earnest exertion; nor does it entirely depend upon thy "own mind, but is of a mightier power: my sight is not "sufficient for discerning visible objects without the light of "the sun. Two parts of good proceed from God, the first and "the last; but there is one also which is mine; He hath "made me capable of good, and He gives me strength; it is "I who run in the midst of the race, having Christ for my "breath, Christ for my strength; He enableth me to see and "to run successfully; without Him all we mortals are but vain "toys, living corpses, infected by sins. As a bird cannot fly "without air, nor the dolphin swim without water, so without

[7] Carm. lix. p. 136. C. [v. 90. p. 406.]

"Christ men cannot move one step." Whence he concludes that we ought to glory in nothing, and to attribute nothing to our own strength, but deeply to humble ourselves. A. D. 388.

These sacred poems were St. Gregory's employment in his last retirement. In them he recounts the history of his life and sufferings; he describes his temptations, and bewails his infirmities. He prays, he instructs, he explains the mysteries, and lays down rules for conduct. Besides the inclination to poetry with which he was inspired by the beauty and skill of his genius, he considered this exercise as a work of penance[1], compositions in verse being more difficult than those in prose. He wished also to supply those who were fond of music and poetry, with proper subjects for their entertainment, and not to let the Pagans think that none but they could succeed in the pursuits of literature[2]. Besides, he had a mind to oppose the poems of Apollinarius[3] by such as were useful and religious, as he says himself. Thus did St. Gregory Nazianzen make use of the leisure which he had in his retirement, where he ended his days happily in extreme old age. He seems himself to acknowledge that he wrought miracles, where he says that he was called upon for assistance in sickness[4], and that he often cast out devils only by pronouncing the name of Christ[5] [or by describing in the air the sign of the Cross]. He died at above ninety years of age[6], in the thirteenth year of the Emperor Theodosius, in the year of Christ, 391. The Greek Church honours his memory on the twenty-fifth of January[7], and the Latin Church on the ninth of May[8].

[1] Carm. 162. p. 248. [p. 902. v. 33.]

[2] [v. 49.] Vit. St. Gregor. à Gregor. Presb. Script. tom. i. p. 158. [Vid. Fleur. lib. 51. note y.]

[3] Orat. ii. in fin. [Ep. 101. ad Cledon. tom. ii. p. 93.]

[4] [p. 948. v. 105.] Carm. 60. p. 140. B. 61. p. 142. A. p. 1074.

[5] v. 80.

[6] Suidas v. Gregor.

[7] Pagi, A. D. 389. § 4.

[8] Anthol. Gr. p. *post*. Mart. rol. Rom.

Amidst the preparations of war against Maximus, the Emperor Theodosius sent to consult the famous anchorite St. John[9] of Egypt, who lived in the upper Thebaïs near the city Lycus. From his infancy he had been bred a carpenter[1], and he had a brother a dyer. When he was twenty-five years old he renounced the world, and put himself under the direction of an old man, who inured him to obedience, by making him water dry wood, and perform such like offices. He spent five years in a monastery, afterwards he retired alone to the top of a mountain, into a rock where it was difficult to climb up. He there cut out three cells, one for the use of the body, the other for labour, and the third for prayer. He shut himself up when he was forty years old[2], and lived there thirty years,

XII. Prophecy of St. John of Egypt.

[9] Cassian. Hist. 4. 25. ap. Rosweyd. Vit. Patr. p. 416.

[1] Pallad. Laus. 43. ibid. p. 650.

[2] Ruffin. II. c. 1. ibid. p. 343.

A. D. 388. without seeing any person, receiving what he had occasion for through a window. At the end of this time, that is, when he was seventy years old[1], he received the gift of prophecy, and of healing diseases. When the Ethiopians[2] made an inroad into the Thebaïs, the person that had the command of the forces that went against them came to consult him; being afraid of engaging because his forces were by no means equal. John fixing a day, said to him, "If you march against "them on the day I have named you shall come up with "them and vanquish them, and you shall be esteemed by the "Emperors," which accordingly happened. He suffered no one to come into his cell, but spoke to such as came through the window. He would never see any women; and men only at certain times, and that very seldom. He permitted a building to be raised without his cell, for the reception of those who came to him from distant countries. He appeared in a dream to the wife of a tribune[3], who earnestly desired to see him. He restored sight to a Senator's wife with oil which he had blessed, after she had rubbed her eyes with it for three days. For he healed the sick by oil which he sent them, without suffering them to be brought to him, that he might avoid vanity. He often foretold the increase or decrease of the river Nile, a matter of so great consequence in Egypt. The Emperor Theodosius therefore caused this holy anchorite to be consulted, concerning the success of his war against Maximus, and John foretold that he should be victorious. He frequently gave him the like predictions concerning the inroads which the Barbarians made into his territories, and the manner of overcoming them, and he also foretold that he should die a natural death.

[1] Pallad. p. 560.
[2] Ruffin. p. 344.
[3] S. August. de Cura Mort. § 21. tom. vi. p. 529.

XIII. Defeat and death of Maximus.

The Emperor Theodosius advanced[4] immediately from Thessalonica into Pannonia, and there defeated Maximus' forces in two battles[5], though they were superior in number to his own. He passed the Alps[6] without any difficulty, surprised Maximus himself in Aquileia, and entered it without resistance. Maximus being forsaken by his guards was divested of the Imperial ornaments, and led barefoot with his hands tied, before Theodosius and Valentinian, three miles from the city[7]. Theodosius upbraided him, in few words,

[4] Chron. Cod. Theod.
[5] At Scissia and Petavio.]
[6] Zos. 4. (p. 770.) c. 46. p. 370. Pacati Panegyr. c. 34, 35, &c. c. 43.
[7] Prosperi Chron. An. 389. tom. i. p. 396.

with his tyranny and his crimes; he was in suspense between justice and mercy, but the soldiers took Maximus from his presence and cut off his head. This happened on the fifth[e] of the calends of August[1], i.e. on the twenty-eighth of July in this year 388. Maximus had reigned about five years since the death of Gratian. A few days after Count Arbogastes[2], who was sent into Gaul by Theodosius, took Victor the son[3] of Maximus and put him to death. Andragathius, the chief leader of the same party and Gratian's murderer, was in the mean time at sea, with a fleet, between Greece and Italy; but being informed of the defeat of Maximus, he leaped out of his vessel into the sea, in his armour, and was drowned. Such was the success of this war, in which there was hardly any blood spilt[f]. Theodosius afterwards entered Aquileia, and continued in Italy until the year 391. A. D. 388.

[1] Socr. v. 14.

[2] Idat. Fast. Olymp. 291.

[3] Bk. xviii. c. 28.

[4] Oros. vii. 35. p. 558.

Meanwhile at Constantinople[5] false reports were spread concerning a battle, in which Maximus was said to have gained a considerable advantage; even the number of the dead was mentioned. The Arians being angry that the Catholics had possession of the churches, magnified these reports, so that those who had only heard them, affirmed them even to those by whom they were invented. The rage of the Arians was so great that they burnt the house of Nectarius the Bishop. The sedition however had no ill consequences on the offenders, for the Emperor Arcadius[6] who stayed at Constantinople, though he was himself affronted, interceded with his father Theodosius for them, and obtained their pardon. Theodosius[7] only made a law by which he forbids the Arians pleading any order which they pretended to have obtained in their favour; and as this law is dated on the ninth of August in this year after[8] the defeat of Maximus, it is with reason referred to the time of this sedition. The Arians of Constantinople had at this time Dorotheus[9] for their Bishop, who had been their Bishop at Antioch. For Demophilus died in 386, and they had sent into Thrace for a Bishop of the same

[5] Socr. v. 13. Soz. vii. 14.

[6] S. Ambr. Ep. 40. § 13.

[7] Cod. Theod. xvi. Tit. v. 16. de Hæret.

[8] See note e.]

[9] Socr. v. 12.

[e] Socrates (v. 14.) dates this event on the 27th of August. Valesius supposes him to be in error, and follows Idatius, as does Fleury. Socrates is followed by Gothof. in Cod. Theod. xvi. tit. v. 16.

[f] The British soldiers in the army of Maximus, who escaped, formed the British settlement in Armorica (Brittany) under Cynan Meiriadog, brother-in-law of Maximus.

A. D. 387. heresy, named Marinus, to succeed him, but not finding him sufficiently qualified for it, they put Dorotheus in his place soon after, which afterwards occasioned a schism amongst them[g].

XIV. A synagogue burnt in the East.

From Aquileia the Emperor Theodosius came to Milan[1]. He spent the winter and stayed there until May in the following year 389. St. Ambrose was at Aquileia when he heard that the Emperor Theodosius had sentenced a Bishop to rebuild a synagogue of the Jews under the following circumstances. At Callinicus, a little town[2] in the province of Osdroëna in the East, the Jews had a synagogue[3] which was burnt[h] by the Christians, and the Bishop of the place was accused of having instigated them to it. In the same place[4] certain Valentinian heretics, seeing some Monks pass by, singing Psalms on their way to celebrate the festival[i] of the Maccabees according to the ancient custom[5], endeavoured to prevent them. The Monks exasperated at their insolence burnt the temple[6] belonging to the Valentinians[k]. It was moreover asserted[7] that several valuable gifts that had been made to the synagogue had been carried off. The military count[8] of the East gave an account of these disorders to the Emperoror Theodosius, who looking upon them as a matter merely political, answered that without consulting him, the offenders ought to have been punished at once; and it was ordered that the Bishop of Callinicus himself[9] should rebuild the synagogue, that the Monks and people should be severely punished on account of the fire, and that enquiry should be

[1] Paulin. § 22.

[2] Gothof. in Cod. Theod. xvi. 8, 9.

[3] S. Ambr. Ep. 40. § 6. Ep. 41. § 1.

[4] Ep. 40. § 16.

[5] "Quo Psalmos canentes ex consuetudine usuque veteri pergebant."]

[6] *fanum.*

[7] § 18.

[8] *Comes Orientis militarium partium,* the same as, *magister militum* Gothof. in Cod. 16. 8, 9 and note y, p. 74.]

[9] § 6.

[g] In consequence of this preference, Marinus put himself at the head of the Psathyrian division of the Arians. See chap. 35. Dorotheus led a party which denied that the Father was ever-Father; the Psathyrians gave Him the title, even before the being of the Son. Demophilus had succeeded Eudoxius at Constantinople, ad Dorotheus, Euzoïus at Antioch. Socr. v. 3, 23.

[h] This is referred by Gothof. Cod. Theod. xvi. tit. 8. 9. to A.D. 392. the date of this law, passed apparently in consequence, being A.D. 393.

[i] The antiquity of this Festival is worth noticing. It fixes the time, too, of these events, *viz.* August 1. Vid. Antholog. Græc. p. *σμδ'*. Breviar. Aug. 1.

[k] The Valentinian Gnostics (A. D. 150.) held that from the original Ingenerate and His speechless self-consciousness emanated, an Ogdoade, a Decade, and a Dodecade, of alternately male and female Æons, constituting the Pleroma of *thirty gods*, which Paulinus (§ 22.) or *thirty-two* with the original pair, which St. Ambrose (Ep. 40. § 16.) charges them with heathenishly worshipping. An imperfect being (Achamoth) was produced by the struggles of the last Æon to gain the forbidden knowledge of the first original; the creation of the world succeeded, and ever since, means have been operating for the reunion of whatever in the world is spiritual to the pleroma from which it had been degraded. See Gieseler § 43. ii. Beaven's St. Irenæus, ch. 21. § 6. and the note of the Bened. Editors St. Ambros. Ep. 40. § 16.

made about the offerings and other things of value said to have been taken out of the synagogue. A. D. 388.

St. Ambrose was informed of this when he was at Aquileia, and he wrote to the Emperor at Milan a long letter[1] to persuade him to revoke the order. He began with insisting upon the liberty which a Bishop ought to have of making remonstrances. "Who," says he, "will dare tell you the "truth, if a Bishop dare not?" then proceeding to the subject of his letter, "I do not insist upon the unfairness "of passing sentence on the Bishop without hearing his "defence; suppose him, through an excess of zeal, to have "burned the synagogue, would you yourself, O Emperor, "wish him to obey your sentence? would not *you* dread an "act of apostasy? For such is the alternative; if he submits, "apostasy, if he resists, martyrdom; and yourself will be the "cause of either." St. Ambrose says this because the Christians thought it unlawful for them to contribute in any manner whatsoever to the exercise of a false religion. "The "same alternative was put to Mark of Arethusa[2], in the "reign of Julian; he was condemned and suffered, and his "judge has ever since been held a persecutor. I believe[3] the "Bishop of Callinicus will rejoice in the sentence of martyr- "dom; I myself would gladly take his place. He is absent, "I am here; be it that it was I who burnt the synagogue, "and visit the offence on me, who confess it. Nor[4] think, "that, should you acquit the Bishop you may require of "other less constant Christians, the restoration of the syna- "gogue; this is no less unlawful than the other; neither[5] let "the idea that thus only discipline can be preserved, weigh with "you; let policy, as it ought, give way to religion. Is it the "loss of a public building that incenses you[6]? Why then "does the destruction of Præfects' houses in Rome and of "the Bishop's in Constantinople continue unpunished, "while an obscure corner in a petty village touches you "so nearly? Or is it that a synagogue has fallen? How "many churches have the Jews destroyed in the reign of "Julian'? Two at Damascus, one lately restored, but at the[7]

[1] Epist. 40.

[2] Bk. 15. 17.

[3] § 8.

[4] § 9.

[5] § 10.

[6] § 13.

[7] § 15.

[1] This name is supplied by Fleury. Baronius supposes Æmilianus of Dorostolis in Mœsia to be meant by St. Ambrose, who was burned in the time of Julian. Bk. xv. c. 10. Baron. Ann. 362. § 80. See Chron. S. Hieron. A. D. 366.

A. D. 388. "expense, not of Jews, but of the Christians, the other still
"a mass of ruins; churches at Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, Alex-
"andria; the Church has no compensation, shall compensation
"be made to the synagogue of the Jews, or to the heathen
[1 *fanum* Comp. Gieseler, § 70.] "temple[1] of the Valentinians[2]? The offerings too which were
"taken from the synagogue are to be restored: Basilicas of
[2] § 16. "churches have been burnt by Jews; no restoration has
"been made, none asked for. Satisfaction is demanded for
"a synagogue in a distant frontier town, whose greatest
"possessions must have been almost valueless. Who does
"not see that these are mere artifices of the Jews to lay the
"Christians under a false charge which may subject them to
[3] § 19. "military execution, to imprisonment[3], to the fire, or to the
"axe?"

[4] § 27. "If I am unworthy[4] of belief, summon to your council such
"Bishops as you judge to be more trustworthy. On matters
"touching the exchequer you consult your Counts; how
"much rather should you consult the Priests of the LORD in
[5] § 29. "matters of religion. What shall I say hereafter[5], if it shall
"appear that by an edict, issuing from hence, Christians have
"been exposed to death by the sword or by the club? Soldiers,
"who serve at the court of the Emperor, become free from the
"burden of municipal offices after a fixed time; Presbyters
"and ministers of the Church[m] may be called to undertake

[m] *Constantine*, A. D. 313, exempted the Catholic Clerks of Africa from the Municipal offices (*onera Curialia*) in a letter to the Proconsul, Anulinus (S. Aug. Ep. 88. tom. 2. and Act. Coll. Carth. die 3°. § 216. 220. p. 83. apud Optat.) The Donatists, being jealous, appealed (April 15th) to the Emperor, who indignantly referred them to a Church Council (Optat. p. 25. Comp. p. 28.), in which (Oct. 3rd) they were condemned. Then followed the first law on this subject, Oct. 31st A.D. 313. (Cod. Theod. 16, 2. 1. de Episc.) securing to the Catholics the unmolested enjoyment of their privilege. Constantine's extension of this *everywhere* A.D. 319. (ibid. 2.) is mentioned by Sozomen in proof of the Emperor's piety. (Soz. 1. 9.) The immunity was secured to *all orders* of Clerks A.D. 330. (ibid. 7.); though by a law, the year before (Cod. Th. ibid. 3.), all persons liable to the Curial burdens were forbidden to be ordained. From the increased need of clergy, *Constantius*, A. D. 346, in a law addressed to all the Bishops (ibid. 10.) extended the Clerical exemptions and, A.D. 349, allowed them also to the *sons* of Clerks, (who were to continue in the service of the Church,) provided they had been born at a time when their fathers were exempt. (ibid. 9.) As might be expected, Constantius withdrew these privileges, and A.D. 354, (ibid. 11.) we find those Clerks only excused who had no money to sustain the burdens. This law is defined by two of *Valentinian I.* both dated A.D. 364, (ibid. 17. and 12. 1. 59. de Decur.), the first, forbidding any rich plebeians to be ordained; the second, recalling the Clerk, unless he found a substitute (who was to perform the duties with the Clerk's property) or ceded his property to the Curia. This last law is again defined by one of *Valens* A. D. 370, (16. 2. 19.) forbidding a Clerk of ten years' service to be molested.

"them even after spending thirty[n], nay, any number of years, A. D. 388.
"in the service of God. Is not this grievance sufficient for
"us, a grievance which the Bishops constantly lament? How
"shall I defend myself before them, if this calamity is super-
"added?"

This letter had not the desired effect, and consequently as soon as he returned to Milan, when the Emperor came to Church, he addressed him publicly[1], as he had threatened at the end of his letter[2]. He concluded with representing to him the favours which he had received from God, and exhorting[3] him to pardon the offenders. When he came down from the throne[4], the Emperor said to him: "You have made "us your subject to-day." St. Ambrose replied, "I chose "a matter, which was for your good." Theodosius said, "It is true, I did give too severe an order for rebuilding the "synagogue by the Bishop; but it has been corrected. The "Monks are continually offending." Then Timasius the *Magister militum,* a proud and insolent man, began to speak violently against the Monks. St. Ambrose put him aside and then after[5] standing for some time, said to the Emperor:

[1] Ep. 41. § 1.
[2] Ep. 40. § 33.
[3] Ep. 41. § 26.
[4] *exedra.* Paulin. § 23.]
[5] § 28.

Valentinian I. A.D. 373, (12. 1. 99.) uses the liability of Clerks as an argument to subject the Jews to the same burdens (see p. 24. note q.) The Laws of *Theodosius* A.D. 383 and 386, (12. 1. 104, 115,) do not seem to refer to *Bishops,* if we compare them with the 121st Law (ibid.) A. D. 390, which makes "Priests, Deacons, and Exor-"cists" liable, if ordained since A.D. 388, as the 123rd Law subjects their property to extraordinary taxes under the same limitation. The exemption of Bishops would be probable, antecedently, from the time they must (in most cases) have served before consecration. Ruffinus, to whom Theodosius addressed the 137th Law, (ibid.) A.D. 393, may have extended it to Clerks, whether the Emperor intended it or not. *Arcadius* A. D. 399, (ibid. 163,) required *Bishops,* as well as Priests and Deacons to find a substitute or cede their property and other Clerks to serve in person, unless ordained before A.D. 388. *Theodosius the Younger* required Clerks to be recalled or to surrender their property unless they had served a long time or were (as is probably the meaning) Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, (*pro temporis consideratione et gradu quem in Ecclesia obtinent.*) Pope Innocent A.D. 404. Ep. 3. ad Toletan. Synod. c. 6. p. 770. B. Coust. requires caution to be used in ordaining persons liable to the Curial burdens, and Anastasius relates of Pope Boniface (419—423,) that he *forbade* persons liable to the Municipal burdens to be ordained.

From what St. Ambrose says here, the Law of Valens must have become obsolete. This had been the case probably since *Valentinian II.* recalled *all* to their Municipal duties, A.D. 383, (Cod. Theod. 12. 1. 100.) if they had been born liable, with one exception only, in respect of the former *Military* Laws. St. Ambrose may have been the means of obtaining Theodosius's Law of A.D. 390.

[n] St. Ambrose mentions *thirty years,* because this had been the longest time of service ever required of the soldiers about the Court, (*Palatina Militia.*) Cod. Th. 12. 1. 88. A.D. 382. Valentin. II. Before, *five* years had been required (ibid. 31, 38.) by Constans and Constantius; Theodosius had made it *ten* years A.D. 383, (de Privil. eor. 12.); Theodosius the Younger made it *fifteen* A.D. 423, (Cod. Theod. 6. 35. 14.)

A. D. 388. "Free me from my care, that I may make the oblation for "you. Set my mind at rest." The Emperor continuing sitting, made some sign as of assent to him, but seeing that he still stood, he said that he would correct his rescript. St. Ambrose pressed him to put a stop to the whole proceeding. The Emperor promised it. St. Ambrose said twice: "I depend upon your good faith." "Yes," said the Emperor, "you may depend upon it." And then St. Ambrose approached the Altar, which he would not have done without a distinct promise. As he had written an account to his sister St. Marcellina of the uneasiness[1] that this matter gave him, he likewise gave her an account of his good success.

[1] § 1.

XV. Firmness of St. Ambrose.

During the Emperor's stay at Milan[2], it happened on a festival day, that when he had come into the church, and had brought his offering to the altar, he remained within[3] the enclosure of the sanctuary[o]. St. Ambrose asked him if he wanted any thing. The Emperor answered, that he stayed for the communion of the divine mysteries. St. Ambrose ordered his Archdeacon[4] [p] to say to him: "O Emperor! "it is lawful for none but the priests to remain within the "sanctuary; depart, therefore, and continue standing[5] with "the rest; the purple robe makes Princes, not Priests." The Emperor signified, that it was not through pride that he had stayed within the chancel, but because it was the custom of the Church of Constantinople. He thanked St. Ambrose for the reproof. The holy Bishop appointed him a particular place without the sanctuary, which placed him at the head of the laity, and this order was ever afterwards observed. When Theodosius returned to Constantinople he came to church upon a festival[6] day, and having presented his offering at the Holy Table, he went out of the sanctuary. The Bishop Nectarius asked him why he did not stay within it. Theodosius replied, sighing: "It is with difficulty that "I have learnt the difference between a King and a Priest: "it is with difficulty that I have met with any one to teach

[2] Theodor. 5. 18.

[3] ἔνδοθεν παρὰ τὰς κιγκλίδας.

[4] ὑπουργῷ τῷ τῶν διακόνων ἡγουμένῳ.

[5] Bingham. 15. 5. 3.

[6] ἑορτὴ θεία.

[o] This event is placed by other authors immediately after the Penance of Theodosius, to which time the account in Theodoret seems to fix it.

[p] "From the end of the fourth Cen- "tury, the Archdeacon was next to the "Bishop in rank, his duty being to "assist him in the management of the "Church revenues," Giesel. § 90. and to attend him at the Altar. Bingham ix. c. 8. Both duties were his before, *e. g.* in the case of St. Lawrence.

"me the truth. None but Ambrose do I know, rightly "called Bishop." A. D. 388.

St. Ambrose likewise contended for the interest of religion against part of the Senate of Rome[1], who sent a deputation to the Emperor Theodosius, to solicit again the restoration of the altar of Victory. When he was before the Emperor he did not dissemble what it was his duty to tell him upon this subject; he was even some time without coming near him, and the Emperor was not displeased at it. Symmachus[2] was probably the chief of this deputation, for it is certain that he made a speech in praise of the Emperor in the consistory, this same year, 388. But when he desired that the altar of Victory might be restored, the Emperor[3] drove him from his presence, caused him to be put into a chariot, and sent to the distance of a hundred miles, and ordered him to continue there. Symmachus was likewise obliged to justify himself for having made a panegyric[4] upon Maximus; but at length Theodosius pardoned him, treated him kindly, and even made him consul in the year 391[q].

[1] Ep. 57. ad Eugen. § 4.

[2] Fleury, 18. 31.]

[3] Prosperi [revera, incerti auctoris] de promiss. Pars 3. c. 38. tom. 2. p. 129. Symm. Ep. 2. 13. [vid. 10. 54. et 8. 68.]

[4] Ibid. Ep. 31. Socr. 5. 14.

From Milan[5], Theodosius went as far as Rome with his son Honorius[6], whom he had sent for from Constantinople, and with the young Emperor Valentinian. They entered it on the ides of June under the Consulate of Timasius and Promotus, *i. e.* on the thirteenth of June, A.D. 389. Then it was that idolatry at Rome received the greatest blow. You might see the senators of greatest quality[7], and the most ancient families, such as the Anicii, the Probi, the Pauli, and the Gracchi, embracing Christianity; the people ran in crowds to the Vatican to venerate[8] the tombs of the Apostles, or to the Lateran[r] to receive baptism. There were but few who adhered to their ancient superstitions. The temples[9] were full of cobwebs and fell to ruin; the idols

[5] Chron. Cod. Theod. Gothof.

[6] Idat. Fast. p. 185. Soc. 5. 14.

[7] Prudent. I. contra Symm. v. 545, &c.

[8] p. 85. marg.]

[9] S. Hieron. Ep. 7. ad Læt. c. 1. 2. [bk. 18. ch. 21.]

[q] Maximus' attachment to the Ithacians (bk. 18, 29, 59.) would imply an opposition to the Catholics; and he would naturally wish to conciliate the Pagans, who could look for no support from Theodosius. (We have seen too that in one case he favoured the Jews, ch. 10.) Hence the adherence of Symmachus to him. It appears from Socrates (5. 14.) that Symmachus, having taken sanctuary in a church, was pardoned on the first visit of Theodosius to Rome, at the intercession of Leontius, a Novatian Bishop. It would probably then be on Theodosius' return to Milan, from Rome, that Symmachus was deputed in behalf of Paganism.

[r] The Lateran (so called from Plautius Lateranus, killed by Nero) on Mount Cœlius, is said to have been given by Constantine to Pope Melchiades. The Council mentioned by Optatus (lib. 1. p. 26.) is supposed to have been held here. Comp. bk. 18. ch. 21.

A. D. 389. were left alone under their roofs with the owls and bats. Theodosius however suffered the antique[1] statues, which were the workmanship of excellent artists, to be preserved for the ornament of the city.

[1] Prudent. ibid. v. 503.

XVI. The Manichees at Rome.

While he was at Rome, Theodosius made a law[2] against the Manichees, ordering them to be expelled from all places, and particularly from Rome; forbidding the execution of their wills, and ordering their estates to be confiscated for the benefit of the people; and in short depriving them of every thing which they enjoyed in common with the rest of mankind. The Manichees were very numerous at Rome, and some years before one of their hearers named Constantius[3], had undertaken to make the *Elect* live in common; for thus they styled the most perfect amongst them. Constantius, who was very zealous[4] for the sect, and had had a good education, could not bear the reproaches which he suffered on account of the immoralities of these Elect, who lived in a miserable manner dispersed up and down the several quarters of the city of Rome. He offered to assemble together in his house and to maintain at his own expense, all those who would live according to the abstinence which they professed, for he had a large estate, and was not sparing of his riches. But he complained that their Bishops, so far from assisting him, opposed his design, "from their attachment to their unrestrained mode of life." When one of these Bishops, who seemed fittest for an austere life, because he was rustic and ill-bred, came to Rome, Constantius, who had been long expecting him, imparted to him his design, which the Bishop approved. He was the first who lodged in Constantius' house, to which were assembled all the Elect whom they could find at Rome. A rule of life was proposed to them taken from the Epistles[5] of Manes. Many of them thought it intolerable, and went away; not a few, however, remained for very shame. These began to live according to the rule; Constantius ardently urged them to follow it, and set the example by being the first to practise it himself.

[2] Cod. Theod. 16. tit. 5. l. 18.

[3] S. Aug. c. Faust. v. 5. tom. 8. p. 198.

[4] S. Aug. 2. de Mor. Manich. c. ult. tom. 1. p. 742.

In the mean time there arose frequent quarrels among the Elect, and they reproached each other with several crimes. Constantius was grieved to hear them, and took care that in

[5] For the writings of Manes, see Gieseler § 59, note 11.

their disputes they should unwarily discover themselves, and indeed they did discover unheard-of abominations. It was then known what kind of persons they were, who amongst them were reckoned the most perfect. In short, endeavours being used to make them observe the rule, they murmured and alleged that it was intolerable, and so things came to an open sedition. Constantius argued in few words, that they must either observe all these precepts, or imagine their master, who enjoined them, to be most foolish if they were impracticable. The noise of the greater number prevailed over his argument, and ultimately the Bishop himself gave way, and fled away disgracefully. It was said that he had brought money with him in a bag, and carefully concealed it, in order to buy provisions, which he ate in secret, contrary to the rule. At length they all dispersed; and those who were for still continuing this rule were called by the rest *Mattarii*, from their sleeping upon mats. Constantius was afterwards converted to the Catholic Faith[1]. A. D. 389.

[1] S. Aug. c. Faust. lib. 5. c. 5. tom. 8.

XVII. The writings of St. Augustine. *Manners of the Church.* [written 387-388.]

St. Augustine relates this matter as having been informed of it from the most trustworthy witnesses at Rome itself, where he lived after the death of his mother, the remainder of the year 387, and all the year 388. For he had just forsaken the errors of the Manichees, and so, his first labour, after he was baptized, was to convert them[2]. He could not bear the insolence with which they boasted of their pretended continence and abstinence, in which they professed superiority to the true Christians, in order to impose upon the ignorant. This was the occasion of his composing, whilst he continued at Rome, his two books *Of the Manners of the Catholic Church*, and *Of the Manners of the Manichees*. In the first he explains the principles of Christian morality, shewing that the love of God is the only foundation and the soul of all virtues. He concludes with describing those which were practised in the Church, in order to confute the calumnies of the Manichees by undeniable facts.

[2] Retract. l. c. 7. § 1. tom. 1. p. 9.

In the first place he describes the Monks, and amongst them the most perfect, that is to say, the Anachorites or Hermits[3]. "Men," he says, "who cannot forbear loving "mankind, though they forbear seeing them; who being "absolutely separated from all the world, content themselves

[3] De Mor. Eccles. c. 31. § 66. tom. 1. p. 710.

A. D. 388. "with bread and water, and live in the most desert places, "but enjoy converse with God, and are happy in the con- "templation of the Divine beauty. It is true that, according "to the opinion of some, they have disengaged themselves "too much from the affairs of the world; but these persons "do not understand how useful they are to us by their "prayers and their good example." He afterwards proceeds to the Cœnobites, "Who having contemned the world, lead "in common the purest life, praying, reading, and discoursing; "free from pride, obstinacy, and envy; modest, peaceable, "and perfectly united. None of them possesses any thing "as his own; no one is a burden to any other. They "employ their hands in labour sufficient for the support "of their bodies, without drawing off the mind from God. "They give the produce of their labours to certain persons "whom they call deans, from being, each, set over ten of "the fraternity, so that none of them is troubled with taking "care for the body, in respect of food, raiment, and other "necessaries, in sickness or in health. These deans dis- "charge their trust very carefully, and give an account to "one whom they style Father; and these fathers, excelling "not only in the sanctity of their lives, but also on account "of their divine knowledge, govern these their sons without "pride, but with great authority; and are obeyed with the "utmost good will.

"At the close of the day they all come out of their dwellings, "still fasting, in order to listen to this Father; every Father "has at least three thousand men under him; and there are "communities still more numerous. They hear them with "incredible attention and in great silence, expressing the "sentiments which his discourse excites, by groans, tears, or "a modest and silent joy. Afterwards they administer "nourishment to the body, as much as is conducive to health, "making a very sober use even of that small quantity of "ordinary food that is provided for them. They not only "abstain from flesh and wine, but from whatever may gratify "the taste. What remains after this, and they have a "great deal remaining from the frugality of their meals and "their great labour, is distributed amongst the poor with "more care than it was acquired; so that they send ships

"laden with provisions to such places as abound with poor "people. It is unnecessary to say more of a matter so well "known." This is the description which St. Augustine gives of the Monks who lived in the East in his time, and especially in Egypt; and he twice challenges the Manichees to contradict it[1]. A. D. 388.

[1] § 68, 74.

He afterwards proceeds to the religious women[2], and then to the clergy[3]. "How many Bishops," says he, "do I know "that are most virtuous and most holy? How many Priests, "Deacons, and other ministers of the Church? whose virtue "seems to me so much the more praiseworthy, as it is more "difficult to preserve, in the midst of people, and in a life of "activity." He[4] speaks of the communities of religious people in the cities. "I have seen," says he, "at Milan, a "numerous household[5] of saints, who were governed by one "most virtuous and learned Priest. Several I know at Rome. "They are chargeable to no man, not even the superiors, "who, after the example of those of the East, and according "to the Apostle's authority, maintain themselves by the "work of their own hands. I have been told too, that many "practise incredible fasting, not only by making but one "meal towards night, which is every where most customary, "but spending three days together without eating or drinking, "and even a longer time. However[6] no body is forced to "austerities, which he cannot bear; nothing is imposed upon "any person which he refuses, nor do the rest condemn those "who confess themselves unable to follow their example."

[2] § 68.
[3] § 69.
[4] c. 33. § 70.
[5] [diversorium.]
[6] § 71.

He afterwards owns that there are many weak and superstitious Christians[7], even in the true religion, and such as were so given up to their passions, as to forget what they had promised to God. "I know," says he, "that there are many "who adore sepulchres and pictures; I know that there are "many who drink to excess on occasion of burials, and then "make great feasts under pretence of religion." It is not the respect paid to saints and their relics that St. Augustine blames here; he explains himself too clearly in several other places, to leave room for the least doubt as to that point. Neither can we say, that he condemns the use of pictures, since he himself mentions those in which our Saviour was represented with St. Peter and St. Paul[8]; and they were

[7] c. 34.
[8] lib. i. de Cons. Evang. c. 10. § 16. tom. 3. pars 2. p. 8. Vide infra. ch. 44.

A. D. 388. commonly used in the Churches both of the East and West. Those therefore whom he styles worshippers of sepulchres and paintings, are those who confine themselves in too gross a manner to the tombs and images of the saints, without raising their minds to the saints themselves, who are reigning in heaven: the Church reproves and instructs such, without forsaking her holy practices.

XVIII. *Manners of the Manichees.*

In the second book which is entitled, *Of the Manners of the Manichees*, St. Augustine confutes their capital error, concerning the nature and origin of Evil; he then examines[1] into what they called the three seals of the mouth, the hands and the breast, which comprehend all their abstinences and superstitious customs; and at last relates several crimes, of which they were convicted. In speaking of abstinence from meats, he shews that all its value proceeds from the motive.

[1] c. 10. § 19.

[2] c. 13. § 29. "If one man," he says[2], "is contented with only one meal in "a day, and then is served with herbs seasoned only with "a little bacon, of which he eats merely to appease his "hunger, taking two or three draughts of unmixed wine[3], which "is requisite for his health: and if another tastes neither flesh "nor wine, but eats twice, at three in the afternoon and "again towards night, and on both occasions makes a full re-"past of delicate and uncommon grains[4], seasoned abundantly "with spices and served up in a variety of dishes, and if "he drinks honeyed draughts[5], or mulled wine[6], or sweet "raisin wine[7], or cider, or the like which are sufficiently like "wine, or even more delicious in taste, if he drinks as much "as he likes, and makes his daily meals upon these delicacies "when he is under no necessity to do it; which of these two "do you think seems to observe the strictest abstinence[8]?" It is plain that St. Augustine here is only attacking the superstition of the Manichees, who condemned wine and flesh, as bad[8] in themselves, while they took full liberty in

[3] meracis potionibus.]

[4] fruges.]

[5] mulsum.]

[6] carenum.]

[7] passum. al. carenum passum.]

[8] Can. Apostol. 50, 52.]

[1] Matter (Hyle) and Evil were, with the Manichees, co-extensive. The grosser the matter in this world of mixed material, the more of evil. Hence their Elect abstained from flesh. But delicacy of taste would vary inversely with the grossness of the food: hence the more delicate, the more fit to be the food of the Elect; so far as to *quality*; as to *quantity*, the Elect were supposed to set free the spiritual part of the food they ate and to restore it to the Kingdom of Light; hence the more they ate, the more fully (so far) they acted according to the purpose of God. Such were the inferences drawn (and legitimately) from Manes' principle, by his followers; and it is to these St. Ambrose refers. Gieseler § 59. and Library of the Fathers, vol. 1. note A.

those meats and drinks of which they allowed the use. But he makes it sufficiently appear in this work, how much he esteemed the abstinences practised in the Church, which were performed in a spirit of self-mortification, particularly those of the Monks; and he himself[1], after he was made Bishop, usually ate nothing but herbs and pulse. A. D. 388.

[1] Possid. c. 32.

He moreover composed at Rome a dialogue[2] between Evodius and himself, in which he examines several questions relating to the soul. But because its *size* is there exactly discussed in order to shew that it is not extended like matter, the title of the whole book is, *Of the Quantity of the Soul.* It was likewise at Rome that he began his three books *On Free-will*[3], against the Manichees, arising from the question about the origin of Evil. After an accurate examination we find that it proceeds only 'from the Free-will of the creature[u]. This work is full of excellent metaphysics, and in it we find an[5] answer to the most specious objections to the providence and goodness of the Creator. St. Augustine composed only the first book at Rome, he finished the second and third in Africa, while he was a Priest. It is throughout a dialogue between himself and Evodius. After having stayed more than a year at Rome he returned[6] into Africa about the year 389, with certain of his friends and countrymen, who served God like himself.

[2] Retract. l. c. 8. [written A. D. 388.]

[3] c. 9. [begun A. D. 388. finished A. D. 395.]

[4] c. 16.

[5] lib. 2. init. 3. c. 2, &c.

[6] Possid. c. 3.

It was the Pope Siricius[7] who procured from the Emperor Theodosius the banishment of the Manichees; and as they dissembled their profession and mixed with the Catholics in the churches, he ordered[8] that care should be taken not to let them receive the Communion, nor touch the body of our Lord with their impure lips. He required the same even of those who were converted; banishing them into monasteries, there to spend the rest of their lives in fasting and prayer; and permitted them only to receive the Viaticum[x] at their death, after a strict probation. He ordered in general, that heretics should be received by imposition of hands, and reconciled in the presence of the whole Church. This we find ordered in particular with respect to the Novatians, and

[7] Lib. Pontiff. in Siric. [Baron. A. D. 389. § 63.]

[8] Epist. Synodal. S. Siric. Coustant. p. 651. A. D. 386. Jan. 6.]

[u] Compare Hooker, Eccl. Pol. bk. 1. ch. 4 and Append. i. to bk. v. p. 718. Ed. Keble. Bp. Butler, Anal. pt. i. ch. 5. § 4.

[x] So called (ἐφόδιον) in the 13th Canon of the Œcum. Council of Nicæa. See the Decretal of St. Siricius, bk. 18. ch. 34. p. 78.

[A.D. 386.] the Montenses[y] or Donatists of Rome, in a council which was there held by this Pope, with eighty other Bishops, on the [1 *after.*] 8th of the ides of January under[1] the consulate of Arcadius and Bauto, *i. e.* on the 6th of January A. D. 386. There [2 tom. 2. Conc. p. 1028. [tom. 3. p. 669. Mans.]] remains a synodical epistle of that council, containing nine canons concerning discipline, and addressed to the Bishops of Africa[2 z].

XIX. Condemnation of Jovinian. [3 A. D. 390.] Another council[3] of Rome, held about the time of Theodosius' journey or soon after, condemned the heretic Jovinian. He had spent his youth in the austerities of a monastic life, fasting[4], living upon bread and water, going barefoot, wearing a black garment, and labouring with his hands. But he left his monastery, which was at Milan, and went to Rome, where he began to spread his errors. The chief of them may be reduced to four, *viz.* 1. That those who had been regenerated by Baptism with full faith, could not be any more vanquished by the devil: 2. That all those who shall have preserved the grace of Baptism, shall have the same reward in heaven: 3. That virgins have no more merit than widows or married women, unless their works distinguish them in other respects; 4. That there is no difference between abstaining from meats, and using them with thanksgiving. He likewise denied[5] that the Holy Virgin Mary continued unimpaired in bearing the Lord; and pretended that to maintain the contrary was to attribute an imaginary body to Christ, like the Manichees.

[4 S. Ambr. Ep. 42. § 9. A. D. 390.]

[5 S. Ambr. Ep. 42. § 4. S. Aug. in Jul. (l. c. 2.) 4. c. 122. tom. 10. p. 1208. et De Hæret. c. 82.]

Jovinian lived according to these principles[6]. St. Jerome addressing him, says, "Once, your foot was bare; now it has "not only a shoe, but an ornamental one. Then you wore "a shabby tunic and a black vest; you were in mourning "garb, pale in face, and rough in hand; now you parade in "linen, in silk, in the figured stuffs of Atrebates[7], and the "attire of Laodicea. Your cheeks are red; your skin is "sleek; your hair is dressed behind and before; your paunch "is protuberant; your shoulders are round; your throat is "full; and your jaws are so fat that your words are almost "strangled. Certainly, in such a contrast of food and

[6 S. Hieron. tom. 8. p. 24. in Jovin. l. (c. 25. c. 13.) tom. 4. Pt. 2. p. 183. Bened. scr. 393-4.]

[7 Cf. S. Hier. Chron. A. D. 371.]

[y] So called (and *Campitæ*) because they first assembled at Rome in a cave, among the hills outside the city. Vid. Optat. de Schism. Don. lib. 2. § 4. and the note. Du Pin, Par. 1700.

[z] Not primarily to the Bishops of Africa, but to the Bishops of the Roman Council who were absent, and then sent to the different Churches. We have the Epistle from the Acts of the Council of Telepta (A.D. 418); hence the error. Coust. Monit. § 8.

"clothing, there must be fault on one side or the other. [A.D.393-4]
"Not that I will impute sin to food or to dress; but that
"the variation and change for the worse is next door to a
"reproach[1]." However he still boasted of being a Monk; and observed celibacy that he might avoid the inconveniences of matrimony. Since he preached so easy a doctrine, he had a great many followers at Rome; many persons of both sexes, after having lived a long time in a state of continence and mortification, married and returned to a soft and unrestrained life. But there was no Bishop who suffered himself to be seduced by Jovinian.

[1] S. Hieron. ibid. 2. c. 23. p. 214.

He even met with some opposition from several laymen, illustrious by their noble birth and piety, and amongst the rest Pammachius is mentioned. They[2] carried a writing to Pope Siricius, in which Jovinian had published his errors, and asked him his opinion. The Pope assembled his Clergy[3], and the doctrine was found to be contrary to the Christian law, and with the advice of all that were present, as well Priests and Deacons, as other clerks, Jovinian was condemned with eight others, as authors of a new heresy; and it was decreed[4] that they should be cut off from the Church for ever.

[2] S. Siric. Ep. 2. § 3. tom. 2. Conc. p. 1024. [Mansi 3. p. 663.] et apud S. Ambr. [ad calc. Ep. 41. tom. 2. p. 965.] A. D. 390.

[3] *facto presbyterio.*]

[4] divina sententia et nostro judicio.]

Jovinian and the rest that were condemned went to Milan, to which place the Emperor had returned. But Pope Siricius sent thither three Priests, Crescens, Leopardus, and Alexander[5], with a letter to the Church of Milan, which contained the condemnation of these heretics, and a brief confutation of their errors. So that they were rejected there also by every body with horror, and the Pope's Legates[6] caused them to be driven[7] out of the city. The Bishops who happened to be then at Milan with St. Ambrose, condemned them according to the sentence of Siricius, to whom they wrote a synodical letter. They in it applaud his pastoral vigilance; and then confute Jovinian's errors by Scripture, more particularly anxious to prove that the Virginity of the Holy Mother of God[a]

[5] fratres et compresbyteros meos.]

[6] S. Ambr. Ep. 42. § 13. Conc. 3. p. 435. [tom. 3. p. 667. B. Mans.]

[7] fratres et compresbyteri nostri.]

[a] This title of the Holy Virgin is in this place given by Fleury, not taken from St. Ambrose. "Part of the heresy of Nestorius was the denial of "this Θεοτόκος, and the whole was "nothing else but the ground of that "denial." See Bishop Pearson on the third Article of the Creed. St. Ephraim, Patriarch of Theopolis (i. e. Antioch, so called by Justinian) A. D. 527, says (Phot. Bibl. No. 228.) that though the title was used in the divided form by Elizabeth (St. Luke i. 43), St. Leo, A.D. 440. was the first to use it so, in plain terms, after her. See, however, Constant. Orat. ad Sanct. Cœt. (Euseb. Hist. v. 11. p. 689. lin. 10) Θεοῦ μητὴρ κόρη. We have found the title used by

A. D. 390. always continued unimpaired[1][b]. This letter is subscribed by seven Bishops; Eventius of Cencta, Maximus of Emona, Felix of Iadera, Bassian of Lodi, Theodore of Octodura, Constantius of Orange; and by the Priest Aper in the name of Geminianus, Bishop of Modena[c]. Their sees are known[2] by the council of Aquileia, where we meet with the same names.

[1] Ep. 42. § 4, &c.

[2] vid. bk. 18. c. 10.

In this Council of Milan or in some other which followed it soon after, and to which the Bishops of Gaul came, was confirmed the condemnation of Ithacius and those of his party, which had been decreed the year[3] before. For the ordination of Felix of Treves, in which city they had prevailed, disturbed all parts of Gaul; and he was cut off from communion by the letters of St. Ambrose and of the Pope[4], immediately after the defeat of Maximus, the protector of the Ithacians. Ithacius was not only deposed from his Bishopric, and excommunicated, but also sent into banishment, where he died in the reign of Theodosius[5] and Valentinian, that is, two years after at the latest. Whilst St. Ambrose held this council, he heard the melancholy news of the massacre at Thessalonica, of which the following is an account.

[3] Chron. Prosp. an. 389.

[4] Conc. Taurin. c. 6. tom. 3. p. 859. Mans A. D. 397.

[5] Isidor. de vir. illustr. c. 15. § 19.

XX. Massacre at Thessalonica.

Botheric[6] was the *Magister Militum*[7] who commanded the forces in Illyricum, and resided at Thessalonica; he caused a charioteer who belonged to the circus to be put into prison, for having endeavoured to seduce a young man who was one of his servants. At a certain festival upon which there were

[6] Soz. 7. 25. Ruff. Hist. 11. c. 18.

[7] p. 74. note y.

St. Gregory Nazianzen, bk. 18. ch. 24. p. 56. as well as the parallel expression "Murderers of GOD," ibid. p. 57. Besides St. Luke i. 43, already quoted, compare Acts xx. 28.

[b] This error is evidently different from that of the Antidicomarianites, concerning whom see bk. 18. ch. 20. The latter held that St. Mary bore children to St. Joseph after the Nativity of our LORD, an error held by some in the time of Origen and laid to the charge of Tertullian. The error of Jovinian was that the Holy Ever-Virgin conceived in Virginity, but ceased to be a Virgin when she brought forth the LORD. Bishop Pearson (on the third Article of the Creed) says, "That she "was a Virgin not only when she was "with child, but even when she had "brought forth, is evident out of this "application of the Prophecy: *Behold,* "*a Virgin shall be with child and shall* "*bring forth a Son.* For, by the same "prediction it is as manifest that a "Virgin should *bring forth*, as *conceive* "*a Son.* Neither was her act of Par-"turition more contradictory to Vir-"ginity, than that former of conception." The Bishop confirms his position by this letter of St. Ambrose to St. Siricius; St. Augustine, Enchirid. c. 34. tom. 6. Vigil. de Unitat. Trinit. c. 10. p. 340.

[c] The Sees of the Bishops have probably been copied from the Acts of the Council of Aquileia (See margin). Eventius was then Bishop of Pavia, not of Geneda.

to be extraordinary races, the people thought this charioteer necessary, to grace the show, and required to have him set at liberty. Their demand not being complied with, they grew enraged, and proceeded to so violent a sedition, that[1] some officers were stoned to death in the fray, and dragged along the streets; and Botheric himself was killed. Upon receiving news of this, the Emperor Theodosius, who was naturally hasty, became furiously enraged; but St. Ambrose and the rest of the Bishops who were present pacified him, and he promised[2] to pardon the people of Thessalonica. Afterwards[3] he was again exasperated by the principal officers[4] of his court, and chiefly by Ruffinus, the Master of the Offices[5]. They represented to him, that it was a matter of the utmost consequence not to let these violences go unpunished, and made him resolve to inflict a cruel punishment on the offenders. But they took care to have that resolution kept as secret as possible, and to have it executed before St. Ambrose could have any notice of it. When the people therefore of Thessalonica were assembled together in the circus, they were secretly surrounded by soldiers, who had orders[6] to put all they met to the sword, up to a fixed number[7], without regard to the innocent or guilty; so that strangers and persons passing through the place were involved in this massacre. It lasted three hours, and there fell about seven thousand people[8]. There was a generous slave who offered himself to be massacred to save his master. A merchant exposed himself for his two children, offering the soldiers all the money which he had to save them. They took pity on him and gave him leave to make choice of one of them, telling him that they could not let both live, without endangering themselves, by reason of the number they were ordered to massacre. The father looked with tears in his eyes on both his children, unable to decide, when they were both butchered in his presence. On the arrival of the news of this massacre at Milan, the Bishops there assembled were deeply afflicted, particularly St. Ambrose. However he would not appear before Theodosius, during the first transports of his grief; and also thought it better to give the Emperor time to come to himself. As therefore the Emperor was not then in Milan, St. Ambrose[9] left the city two or three days before his return; and went

A. D. 390.

[1] Theodor. v. 17.

[2] [3] S. Aug. Lib. 5. de Civit. c. 26. tom. 7. [3] S. Ambr. Ep. 51. § 16.

[4] Paulin. § 24.

[5] p. 65. note l.]

[6] Paulin. § 24.

[7] Soz. 7. 25.

[8] Theodor. 5. 17.

[9] Ep. 51. § 5.

A. D. 390. into the country, under pretence of an indisposition, which was indeed real, but which upon any other occasion would not have prevented his attending the Emperor. The night
[1] § 14. before his departure, he dreamed[1] that he saw Theodosius coming into the church, and that it was not in his power to offer the Sacrifice; which he looked upon as a token that it was the will of God that the Emperor should do penance. Upon this he wrote a letter with his own hand, that the Emperor might be sure that no one else had seen it. This letter is still extant.

XXI. Penance of Theodosius.

"I bear," says St. Ambrose, "an affectionate memory of "your former friendship towards me, and of your great con- "descension in so often granting favours to others at my "instance. Accordingly it is not ingratitude that leads me "to shun a presence which hitherto has ever been most "coveted by me. I will briefly explain to you my reasons "for doing so.

"I found that I was forbidden, I alone of your whole court, "the natural right of hearing what went on about me, with "a view of depriving me of the privilege of speaking. When "I did hear, what could I do? Be silent? This would be "most wretched of all—to have one's conscience bound and "one's lips closed. Is it not written, 'If God's minister fail "'to speak to the sinner, the latter shall die in his sin, but
[2] Ezek. 3. 18. "'he shall answer for not speaking[2]?'

"Suffer me, gracious Emperor. You have zeal for the "faith, I own it; and the fear of God, I confess it; but you "have an impetuosity of nature at offenders, which a coun- "sellor may either soothe into compassion, or stimulate till "self-government is almost lost. O that those about you "were as backward in rousing as they are in appeasing it! "I would gladly leave it altogether to your own manage- "ment; since you can recover yourself, and get the better "of this violence of nature by an effort to be merciful.

"A deed has been perpetrated in Thessalonica, which has "no parallel in history; which I in vain attempted to pre- "vent; yes, which I protested would be most atrocious, in the "frequent expostulations I addressed to you beforehand; nor "could I extenuate a deed, which you, by your unsuccessful "attempts to hinder it, have confessed to be heinous. When

" the news came, I was engaged in a synod, held on the A. D. 390.
" arrival of the Gallic Bishops[1]. All assembled deplored it, [1] § 6.
" none viewed it leniently; your friendship with Ambrose
" weighed nothing in your favour; surely the odour of the
" crime would fall even more heavily on me, should no re-
" conciliation to Almighty God be required of you.

" O Emperor[2], why should you feel shame to act as David [2] § 7.
" acted, he who was a Prophet as well as a King, and a fore-
" father of Christ according to the flesh? A parable was set
" before him; and when he found that by it he himself
" was condemned, he said, *I have sinned before the Lord.*
" Take it not ill then, O Emperor, if the same words are used
" towards you as the Prophet used to David—*Thou art the*
" *man.* For if you give due attention to them, and answer,
" *I have sinned against the Lord,* if you utter that royal and
" prophetic strain, *O come, let us worship, and fall down and*
" *kneel before the Lord our Maker,* then it will be said to you,
" *Since it repenteth thee, the Lord putteth away thy sin; thou*
" *shalt not die.*

" I have written this[3] not to overpower you, but to induce [3] § 11.
" you, by a royal example to put away the sin from your
" kingdom, that is, by humbling your soul to God. You are
" a man; temptation has come upon you; get the better
" of it. Tears and penitence are the only remedy for sin,
" neither angel nor archangel can take it away; the Lord
" Himself, who alone can say, *I am with you always,* even
" He pardons not except upon penitence.

" I entreat[4], I demand, I exhort, I admonish. Successful [4] § 12.
" as you have been in battle, and great in other respects, yet
" it was mercy that crowned all your doings. The devil has
" envied your chief excellence. Overcome him while you
" have the means. Add not one sin to another by conduct
" from which too many suffer. For my part[5], debtor as I am [5] § 13.
" to your clemency in all other things, grateful as I must
" ever be to it, still I have apprehension: I dare not offer sa-
" crifice, if you resolve to attend. Is that lawful when many
" innocents have bled, which is not lawful in a solitary mur-
" der? I trow not!

" Should I not be happy[6] to enjoy the Emperor's favour, [6] § 15.
" and do as he would have me, if it were lawful? Prayer, of

A. D. 390. "itself, is a sacrifice, and, as coming from a humbled soul, "will be accepted; but the oblation would imply contempt, "and would be rejected. You have my love, my affection, "my prayers. If you have confidence in me, obey me, and "allow what I say: if not, make allowance for what I do, in "that I prefer God to my Sovereign. Gracious Emperor, "may you and your dear children enjoy everlasting peace."

When St. Ambrose returned to Milan, he refused to admit the Emperor Theodosius into the church[1]. When the Emperor represented to him that David had committed adultery and murder, St. Ambrose answered him immediately: "As you "have imitated his crime, imitate his amendment." Theodosius yielded to the voice of the Church; he retired home, where he remained suspended from Church Communion for eight months[2].

[1] Paul. Vit. § 24.

[2] Theod. 5. 18.

[3] Theod. ibid.

When the Feast[3] of our Saviour's Nativity was come, he remained shut up in his palace, shedding tears. Ruffinus, the *Master of the offices*[4], who was most intimate with the Emperor, came to him, and desired to know the reason. The Emperor redoubling his tears and sighs, said to him: "I weep when I consider that the temple of God is opened "to slaves and beggars, and shut against me, and so therefore "is heaven too." Ruffinus answered: "I will hasten, if you "think right, to the Bishop, and will by my importunacy "prevail on him to absolve you." "He will not be per-"suaded," answered the Emperor; "I know the justice of "his sentence; and he will never through dread of the "Imperial power, transgress the law of God." The Emperor knew well that sinners could not be absolved till they had performed Canonical penance. Ruffinus insisted upon it, and promised to persuade St. Ambrose. "Go quickly then," said the Emperor, and flattering himself with the hopes that Ruffinus had given him, he followed him soon after. St. Ambrose seeing Ruffinus, told him that he must have cast off all shame, if he, who had been the counsellor of so murderous an act, did not blush and tremble at having so madly defaced the image of God. As Ruffinus continued to entreat him, telling him that the Emperor was coming, St. Ambrose, fired with Divine zeal, said: "I forewarn you, Ruffinus, I will "hinder him from advancing into the sacred vestibule; if he

[4] bk. 18. 28. note 1.]

"will change his royal power into tyranny, joyfully will I too "submit to the sword." Ruffinus having heard these words, sent to inform the Emperor, and advise him to stay in the palace. The Emperor received this information in the midst of the market-place, and said: "I will go and receive the "contumely[1] which I have deserved." A. D. 390.

When he came to the inclosure of the holy place[2], he did not go into the church[3]; but went to the Bishop, who was sitting in the Auditory[4 d], and besought him importunately to give him absolution. St. Ambrose said, that in coming as he did, he acted as a tyrant; that he had done madly against God Himself, and that he was treading His laws under foot. "I respect them," replied the Emperor, "I have "no wish to enter the sacred vestibule unlawfully; but I be- "seech you to free me from these bonds, and not shut the "door against me, which the Lord hath opened to all those "who repent." "What repentance," said St. Ambrose, "have you then shewn after so great an offence?" "It is for "you," answered the Emperor, "to prescribe what I ought "to do." Upon which St. Ambrose ordered him to do public penance (for although he had forborne to come into the church, he had not yet performed regular penance) and moreover required him to pass a law, that no person should be put to death within thirty days after sentence was passed. The Emperor accepted both these conditions; he caused the law to be written, and subscribed it with his own hand, and he submitted to the public penance. Then St. Ambrose immediately took off the excommunication, and permitted him to come into the church. However the Emperor did not pray either standing or kneeling, but having stripped off his imperial robes[5], which he did not resume during the whole course of his penance[6] he remained prostrate on the pavement, repeating these words of David, *My soul cleaveth to the dust; O quicken Thou me, according to Thy word*[7]. As he uttered this he tore his hair, struck his fore-

[1 παροινίας.]
[2 τοὺς ἱεροὺς περιβόλους.]
[3 τὸν θεῖον νεών.]
[4 ἀσπαστικὸς οἶκος salutatorium.]

[5] S. Ambr. de Ob. Theod. § 34.
[6] Soz. 7. 25.
[7] Ps. 118. (119. E. V.) 25.

[d] The early Basilicas were not unlike the heathen temples or our own collegiate chapels, that is, part of a range of buildings, which contained the lodgings of the Ecclesiastics. Among these were the Bishop's apartments. The Auditory in which Theodosius found St. Ambrose, was the place where the Bishop, with his Presbyters, used to receive the salutations of the Faithful as they went to the church.

A. D. 390. head, and watered the pavement with his tears, imploring mercy. The people[1] seeing him thus humbled, prayed and wept with him; and he retained his concern for this sin all the rest[2] of his life. There is a law which bears the name of Theodosius, ordering the punishment of criminals of all kinds to be suspended for thirty days[3]. But it likewise bears the name of Gratian and is dated the 15th of the calends of September, under the consulate of Anthony and Syagrius, *i. e.* on the 18th of August A.D. 382. This law therefore is not that which was made upon this occasion.

[1] S. Aug. de Civ. 5. 26.

[2] S. Amb. ubi sup. p. 1207.

[3] Cod. Th. 9. tit. 40. 13.

XXII. Discipline of Penance in the West.

St. Ambrose was particularly careful to administer penance without any distinction of persons. It is thus that Paulinus, who wrote his Life, speaks of him. "Whenever any "person confessed their sins to him, in order to[4] receive "penance, he so wept, as to make the penitent weep too, "for he seemed to have partaken in his fall. But he "never mentioned those sins which had been confessed "to him, to any other, but to God; leaving a good ex- "ample to the Bishops who succeeded him, to be rather "intercessors before God, than accusers before men[5]." In this testimony of Paulinus we find the secret confession of sins made to the Priest, in order to penance. The Bishops were still the ordinary ministers of it, in the West; for recourse was never had to this remedy unless it were for notorious sins, which were not common among the Christians. This [6]discipline was chiefly observed at Rome. There was a place assigned to the penitents, where after the celebration of the mysteries, at which they were not allowed to be present, they prostrated themselves on the ground, with tears and sobs; and [the Bishop with] all the people joined them in weeping and lamentation. Then the Bishop rising up, raised also the penitents, said the prayers proper for the occasion, and then dismissed them. Every one willingly performed the penance which was allotted him, whether it were fasting, abstinence from the bath, or from his ordinary food, or the practice of any other austerities which were prescribed. He stayed till the time fixed by the Bishop; and then having finished his penance, he received absolution of his sin, and entered again into the assembly with the people. This was the custom at Rome till the time of Sozomen the his-

[4] *ob percipiendam pœnitentiam.*]

[5] Paulin. § 39.

torian, which was about the middle of the fifth century. A. D. 390.
There was at Rome a remarkable example of penance in St. Fabiola, as has been already mentioned, and took place much about the same time as that of Theodosius[1].

[1] S. Hieron. Ep. 30. [84.] ad Ocean. 1, 2. Supra bk. 18. c. 21.

The same discipline was observed in the Church of Africa, as is evident from two canons of a council, held at Carthage, by the Bishop Genethlius and the Bishops[2] of various provinces, under the consulship of the Emperor Valentinian and Neoterius, on the 16th of the calends of July, that is, the 16th of June, A.D. 390[3]. Numidius Bishop of Maxula demanded, according to the decree of the preceding council[e], that Priests should not be allowed to make the Chrism[f], nor reconcile the penitents publicly, nor consecrate young women[4][g]; all which was decreed. But Genethlius[5] added, "If any one be in "danger, and desire to be reconciled to the divine altars; "in case the Bishop be absent, the Priest ought to consult "him, and by his order reconcile the person who is in "danger." All this the council approved. Thus the Bishop was the ordinary minister of penance, and the Priest only in his absence, in case of necessity, and by his order. This council made several other canons relating to discipline, most of them to hinder Priests from attempting any thing against the Bishops, and Bishops against their brethren. They[6] renewed the law of continence[h], imposed on the three first

[2] [cæteris coepiscopis suis.]

[3] App. Conc. p. 1817. [tom. 3. p. 691. Mans.] Schelstr. Eccl. Afric. diss. 3. c. 4. p. 147.

[4] can. 3. [page 15. note s.]

[5] c. 4.

[6] can. 2.

[e] i. e. the council held immediately after the Synodical letter of the Roman council addressed to the African Church, A.D. 386, by Pope St. Siricius.

[f] Oil was used both before Baptism and after, for confirmation. The form of its consecration is given by Bingham, (bk. 11. 9. 1.) from the Apost. Constit. (7. cap. 43. Mans. 1. p. 524.) where the Ἀρχιερεὺς consecrates it, as is here decreed. See St. Ambrose and St. Cyril's account of its use, bk. 18. ch. 53 and 54.

[g] Virgins might be veiled, apparently at any age, when the object was to place them under the protection of grave matrons, after the loss of their natural protectors. Conc. Milev. 2. A. D. 416. Mans. 4. p. 326. Cod. Can. Eccles. Afr. dat. A. D. 419. Mans. 3. p. 735. But if they wished to devote themselves to GOD, no Bishop might in Africa, consecrate them before five-and-twenty. Conc. Carth. 3. A. D. 397-8. Can. 4; or, in Spain (Conc. Cæsaraug. c. 8. A. D. 381.) and Gaul (Conc. Agath. c. 19. A.D. 506.) before forty. That consecration was a subsequent act, see Ep. S. Leo. ad Rust. 92, c. 13. Such as having professed virginity, afterwards married, were liable to a year's penance. Conc. Ancyr. c. 19. A. D. 314. Relapse after consecration was more severely punished. The 3rd Can. of Nicæa, condemned the abuse of 1 Cor. 9. 5. See Gieseler, vol. 1. § 71.

[h] There were canons and heresies on the subject of Continency from the first. The latter arose from the confusion of Counsels of Perfection (Hooker, bk. 2. 8. 4.) and Moral Duties. From Continency, a gift (see Marriage Service) given both prior to (St. Matt. 19. 11, 12.) and in consequence of, prayer (1 Cor. 10. 13.) being regarded as binding on Christians morally, arose the heresy of the Cathari, &c., (St. Epiph. Hær. 59. 4,

A. D. 390. orders of the clergy, viz. Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, as being of apostolic institution[i]. They forbade any Priest

p. 496.), whose principles were condemned by the Apostolical Canon 50. (43 or 51.) It is another question whether it is binding by Divine Law on the *Clergy*. The negative is maintained by St. Thomas Aquinas (Sum. Theol. 2. 2. Qu. 88. Art. 11.) by the Church of Rome (Conc. Trident. c. 9. de Matrim. Sess. 24.) and our own. Art. 32. At the same time, Tit. 1. 8. ἐγκρατῆ i. e. *continent* (as appears from the heretics above referred to being called *Encratites*) and 1 Tim. 3. 2, 12. were supposed to contain the germ of the Church Laws, that any married man, having children, was after Ordination to live in Continence, though he was forbidden to dismiss his wife, Can. Apost. 5. (6 or 3.) and that no man who had married a widow (Can. Apost. 17.) or a second wife (ibid. 16.) should be admitted to Orders. Earnestness and persecution seem at first to have superseded the need of Canons, and all but Readers and Singers preserved continence. But no sooner had Constantine granted the Christians in Spain liberty of worship, A.D. 306. than we find a Council at Eliberis A. D. 309, requiring Continence of all Clerks (positis in ministerio, Mans. 3. p. 22.); and no sooner was universal toleration proclaimed A. D. 312, than we find two Councils at Neocæsarea and Ancyra, both A.D. 314, enforcing the Law of Continence. The increase of Clergy on Christianity becoming the religion of the Empire, and on the bestowal of privileges on the Order, tempted many to seek Ordination, little likely to act with the ancient asceticism. In behalf of these weak brethren, Paphnutius resisted those Bishops at Nicæa (325) who wished to make Continence binding on them. (See Socr. Soz. Epiph. Schol. A.D. 510. Gelasius, A.D. 476.) After this Council, the doctrine of the Novatian Cathari was condemned at Gangra, A.D. 328. (so explained by Conc. Rom. A.D. 1074. Mans. 20. p. 425.) but the doctrine of Clerical Continence is urged constantly by the Fathers. (vid. S. Epiph. Expos. Fid. Cath. ad Calc. Panar. p. 1103. C. Hær. 59. § 4. p. 496. S. Ambros. de Off. Ministr. 1. § 258. Epist. 63. ad Eccles. Vercell. § 62. Euseb. Dem. Evang. lib. 1. c. 9. ad fin. S. Hier. adv. Jovin. t. 4. ps. 2. p. 175. adv. Vigil. p. 281.) St. Siricius confirmed the decree of Conc. Elib. in the letter to Himerius, A. D. 385. (Supra. bk. 18. ch. 34.) and issued a Decretal, A.D. 386, containing the same subject, which was received by the Council alluded to in the 2nd Canon in the text. He, as well as the Carthaginian Council grounded the rule on Apostolical Tradition. Pope Innocent repeated this decretal, A. D. 404, and Pope Leo extended it to Subdeacons. (Ep. ad Anast. A. D. 446.) These, however, were not included, in Sicily, till Pope Gregory the Great, A. D. 590. (Ep. ad Pet. Subdiac.) nor apparently in Spain, Conc. Tolet. III. (A.D. 589.) c. 5. IV. (A.D. 633.) c. 27, though it was evidently desired. Conc. Tolet. (A.D. 531.) c. 1. Mans. 8. p. 785. Priests and Deacons, if incontinent, were reduced to lay communion by Conc. Turon. A.D. 461; but irregularities must have grown common, when we find among other Canons enforcing Continence on Subdeacons or Deacons, (Conc. Agath. c. 9. A.D. 506. Conc. Aurel. c. 3. A.D. 538. Conc. Aquisgran. (t. 14, p. 155.) A.D. 816. Conc. Wormat. (tom. 15. p. 866. ex parte reprob.) A.D. 868,) a Canon (Conc. Turon. 2. A. D.) 567. c. 12.) enjoining a *Bishop* to live with his wife (*Episcopa* c. 13.) as with a sister. (See Gieseler, vol. 1. § 95.) In A.D. 1074 the Church (then in a miserable condition) was reformed by Pope Gregory VII. (Mans. 20. p. 401.) He met with the fiercest opposition, but by his firmness succeeded. From that time the Law of Continence became recognized by all the Western Church, till the English branch of it resisted the rule. The English Clergy had been among the foremost to obey Hildebrand, as appears by the Council of Winchester, A.D. 1076, under Lanfranc. Continence was made binding on them by the Six Articles 31°. Hen. VIII. c. 6. A.D. 1539, but *permission* was granted to Ecclesiastics to marry by Convocation, and 2 and 3. Ed. VI. A. D. 1548, but the Statute says expressly, that "A life of Continence is better "for the estimation of Priests,—and "for the administration of the Gospel— "and that it were most to be wished "that they would willingly and of their "own selves endeavour themselves to a "perpetual chastity." See Collier, vol. 2. p. 262. An. 1548.

[i] "That which the Apostles have "taught and Antiquity itself hath pre- "served, let us too keep."

under pain of deposition[1], to celebrate[2] the Holy Sacrifice in a house, or any other place whatsoever, without order from the Bishop. If a Priest[3], excommunicated by his Bishop, instead of complaining to the neighbouring Bishops, hold separate assemblies, and offer the Holy Sacrifice, he shall be deposed, anathematized, and banished to a distance from the city. We see here again the difference between a temporary excommunication, for the correction of a sinner, and anathema[4]. Any Bishop[5], Priest, or Clerk, is forbidden to receive those who have been excommunicated for their crimes, and who, instead of submitting to their Bishop, appeal to the court[6], or to the secular judges, or to other Ecclesiastical judges. Whosoever[7] had been found guilty of a crime was not suffered to accuse a Bishop or a Priest[8]. It was decreed according[9] to the ancient rules, that a Bishop, that is accused, ought to be judged at least by twelve Bishops, and a Priest by six, a Deacon by three, joined with their own Bishop. The execution of this canon was not difficult, by reason of the number of Bishops, and even of councils. It was forbidden[1] that any Bishop should intrude upon the diocese of his neighbour. No Bishop[2] might be put into a diocese, that had never before had one, unless the believers had been increased, and desired it: then a new Bishop might be appointed, if it were with the consent of the Bishop in whose diocese it was. No Bishop may take upon him to ordain another in any council, however numerous, without an order in writing from the Primate of the province, and with that order, three[k] Bishops are sufficient in case of necessity[3].

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[1] can. 9.
[2] celebrare.—agant agenda.]
[3] can. 8.
[4] see supra ch. 9. p. 153.]
[5] can. 7.
[6] comitatus.]
[7] can. 6.
[8] τοὺς πατέρας. Græc. can. 8. *majores natu.* Lat.]
[9] can. 10. [Vid. Græc. c. 12.]
[1] can. 11.
[2] can. 5.
[3] can. 12.

XXIII. Suppression of the Penitentiary Priest at Constantinople.

In the East the discipline of penance was something different. For to every church there was a Penitentiary Priest, whom the Bishop trusted with the examination of penitents. This took its first rise from the heresy of Novatian, who would not allow of any penance after Baptism; and it is said, that after his condemnation[4], this Priest was added to the list[5] of the Clergy. The heretics themselves had followed this rule, except the Novatians. The office of

[4] bk. 6. 55. Socr. 5. 19.
[5] τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι.]

[k] Can. Apostol. 1, 2. "Let a Bishop "be ordained (χειροτονείσθω) by two "or three Bishops; a Presbyter, by one "Bishop, as well as a Deacon and the "other Clerks."

A. D. 390. the Penitentiary therefore was to receive the confessions of
[1] Soz. 7. 16. those who had fallen after baptism. He[1] was to be a person of known excellence of character, secrecy, and prudence. He prescribed to each person according to his sin, the penance that he was to perform, and dismissed him to inflict on himself the punishment he had incurred.

At Constantinople a woman of rank once came to the Penitentiary Priest, and confessed to him in detail the sins which she had committed since her baptism. The Priest directed her to fast and pray continually. As on this account she continued a long time in the church, she suffered herself to be seduced by a Deacon. She declared this sin, which occasioned great scandal among the people and great indignation against the Clergy, from the shame which it brought upon the whole Church. The Bishop Nectarius was much perplexed to know how to act in this affair. He deposed the Deacon, and by the advice of a Priest called Eudæmon, a native of Alexandria, he withdrew the Penitentiary Priest, and gave every one liberty to partake of the mysteries, according to the guidance of his conscience. It is thus that the historian Socrates relates the matter, which he says he had from Eudæmon's own mouth; and adds, that he said to him, "Whether your advice has been "of service to the Church or not, God knows; but I see that "you have given occasion to the faithful not to reprove one "another, and to transgress the precept of the Apostle, who
[2] Eph. 5. 11. "says, *Have*[2] *no fellowship with the unfruitful works of dark-*"*ness, but rather reprove them.*" These words of Socrates can only[1] be applied to the public confession of certain sins, which the Penitentiary could enjoin as he thought proper, and which gave occasion to the faithful to reprove and correct the sinners.

The greatest part of the Eastern Churches followed the example of the Church of Constantinople, and suppressed the Penitentiary Priest. That is to say, they returned to the ancient custom, which was preserved in the West, *viz.* that the Bishop himself should take care of public penance, with-

[1] *Only, viz.* because the Priest would not divulge the confession; as the *secrecy* required in him shews. But this Priest seems to have something more of a judicial character, (see not. Vales.) and would convict by witnesses and other evidence. He might in this case have exposed the Deacon, not the woman.

out the offenders being obliged to apply to a particular Priest. They retained the ancient liberty, mentioned by Origen[1], of choosing their spiritual physician themselves, and of confessing, if he thought proper, some of their sins even in public, or of approaching the holy mysteries without having recourse to penance, if they believed it conscientiously to be unnecessary, as is still the custom among us[m]. It will be plainly seen by the sequel of this history, that the suppression of the Penitentiary Priest has been of no prejudice, either to the secret confession, which is always necessary for the administration of penance, or to public penance, which is always practised in some cases even in the Church at Constantinople. A. D. 390.

[1] Hom. 2. § 6. in Psal. 37. tom. 2. p. 688.

XXIV. Laws concerning Deaconesses and Monks.

Sozomen seems to suppose that the person who caused this scandal was a deaconess. For he thinks[2] that it was the occasion of the law[3] which Theodosius made, for the honour and reputation of the Church, by which he forbids that any women under the age of sixty should be chosen for deaconesses, according to the precept of the Apostle[4]. It is his will also that they have children, and that they provide a guardian for them, if still necessary; that they leave to others the management of their lands[5], and only enjoy the revenues, of which they may dispose as liberally as they please. He forbids them to dispose of their jewels[n] and other valuables[6]; or to appoint the Church or any Clerk [or poor man] for their heir, or to leave any thing by way of legacy, by *Fideicommissum*[7], or by any kind of bequest, on penalty of its being null[o]. He will not suffer any women who have cut off their hair under pretence of religion to be admitted into the church[p], under penalty, if any Bishop permits it, of his being deposed. This is the execution of a canon of the council of Gangra[8].

[2] Soz. 7. 16.
[3] Cod. Th. 16. tit. 2. 27. de Episc.
[4] 1 Tim. 5. 9, 10.
[5] *bona, i.e. prædia.*]
[6] *sub religionis defensione.*]
[7] see bk. 18. 4. note i.]
[8] bk. 17. 35. Conc. Gangr Can. 17. [tom. 2. p. 1104. Mans. circ. A. D. 324.]

This law is addressed to the Tatian, Prætorian Præfect of

[m] See *Exhortation to the Holy Communion* in the Book of Common Prayer, ad fin.

[n] As being "claræ domus insignia" which, as Gothof. remarks, implies that women of rank sought the office of Deaconess.

[o] All the laws which forbade women bequeathing their property to Ecclesiastics or Church purposes were repealed by the Emperor Martian. A. D. 455. Novell. ad Calc. Cod. Th. lib. 3. c. 5.

[p] "Eustathius, the heretic, was for "having all virgins shorn or shaven at "their consecration; but the Council "of Gangra immediately rose up against "him and anathematized the practice; "passing a decree in these words, If any "woman under pretence of an ascetic "life cut off her hair, which GOD hath "given her for a memorial of subjection, "let her be Anathema, as one that dis-"annuls the Decree of Subjection." Bingham, bk. 7. 4. 6.

A. D. 390. the East, and dated the eleventh of the calends of July, at Milan, under the fourth Consulship of Valentinian with Neoterius, *i. e.* the 21st of June A. D. 390. But two months after, viz. the 23rd of August, it was revoked in part by another law[1], which permits deaconesses, during their lifetime, to give their slaves, and all their other goods, even their jewels[2], to Clerks or to the Church.

[1] Cod. Th. 16. 2. 28.

[2] mancipia, supellectilem, prædam.]

Theodosius at the same time made a law[3] against the Monks, which enjoined them to retire into desert places, and to lead a solitary life. It is dated the 3rd of September in the same year 390, and addressed to the same Tatian, the Prætorian Præfect of the East; which leads us to suppose that it related chiefly to the Egyptian and Syrian Monks, who under pretence of zeal, came into the towns to importune the judges to pardon criminals, often so violently as to raise sedition, and waged an open war with the Pagans, demolishing their idols and temples[q]. We have seen how Theodosius complained of it to St. Ambrose[4]. However he revoked this law about twenty months after, on his return to Constantinople, by another law[5] of the 17th of April in the year 392, addressed to the same Tatian, and in which he ascribed the former prohibition to the injurious solicitations[6] of the judges, and permitted the Monks to have free access into the cities. The Emperor Theodosius having spent almost three years in Italy[7], left the young Valentinian there, and returned with his son Honorius to Constantinople, which he entered on the 10th of November, under the Consulship of Tatian and Symmachus, *i. e.* in the year 391.

[3] Cod. Th. 16. tit. 3. 1. et ibi Gothofr.

[4] Supra ch. 14. p. 163.

[5] Cod. Th. 16. tit. 3. 2.

[6] dum judiciariis aguntur injuriis.]

[7] Socr. 5. 18. Marcell. Chron. an. 391.

XXV. Heresy of the Massalians.

Among the vagrant Monks who at that time infested the East, may be reckoned the Massalian[8] heretics, who made profession of renouncing the world, though really they were not all Monks[r]. They were called in Syriac *Massalians* or *Messalians*, and in Greek *Euchites*, that is to say, *Supplicators*, because they made the essence of religion to consist in prayer

[8] Epiph. Hær. 80. p. 1067.

[q] Gieseler ascribes the acts of zeal to fanaticism. Vol. 1. § 76, 93. By his account, however, they seem to have obeyed their Bishops. If it is not possible, neither is it necessary to defend them in every case.

[r] "There were some who wavered "between Paganism and Christianity, "hoping to find the truth in a middle "course. These went so far as to form "themselves into sects, the Massalians "in Phœnicia and Palestine, and in "Cappadocia the Hypsistarii of nearly "the same tenets, in the beginning of "the fourth century; and towards the "end of it, the Cœlicolæ in Africa." Gieseler, vol. 1. § 73.

only[s]. They were also called in Syriac *Abin* and *Paanin*, that is, Perverse[t]. They were of two sorts; the most ancient were heathens, and had nothing in common with Jews or Christians. Although they admitted a plurality of gods, they nevertheless worshipped but one only, whom they named the *Almighty*. It is commonly thought, and with some foundation, that they are the same with those whom others call *Hypsistarians*[u], or worshippers of the Most High[1]. Their oratories were very large buildings open at the top like market-places; here they met[2] together night and morning, and by the light of many lamps, sang certain hymns to the praise of God; whence they were also called in Greek *Euphemites*. Many of these, because they corrupted[3] the truth, and imitated the customs and practice of the Church without being Christians, were put to death by some magistrates[4]. The *Euphemites* took the bodies of such of their members as had been put to death, and buried them in certain places where they afterwards used to sing their hymns; whence they called themselves, *Martyrians*. Some[5] of them reflecting on the great influence and power which the devil has to hurt mankind, addressed themselves to him, worshipped him, and prayed to him in order to appease him; whence these took the name of *Satanians*. Such were the *heathen* Massalians. A. D. 390.

[1] bk. 11. ch. 33.

[2] Epiph. §2.

[3] παραχαράττειν.

[4] τῶν ἀρχόντων ζηλωταί.

[5] § 3.

Those who bore the name of Christians, began about the reign of Constantius, but their origin is uncertain. They came from Mesopotamia, and some of them were at Antioch when St. Epiphanius wrote his treatise *Against Heresies, i. e.* A. D. 376[6]. He ascribes their error to the extreme simplicity of some among them[7], who had taken in too literal a sense the precept of our LORD, of forsaking all to follow him, and selling their goods and distributing to the poor. They indeed abandoned every thing; but they afterwards led an idle[8] and vagabond life, asked alms, and lived together men and women promiscuously, sleeping in the open streets during

[6] begun A. D. 374.

[7] § 4. p. 1070.

[8] § 3.

[s] See Ezra 6. 10. וּמְצַלְּיִן, from the Chald. צְלָא, to pray. It occurs again Dan. 6. 11.

[t] This sentence is omitted by the Benedictine Editors. S. Hieron. Procem. in Dial. adv. Pelag. tom. 4. pars 2. p. 484. not. a.

[u] Gregory, the father of Gregory Nazianzen, was originally a Hypsistarian and was converted by St. Leontius of Cæsarea, as the latter was on his way to the Council of Nicæa. Greg. Naz. Orat. (19) 18. Bened. c. 5. tom. 1. p. 333—338.

A. D. 390. the summer nights. They never fasted, but would eat as early as eight or nine in the morning, and even before day-break, as they felt hungry. They[1] rejected all manual labour as wicked, abusing those words of our Saviour, *Labour*[2] *not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life.* St. Epiphanius[3] opposes chiefly this erroneous opinion with respect to labour; he shews the inconveniences of living upon alms, and the cringing meanness it involves towards the rich, even towards such as had acquired their possessions by unlawful means. He cites the precept of the Apostle[4], and the practice of the Monks, particularly the Egyptian, who united so well the duties of labour and prayer. He adds the example of the Priests and Bishops, who though they might justly claim a subsistence from their flock, (who owed them the first-fruits and oblations of all their lawful gains,) made notwithstanding a moderate use of them. "The greatest part," says he, "though not all of them, imitating the example of the "Apostle St. Paul, labour with their hands at some art "which is not incompatible with their dignity and their "continual application to the government of the Church, "that, after having instructed the people committed to their "care, they may moreover have the conscientious joy of "having supplied their wants by their own hands, and of "having given to the poor the surplus both of their ob-"lations and of their labour; such is their zeal towards "God, and love for their neighbour." This is the account which St. Epiphanius gives of the greatest part of the Bishops and Priests of his time.

[1] Theod. Hist. 5. 10.

[2] St. John 6. 27.

[3] Hær. 80. § 5, 6.

[4] 2 Thess. 3. 10.

"The Messalians deny," says Theodoret[5], "that those who "receive Baptism derive any benefit from it. It cuts away "indeed former sins, like a razor, but the root of sin is left "standing. It is incessant prayer which tears up the root of "sin, and drives the evil spirit, which from the first dwells with "each man, from the soul. For they imagine that as soon "as a man is born an evil spirit forthwith becomes his com-"panion and moves him to wicked actions. This spirit "neither Baptism nor aught else can expel but instant "prayer alone. It departs in blowing the nose and in "spitting," and some have said that in this process of puri-

[5] Theod. Hær. Fab. 4. 11.

fication, they imagined[1] a sow with her litter was seen to issue from the mouth, and a fire, which did not burn, to enter in. "Thus these thrice miserable beings refuse all "labour (for they call themselves *Spiritual*), and while they "pretend to pray only, sleep away most of the day. Then "they pretend that they receive revelations, and they utter "prophecies which are falsified by the event. They boast of "seeing with their bodily eyes, the Father, the Son, and the "All-Holy Spirit, and that they receive sensibly the Holy "Ghost, when He comes upon them[2]. They denied that "anything, good or bad, was derived from the Divine Food "of which the Lord Christ said, *He that eateth My Flesh and "drinketh My Blood shall live for ever*[3]. They got the name "of *Enthusiasts*, from their extravagant transports in prayer. "They would suddenly leap, and say that they had leaped "over the evil spirits; and that they were shooting at them, "while they imitated the action of a man drawing a bow[4]. If "any one were asked whether he was a Prophet, a Patriarch, "an Angel, or even CHRIST, they would shew at once their "puerility and their presumption by affirming it[5]. They "held that a man might attain perfection so as not only "to resemble, but to equal GOD in virtue and knowledge, "and that in this state a man could not sin even ignorantly "or in thought[6]. They did not separate from the Com-"munion of the Church[7]. They concealed their doctrines, and "would deny them when convicted, and even when pressed "would anathematize such as held them[8]." The leaders of this heresy were Adelphius, who was neither Monk nor Clerk, but a simple layman; Sabas, who had put on the garb of a Monk, and from his treatment of himself was called Apocopus; another Sabas, Eustathius of Edessa, Dadöes, Hermas and Symeones.

A. D. 390.

[1] S. August. Hær. 57. tom. 8. p. 19.

[2] Theod. Hær. Fab. 4. 11.

[3] Theod. Hist. 4. 10.

[4] Hær. Fab. ibid.

[5] Epiph. § 3.

[6] S. Hier. Proem. in dial. adv. Pelag.

[7] Hist. ibid.

[8] Hær. Fab. ibid.

XXVI. Their condemnation.

When Flavian[9], Bishop[1] of Antioch, heard of their being at Edessa and of spreading their poison in its neighbourhood, he sent a body of Monks, who brought them to Antioch. They constantly denied the charges brought against them, but were convicted in the following manner. Flavian pretended that he was satisfied of the falsehood of the witnesses and the weakness of their cause; he addressed Adelphius (who was a very old man) courteously, placed him at his side, and

[9] Hist. ibid.

[1] ἀρχιε-ρεὺς.]

A. D. 390. engaged him in a private conversation which the younger, he said, were unfit to hear, but in which they, from the experience which years had given them, both of grace and the stratagems of evil spirits, might fitly join. "Tell me then," said Flavian, "how ye say that the evil spirit departs and the "Grace of the All-Holy Spirit comes upon man." The old man, flattered, emitted all his hidden poison; "Baptism," said he, "is of no avail. Earnest prayer alone drives out the "in-dwelling evil spirit. Each man inherits from his first "parents not only his own nature, but the service of the "evil spirits. When these are banished by earnest prayer, "then comes down the All-Holy Spirit, who makes His "presence sensible and visible, delivers the body from the "motions of the passions, and the soul from all inclination "to evil. Not only so, but the purified man clearly foresees "things to come, and visibly beholds the Divine Trinity." Flavian then turned to the miserable old man, and said to him in the words of Scripture[x], "O thou that art waxen old in "wickedness, not I, thine own mouth hath convicted thee; "thine own lips have borne witness against thee[1]."

[1] Hist. Susanna, v. 52, 55.

He afterwards held a council[2] with three Bishops, who met apparently at Antioch, with thirty Priests and Deacons. The three Bishops were Bizus of Seleucia, Maruthas of Sopharene near Mesopotamia, and Samus, whose See is unknown. Although Adelphius confessed his repentance, and that he renounced his heresy, the council notwithstanding condemned both him and his accomplices, for they were convicted of insincerity in their abjuration, by being discovered communicating in writing with those whom they had condemned as Massalians, as really holding the same opinions. Flavian wrote a letter to the faithful of the province of Osdroene, in which Edessa was situated, to acquaint them with all that had passed, and how the heretics had been overthrown and anathematized. The Bishops of Osdroene thanked Flavian, and concurred in what he had done. However, there still remained a great number of Massalians in Syria.

[2] Phot. Bibl. No. 52.

The Massalians, after being driven from Edessa, retired

[x] These words are Fleury's: the Fathers draw a distinction between Scripture and Canonical Scripture. St. Ambrose (Ep. 63. A.D. 396. p. 1026.) says "The "Scripture saith, *Fasting and alms de-* "*liver from sin.*" Tobit 12. 8, 9.

into Pamphylia. St. Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, and [Metropolitan] of Lycaonia, which bordered on Pamphylia, delivered the Province from the contagion, by summoning a Council of five-and-twenty Bishops besides himself, at Sida, the Metropolis of Pamphylia [Prima]. They directed a Synodical letter to St. Flavian, of Antioch, with an account of their proceedings. St. Amphilochius exposed[1] the error of their doctrine more plainly than had been done before, by inserting in the Acts of the Council the very words, which the Massalians used[2], and which plainly shewed their heterodoxy. Letoïus too, Bishop of Melitine in Armenia, wrote to St. Flavian for information on this matter, and was informed of the condemnation of the Massalians. Upon this, full of zeal and shocked at seeing many monasteries infected with this pestilential heresy, he set them on fire and drove the wolves from the sheep-folds[3]. They received, however, some protection from another Bishop in Armenia, with whom St. Flavian was, in consequence, obliged to remonstrate[4]. A. D. 390.

[1 ἐστηλίτευσεν.]

[2] Hær. Fab. 4. 11.

[3] Theod. Hist. 4. 10.

[4] Phot. No. 52.

The schism at Antioch still continued. Bishop Paulinus died about the year 389, but his adherents still refused to acknowledge Flavian. They had another[5] Bishop, *viz.* the Priest Evagrius, a friend of St. Jerome[6], and son[y] of Pompeianus, of an illustrious family at Antioch. Paulinus[7] had established him during his lifetime by himself, thereby violating several canons, those namely which prohibited a Bishop's consecrating his successor, required all the Bishops of the province to be summoned to the ordination, and three at least to assist at it[8]. However the Western Church did not scruple to acknowledge Evagrius as Bishop of Antioch, and to correspond with him as they had done with Paulinus, whose adherents still reproached Flavian for having violated his oath, pretending that when a Priest he had sworn with the rest, not to appoint a successor to Meletius during the lifetime of Paulinus. Thus on both sides each relied more on the invalidity of his rival's ordination, than on the validity of his own[9]. A Council was held at Capua[1] in Italy, where all those who professed the Catholic faith, were admitted to communion, and as to the dispute between Evagrius and

XXVII. Schism at Antioch. Council of Capua.

[5] Soc. 5. 15. Soz. 7. 15.

[6] Chron. Hieron. an. 275.

[7] Theod. 5. 23.

[8] Vide Can. Apost. 1, 67. (al. 75.) et Conc. Nic. c. 4. vide Respons. 8. S. Greg. ad S. August. Cantuar.]

[9] S. Ambr. Ep. 56. § 5. [Vid. Mans. 3. p. 685. A. D. 391.]

[1] Ibid. § 2.

[y] *Descendant* of Pompeianus, for the latter fought against Zenobia, A.D. 275. S. Hier. Chron. ubi in marg. laud.

A. D. 391. Flavian, it was referred to Theophilus of Alexandria and the Egyptian Bishops, who were presumed to be unbiassed, from not having embraced the communion of either[z].

[1] Ep. ap. S. Ambr. p. 1008.

The same Council of Capua referred[1] the judging of Bonosus Bishop of Sardica to the neighbouring Bishops, particularly to those of Macedonia, with Anysius of Thessalonica their Metropolitan[a]. Bonosus attacked[2], as did Jovinian[b], the perpetual virginity of St. Mary, pretending that she had had other children after the birth of our Saviour. He even denied our Lord's Divinity in the same manner as Photinus, so that the Photinians were afterwards called Bonosiacs[4]. The Bishops of Macedonia would have referred the judging of Bonosus[c] to the Bishops of Italy; but the latter answered them thus: "Since the Council of Capua "has nominated you to be judges, it is no longer in our "power to act in that capacity; you alone are invested with "the authority of the Council." We here see an instance of the deference which Bishops paid to their brethren, and how fearful they were of encroaching upon each other's authority; and this example is so much the more remarkable, as some even among the Roman party[5] ascribe this letter of the Italian Bishops to the Pope Siricius[d]. At last Bonosus' cause was judged by Anysius of Thessalonica and the rest of the Macedonian Bishops, by whom it was decreed[6] that all those whom he had ordained, since and notwithstanding his suspension, should be acknowledged as duly ordained. The Macedonian Bishops by this decree acted against the common practice, but they were obliged to do it, lest the clerks, ordained by Bonosus, by continuing with him, should increase the scandal[e].

[2] Ibid. c. 4. not. and S. Ambr. de Instit. Virg. § 35. not. tom. 2. p. 257.

[3] Mar. Marc. Dissert. de J2. Anath. § 15. p. 128. [165.]

[4] S. Ambr. ibid. § 65. cum not. Bened.

[4] Gennad. ap. S. Hier. Catal. c. 15.

[5] Holst. Collect. Rom. p. 189.

[6] Ep. Innoc. I. 22. [17.] § 5.

Evagrius was urgent to have the decree of the Council of

[z] Yet Theodoret joins the "Romans "and Egyptians" in their enmity with the Meletians; and hence Flavian's unwillingness to submit to their decision. Theod. 5. 23.

[a] Reference was made to Anysius, as being *inter primates primus*. Epist. S. Innocent. 13. § 3. See Supra, bk. 18. ch. 22. n. x.

[b] St. Austin says (Supra, ch. 19.) that no Bishop had been misled by Jovinian; not referring apparently to this particular point.

[c] The Macedonian Bishops referred their *judgment* to Pope Siricius, who disclaimed interference, because the Capuan Council had put the decision wholly in their hands.

[d] Coustant, the highest authority, refers this letter to St. Siricius.

[e] The decision of Anysius related to the Clerks ordained by Bonosus *before* his condemnation. Epist. Innoc. § 9, 11; as to those ordained *after*, St. Innocent seems to imply that in case of great necessity their Ordination too might be considered valid. § 11, 13.

Capua put into execution; but Flavian would not submit to it, nor to the judgment of the Egyptian Bishops; on the contrary he again began to present petitions to the Emperor, and seek protection from him. Theophilus of Alexandria wrote to St. Ambrose upon this subject, who answered him in these terms: "Evagrius[1] has no reason to be so urgent, and "Flavian has cause to fear, and therefore avoids the trial. "Let our brethren pardon our just grief; the world is "troubled on their account; yet they do not sympathize "with our grief, nor choose what appertaineth to the peace "of CHRIST." He proceeds: "Again must the aged[2] Bishops "be distressed, again must they leave the Holy Altars to cross "the seas: again must crowds of indigent Bishops, whose "poverty used not to oppress them, be reduced to want "themselves, or at any rate to use for their journey, what "else had fed the poor. Meanwhile Flavian[3] alone fancies "himself exempt from the laws; neither the decrees of the "Emperor nor the assembly of the Bishops can prevail upon "him to appear in person. However we[4] do not upon that "account consider our brother Evagrius to be altogether in "the right; it is with grief that we perceive that each lays "greater stress upon the invalidity of his opponent's ordina-"tion, than on the validity of his own." He goes on: "You "must[5] therefore again urge our brother Flavian, and if he "persists in his refusal, we must then take measures for "the preservation of peace among all, pursuant to the "Council of Capua, whose decree must not be rendered "ineffectual by the attempts of either party to avoid it. "Moreover[6] we are of opinion, that it would be proper for "you to refer your decision to our holy Brother the Bishop "of Rome; for we do not doubt but that the judgment you "shall pronounce, will meet with his approbation; and the "only means of establishing a solid peace, will be for us all "to concur in what you shall decide and he approve."

A. D. 391.

[1] S. Ambr. Ep. 56. [A.D.392.]

[2] § 3.

[3] § 4.

[4] § 5.

[5] § 6.

[6] § 7.

The Pope also complained[7] to the Emperor of the conduct of Flavian. "You humble," he says, "those tyrants "who rise against you, but those who assail the laws of "Christ you leave unpunished." Theodosius immediately on his return to Constantinople in November, A. D. 391, had sent for Flavian, and commanded him to go to Rome;

[7] Theod. Hist. 5. 23.

A. D. 391. from a wish to comply with the instances of the Pope and the other Bishops of the West, who earnestly solicited him to put an end to the schism of Antioch. Flavian at that time pleaded the winter as an excuse for his refusal, and returned home, promising to obey the Emperor's command in the spring. When the Pope renewed his importunity, the Emperor sent again for Flavian, and urged him to set out and go to Rome. Then Flavian gave this resolute[1] answer: "If I am accused of error in faith, or of leading a life un- "worthy of the priesthood, I desire no other judges than my "accusers themselves; but if a throne and primacy[2] be the "object of dispute, I will offer no defence, I will resign the "primacy; confer the throne of Antioch, O Emperor, on "whom thou wilt." The Emperor moved with this generosity, bade him return and feed the Church entrusted to his care. A short time after this Evagrius died, and Flavian managed that no one should be appointed to succeed him, but those who were ill-disposed towards Flavian continued to hold their assemblies apart.

[1 ἀξιεπαίνῳ Theod.]

[2 προεδρίας.]

XXVIII. Pagan sedition at Alexandria. [3 Soz. 7. 15.]

Meanwhile the Bishop Theophilus actively undertook the overthrow of idolatry in Egypt, where it had taken such deep root. There was at Alexandria an ancient temple of Bacchus[3], which had been so neglected, that nothing remained standing but the bare walls[f]. From the increase of the faithful, Theophilus found it necessary to increase the number of churches[4], and asked Theodosius to give this ruin to him for that purpose. The Emperor consented, and Theophilus began to clear it and take away the idols[5]. In the secret places underground, which the Pagans called in Greek Adyta, and held sacred, were found the scandalous figures, called in Greek Phalli, and others, which were only ridiculous. These Theophilus took care to expose and parade publicly, to shame the Pagans for their mysteries. They could not put up with it. The philosophers were offended, the people became furious, and not satisfied with seditious exclamations, came to blows and took up arms. Conflicts were frequent in the streets, and many were killed on both sides. The Christians, though superior in strength, were held back by the moderation their faith had

[4 orationum loca.]

[5 ξοάνων.]

[f] Ruffinus (11. c. 22.) speaks of it as a Basilica, which Constantius had given to the Arians.

taught them; the Pagans after killing many of them retired to the temple of Serapis, as to their fortress. They made a sudden sally, and dragging back with them such Christians as they could surprise, forced them to sacrifice on the Altars, and, if they refused, put them to the most cruel tortures, crucified some, and threw others, after they had broken their legs, into the pits which had been made to receive the blood of the victims and the rest of the filth attendant on their sacrifices. A. D. 391.

The Pagans began these excesses with some fear, but getting bolder they at last threw off all restraint and behaved with the utmost recklessness. They supported themselves for some time in the temple, living upon plunder. They chose for their leader a man named Olympus, a man with the name and garb of a philosopher[1]. He had come from Cilicia to devote himself to the worship of Serapis, and established himself, at Alexandria, as a teacher of paganism[2]. He assembled everywhere those whom he met, instructed them in their ancient laws, and promised the utmost happiness as a reward to those who strictly observed them. He possessed every external recommendation. His figure was tall and well-proportioned, his countenance handsome, he was in the vigour of his mind, affable, agreeable, eloquent, the very person to lead the multitude, who looked upon him as something divine[3].

[1] Suid. Olymp.

[2] ἱεροδιδάσκαλος.]

[3] Suid. Olymp.

This temple of Serapis[4], in which the insurgents had fortified themselves, was built on a quadrangular terrace, raised artificially to the height of more than a hundred steps, and spacious on every side. The ascent to the summit was vaulted throughout, and the whole substruction was divided into chambers, communicating with each other by secret passages, and lighted by immense lamps suspended from the roofs. Above, the extremities of the terrace were occupied with halls for disputation[5], sleeping rooms[6], and lofty buildings, which were inhabited by the officers of the temple[7], or persons who were under a course of purification[8]. Then came rows of porticoes, forming a quadrangular court, in the midst of which stood the temple in its grandeur and magnificence, built of marble and supported by precious columns. Within, the walls of the temple were covered with plates of copper, under which were said to be others of silver,

[4] Ruff. 11. 23.

[5] exedræ.]

[6] pastophoria.]

[7] æditui.]

[8] οἱ ἀγνεύοντες.]

A. D. 391. and under both, other plates of gold, the more precious metal being the more carefully protected. The Idol of Serapis was of such enormous size, that with its extended hands it touched both sides of the temple. It was the figure of a venerable man with a beard and long hair, as is seen on medals; but at its side stood another monstrous or mysterious figure of a creature with three heads, of which the largest, in the middle, was that of a lion, on the right was that of a fawning dog, and that of a ravening wolf on the left. A serpent surrounding these three animals with its folds submitted its head to the right hand of Serapis. The latter image carried on his head a bushel[1], which led some to suppose that the Patriarch Joseph was intended by it, and that the superstitious Egyptians paid him divine honours for the abundance he had procured for them. Indeed no one was very certain[2] what god this idol was meant to represent, nor whence it had come into Egypt[3]. The material of the idol was mixed; all kinds of metals, precious stones, and woods, are said to have entered into its composition. The original blue with which it had been painted, time had rendered black. There was[4] in the wall of the temple a very small aperture, so placed, that the sun's rays passing through it fell on the lips of Serapis, on the day and at the instant when it was customary to bring the idol of the sun to visit him, so that the sun was seen by the assembled people to salute Serapis with a kiss. Other artifices are related, by which, at this time, the idolaters were deceived. So successful were they in this case, that there was no idol more respected than that of Serapis in Alexandria, which was considered a sacred city from its presence[5].

[1] Macrob. Saturn. 1. 20. [*calathum.*]

[2] Clem. Alex. Protrept. p.14. [t. 1. p. 43. Potter.]

[3] Vid. S. Aug. de Civ. 18. c. 5. tom. 7.

[4] Ruff. 11. 23.

[5] Jul. Imp. Epist. 10. 51. Eunap. in Ædes. p. 72. [43.]

The Præfect of Egypt[6] at this time was Evagrius, and Count Romanus, the General of the forces in Egypt[7]. As soon as they were informed of the sedition, they hastened to the temple of Serapis and demanded[8] of the Pagans the cause of their temerity, and what was meant by the concourse, and why the blood of the citizens was shed before the altars. The insurgents who had secured the entrances answered only with cries and confused noises. In vain was the Roman power represented, and the vengeance they had to expect put before them. The strength of the place itself, which they had increased by the fortifications, precluded all

[6] [ὕπαρχος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας.]

[7] Soz. 7. 15.

[8] Ruff. 11. 22.

means of attack but open force, and the officers would not resort to this, till they had written to the Emperor. Despair and the harangues of Olympus added to the courage of the insurgents. He exhorted them to die rather than abandon their fathers' laws. He endeavoured to remove their consternation at the destruction of their idols, by telling them that *they* were merely representations[1] of perishable material and subject to destruction, but that the powers which had dwelt in them had taken flight to heaven. He had, besides, predicted to his friends, that Serapis was soon about to leave his temple[2]. A. D. 391.

[1] [ἱνδάλματα λέγων εἶναι τὰ ἀγάλματα.]

[2] Suid. Olymp. XXIX.

As soon as Theodosius heard of these events, he pronounced the Christians, who had suffered at Alexandria, happy, as having earned the crown of Martyrdom, and they are still commemorated on the seventeenth of March[3]. His rescript to the magistrates pronounced a free pardon to the guilty, as well that the Martyrdom of the Christians might not be dishonoured with executions, as to win the murderers to the Faith. He decreed, however, the subversion of the temples at Alexandria, as the causes of the insurrection. The Bishop Theophilus, at whose solicitation this decree was sent, took care, with Evagrius and Romanus, to have it executed, and sent for some Monks to Alexandria to assist him with their prayers[4]. On the arrival of the Emperor's reply, the whole multitude, Christians and Pagans, having agreed upon a cessation of hostilities for that purpose, assembled[5]. The first page of the letter, which condemned the vain superstition of the Pagans, filled the Christians with exultation and their adversaries with dismay, the heathen looked round for some means of concealment, at least by mingling themselves with the Christians. Many fled from Alexandria and were dispersed through various cities[6]. Among the rest were two Grammarians, who afterwards became professors at Constantinople, Helladius (who boasted of having slain nine men in the insurrection) and Ammonius; the former said to have been priest of Jupiter, the other of the Ape worshipped by the Egyptians.

Destruction of the temple of Serapis.

[3] Martyrol. Rom. Mart. 17.

[4] Vit. Patr. Rosw. p. 572. § 63.

[5] Ruff. 11. 22, 23. [p. 435.]

[6] Socr. 5. 16.

The temple of Serapis was abandoned; Olympus himself took flight. It is said that the midnight before, he heard a voice in the temple singing *Hallelujah*. He found the doors closed, and that there was perfect stillness every where, except

A. D. 391. that this same[1] strain was melodiously continued. He under-
[1 τὸν αὐτὸν ψαλμὸν] stood the omen, and secretly quitting the temple, embarked
[2] Soz. 7. 15. for Italy[2]. He may himself have invented the story, in justification of his flight.

A report had been spread abroad by the Pagans, that if the hand of man were to touch the idol of Serapis, the
[3] Ruff. 11. 23. heavens would fall and the earth sink into chaos[3]. This prejudice checked the people for a little, after the Imperial rescript had been read, when a soldier, at the command of the Bishop Theophilus, took an axe and buried it with all his
[4] Theod. 5. 22. force in the jaw of Serapis[4]. The whole people, Christians and Pagans, shouted; their fears were removed; the soldier repeated his blow on the knee of the idol; it fell, and was broken to pieces. On striking off the head, a number of rats ran out; the scattered limbs of the idol were dragged through the city and burnt, piece by piece; the trunk, which remained, was burnt in the Amphitheatre. So perished Serapis in the midst of his worshippers, who mocked him themselves. The utter demolition of the temple followed the destruction of the idol. Its substructions were suffered to remain, on account of the difficulty there would have been in levelling it from
[5] Socr. 5. 7. the immense size of the stones[5]. But the whole was now a mere mass of ruins. On some stones there were found crosses engraved, and some Christians, who understood the
[6 ἱερατικαί] hieroglyphics or sacred[6] characters of the Egyptians, explained them as significative of the life to come. This, together with an ancient tradition that when this figure of the cross should appear their religion should come to an end,
[7] Soc. 5. 17. Soz. 7. 16. Ruff. 11. 29. induced many of the Pagans to embrace Christianity[7]. Hence it was that the sacrificers and ministers of the temples were first converted, from being better informed. Every house in
[8 Thoraces.] Alexandria had busts[8] of Serapis against the walls, at the doors, or at the windows; these were all taken away, there
[9 dæmonis.] remained no trace of Serapis or of any other idol[9], and the figure of the cross was painted in their stead.

The inundation of the Nile was ascribed by the Pagans to
[1 πῆχυς, ulna, Ruff. 11. 30.] Serapis, and the measure[1] of its increase was carefully preserved in his temple. Constantine[2] had commanded it to be
[2] Fleury, 11. 33. kept in a church, but Julian[3] restored it to the temple; it
[3] Fleury, 15. 3. was now replaced according to Constantine's order. The

Pagans said that now there would be no inundation, but it was greater than it was known to have ever been before. When Theodosius heard of what had taken place at Alexandria, particularly with respect to the Nilometer, he raised his hands to heaven, and said exultingly, "Thanks be unto "Thee, O CHRIST, that this ancient error has been destroyed "and without the ruin of Alexandria." Some years after this, the Nile rose later than usual[1]. The Pagans imputed it to the law which forbade sacrificing to the river after the ancient custom. When the governor saw the ferment in which the people were he wrote to the Emperor, who replied, "Piety "must be preferred before the waters of the Nile and the "abundance which they produce. May that river never flow, "if there be need of incantations to induce it, and if it take "delight in sacrifices of blood." Soon after it rose to such a height as to continue to rise after it had reached the highest measurement. Then it was feared that all Alexandria would be flooded, and the Pagans cried out scoffingly in the theatres that the Nile was grown so old, he could no longer contain his water. Many were converted to the Faith on this occasion. A. D. 391.

[1] Soz. 7. 20.

On the site of the temple of Serapis[2], when it had been cleared of its heathen pollutions, were built two churches[g]. In one were deposited the relics of St. John the Baptist, which had been sent to St. Athanasius, in the reign of Julian, some thirty years before[3]. A learned man named Sophronius, is said by St. Jerome to have composed a considerable work on the destruction of Serapis. With Sophronius, who translated several of St. Jerome's writings into Greek, the latter concludes his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, drawn up, as he tells us himself, in the fourteenth year of Theodosius, A. D. 392[4].

[2] Ruff. 11. 27, 28.

[3] Supra, 15. 20.

[4] c. 134. tom. 4. ps. 2. p. 128.

XXX. Overthrow of Idolatry in Egypt.

The destruction of Serapis was the prelude to that of all the temples and idols, not only in Alexandria, but throughout Egypt; none could be expected to stand after Serapis had fallen. Each Bishop procured their demolition in the cities, the towns, the country, on the banks of the Nile, even in

[g] "Egyptian Serapis has been made "Christian." (S. Hier. Ep. 57. ad Læt.) "The Serapeium was changed into a "Church, and called after the prince "Arcadius." Soz. 7. 15.

A. D. 391. the deserts. During the progress of the destruction of the temples at Alexandria the bloody mysteries of Mithras were [1] Soc. 5. 16. brought to light[1]. There were found in the secret chambers, which were called Adyta, the heads of infants with their lips gilded, as those of sacrificial victims, and pictures, representing a number of cruel ways of inflicting death. They used to butcher infants, and particularly young girls, to inspect their entrails. At the sight of these horrors, the Pagans, amazed and confounded, were converted in crowds.

The artifices too, which the priests of the false gods used to deceive the people, were exposed. They had hollow idols of wood or brass, set against the wall, which could be entered [2] Theod. 5. 22. by concealed passages[2]. The priests ascended into the idols from the chambers underground and made them seem to command just what they pleased. By this means, a priest of Saturn, named Tyrannus, insulted many of the noble ladies of the city; he told the husband, that Saturn required that his wife should pass the night in his temple. The husband, proud of the honour paid him by the god, would send his wife decked with her choicest ornaments and loaded with oblations. The doors of the temple were closed upon her publicly, Tyrannus gave up the keys and retired. During the night he returned and entered the idol by the subterraneous passage. The temple was illuminated, and the miserable woman, intent on her prayers, seeing no one, but hearing all at once a voice issue from the idol, would be filled with awe mingled with joy. After Tyrannus had, in the person of Saturn, said what he thought proper, suddenly, either to amaze her more or to render her more disposed to obey him, he extinguished all the lights by drawing over them cloths arranged for that purpose. He then came down, and, under cover of darkness, abused his wretched victim. Many had been thus insulted when at last one of them, whose modesty was shocked at the crime, listened attentively to the voice of Tyrannus and recognised it. On her return home, she disclosed the fraud to her husband. He became his accuser, and Tyrannus, put to the torture, was convicted by his own confession, which covered with infamy many Pagan families in Alexandria; so many matrons were adulteresses, so many husbands wronged, so many children of

doubtful birth. The exposure of these crimes contributed much to the destruction of the idols and the temples. A. D. 391.

The idols of metal were, by order of Theophilus, melted down into cauldrons and other vessels for the use of the Church of Alexandria, for they had been given him by the Emperor to supply the wants of the poor. This gave occasion to the Pagans to charge the Bishop with interested conduct in exciting this contest[1]. He reserved one of the most ridiculous idols, probably that of an ape, and exposed it publicly, that the Pagans might not be able afterwards to deny their having worshipped such gods. Though the destruction of the temples is dated A.D. 389[2], at which time it may have begun, it continued two or three years, as appears by a law of Theodosius, addressed to the officers who were concerned in it, namely, Evagrius the Augustal Præfect, and the Count Romanus, and dated from Aquileia, on the 15th or 16th of the calends of July, under the Consulship of Tatian and Symmachus, *i. e.* June 16th or 17th A.D. 391. This law forbids any to sacrifice, to go in procession round the temples, or even to visit them and pay any worship to the gods. Any judge who during his time of office should enter these profane places, was to be fined fifteen pounds weight of gold, and his officers as much. This clause proves that many offices were still filled by Pagans, which circumstance occasioned the law. Notwithstanding the zeal of Theodosius, several famous temples in many cities in the East remained standing owing to the resistance offered by the people. This was the case in Arabia, at Petra and Areopolis[3], the ancient capital of the Moabites; in Palestine, at Raphia and Gaza, where, however, the temple of Marnas[4] was closed.

[1] Eunap. in Ædes. p. 74, 78.

[2] Chron. Marcell. an. 389. [Roncall. 2. p. 270.]

[3] S. Hier. de loc. Hebr. t. 2. p. 407.

[4] Ep. 2. [57.] ad Læt. [Script. circ. 398.]

The city of Canopus[5] was one of the most famous in Egypt. It was situated in a healthy and delightful spot, near one of the mouths of the Nile, in an island, about twelve miles from Alexandria. It was a great resort for foreigners, and had several temples. Crimes, without number, were committed there, and under pretence of instruction in the sacerdotal letters of the Egyptians, a school of magic was held there, almost publicly. A sophist, named Antonine, and his mother Sosipatra, had been distinguished there a little before[6]; but Antonine, through fear of the Emperor, con-

[5] Amm. Marc. 22. 16.

[6] Eunap. Ædes. p. 71. [41.]

A. D. 391. cealed his art. It was said that he had foretold both the overthrow of the temples and the ruin of the Serapeium, and the notoriety which this prediction had gained among the Pagans, led St. Augustine to write his book, *On the Divination of Evil Spirits*[1]. The particular god of Canopus was a ridiculous idol composed of an immense paunch, surmounted by a head, and supported on two feet, but with no other limbs, neither arms nor legs. The following story is related about it[2]. The Chaldæans used to boast that the fire, which they carried about with them, wherever they went, was the conqueror of all other gods; there was no idol which could resist it, without being burnt, melted, or reduced to powder. The Egyptians, in order to filter the muddy water of the Nile, had some large earthen vessels pierced at the bottom with small holes. One of these, the priest of Canopus took, and having covered the lower part, filled it with water; he then cut off the head of an old statue and fixed it on the top. The Chaldæans brought their fire; it melted the wax, was thereupon itself extinguished by the water, and Canopus remained victorious.

[1 tom. 6. p. 505.]

[2 Ruff. 11. 26.]

XXXI. Monasteries of Canopus.

All the temples of Canopus, with their caverns, used for wicked superstitions, were destroyed by Theophilus. Churches and monasteries, with the images and relics of Saints, rose in their place[3]. It is thus that Eunapius, one of the zealous supporters of Paganism, speaks. After deploring the fall of Serapis' temple, and comparing the Bishop Theophilus to Eurymedon, the King of the Giants, who attacked the gods, he goes on; "There were brought into the sacred places "men they call Monks, who though they look like men, "lead the life of swine[4]." He speaks thus of the Monks (for none really lived with more sobriety) in consequence of their poverty and their abstaining from the bath, so unlike the Egyptian Priests, who bathed three times a-day, and anointed themselves with perfumed oils. He notices that they were clad in black, and adds: "These Monks were "fixed even at Canopus, and men were engaged to serve, "instead of gods, the most wretched slaves. For they col- "lected the heads of those who had been executed by the "law for their crimes, and recognised *them* as gods; they "prostrated themselves before them and fancied they grew

[3 Ruff. 11. 27.]

[4 In Ædes. p. 73, 75. [44.]]

"better, by defiling themselves at their tombs. Men, who A. D. 391.
"after living in a wretched slavery had died under the
"bastinado, and whose images[h] still bore the marks of their
"punishments, were called Martyrs and Deacons, and Media-
"tors with the gods[1]; and the world bears with such gods." [1 πρεσβεῖς τῶν αἰτήσεων παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.]
These are the words of Eunapius. They prove the custom of depositing relics[2] in places which were to be consecrated to GOD, and of placing Monks there to take care of them. Saints too, especially Martyrs, are regarded as intercessors[i] with GOD, and so honoured, that to Pagans, who saw things only from without, *Divine* honour[k] seemed to be paid to them; [2 bk. 18. ch. 47. note q.]

[h] "Ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις. Junius *in cor-*
"*poribus*, [in their persons.] Confer
"Supra, p. 37. Tillemontius de *ima-*
"*ginibus* intelligit, quod nequaquam
"placet." Not. Boisson. in loc.

[i] Perhaps the first historical mention of this doctrine occurs in the account of Potamiæna's martyrdom, about A.D. 203, who promises the soldier who protetected her from the populace on her way to execution, to intercede for him to GOD. Euseb. 6. 5. St. Cyprian too twice refers to it. Ep. 57. ad Cornel. ad fin. et de Hab. Virg. ad fin. For a testimony of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, see bk. 18. ch. 2. p. 5. The doctrine of the Church of Rome is, according to Bellarmine, that the Saints are Intercessors with ALMIGHTY GOD only through the Mediation of CHRIST, Who is the sole immediate Intercessor. (Bellarm. lib. i. c. 17. de Sanct. Beatitud.) The opinion of Calvin, who denied this doctrine, was condemned by both the Eastern, (Conc. CP. A.D. 1642. Vid. Synod. Hieros. A.D. 1672.) Western, (Conc. Trident. Sess. 25.) and Scottish Churches, (Conc. Prov. Cleri Scot. A.D. 1559. Artic. 3. de Trad. Eccl.) Our own Church, like the Primitive Church, is silent on the subject.

[k] The honour paid to the Saints, is often, by the Fathers, called *cultus, i. e. worship*, where it must be remembered that among us the same word is commonly used with reference to mortals, e. g. in the Marriage Service, (and in the Latin translation of 1574, in another part of the service, *colam*,) in St. Luke 14. 10. E. V.; and in the common addresses to certain civil officers; as to the Latin word St. Augustine says, "we worship (*colimus*) the Martyrs, "with that worship (*cultu*) of affection "and communion, with which holy men "of GOD are even in this life wor-"shipped (*coluntur*), whom we see in "heart ready to suffer in like manner "for Evangelic Truth; but so much "the more fervently (*devotius*) as the "conflicts of the martyrs are over and "they are secure in bliss. To pay the "worship (*cultum*) which is due to "GOD alone (*latreia*), which implies "the oblation of sacrifice, to any crea-"ture, is Idolatry (Idolo-*latreia*)." S. Aug. c. Faust. 20. 21. tom. 8. (quoted Conc. Mogunt. c. 45. A.D. 1549. See De civit. 8. c. 27. and Conc. Trident. Sess. 22. c. 3. de Sacr. Mis. Sess. 22. and Sess. 25.) Compare Supra, bk. 18. c. 30. p. 69. marg. St. Cyril of Alexandria ascribes προσκύνησις to the martyrs, but σχετικῶς καὶ τιμητικῶς, *relatively and honorarily*. (c. Julian. lib. 6.) St. Epiphanius, speaking of the idolatrous worship paid to St. Mary by the Collyridians, (see Supra, bk. 18. ch. 20. n. n.) denies that προσκύνησις may be paid to her. S. Epiph. Hær. 79. The honour in which the Saints were to be held was not, in early times, defined by Canons, but left to each man's conscience and to custom. Perhaps it first found a place in the definition of a Council in A. D. 787. (Conc. Nicæn. II. Act. 7. Mans. 13. p. 729.) at which time we find too in an Epistle of Gregory II. to Leo Isaur. the use of *Invocation*. (Mans. 12. p. 960. A.D. 726.) Conc. Francofurd. A.D. 794. c. 42. (and so Charlemagne, capit. 14.) forbade any new Saints to be worshipped or invoked (colantur aut invocentur.) And Conc. Rom. A.D. 993, referred the honour paid to the Martyrs, to the Lord, who said, *He that receiveth you, receiveth me*. The Invocation of the Saints (in whatever way they were made acquainted with the addresses

A. D. 391. the people prostrated themselves at their tombs, and believed that a sanctifying influence was gained by visiting them; in fine, that their images[1] were kept, and that these bore the marks of their sufferings.

The most famous monastery at Canopus was that of *Metanœa*, which is a Greek word, signifying Penitence[1]. The rule observed there was, as at Tabenna, that of St. Pachomius, and it preserved the right of asylum which the Pagans had attributed to it. [It was in A.D. 318 that] St. Pachomius died[2]. Two days before this happened he assembled all his fraternity, and after some instructions for their conduct, named St. Petronius, one of their number, as most worthy to succeed him[3]. So he died in peace on the 14th day of the Egyptian month Pachon, or [the ninth of] May, the day on which the Church honours his memory. His disciples conducted his funeral according to custom; they passed the night near his body, singing psalms and hymns, and the next day buried him in the mountain. St. Pachomius had sent for St. Petronius, who was lying sick at the monastery of Chinoboscus. He was a man of great faith and humility, disciplined in his habits, of the utmost wisdom and discretion, but was weak in health. He was sick when he came to Tabenna, and after ruling the community but a few days, died, and left for his successor a holy man named Orsiesius.

[1] S. Hier. Præf. in reg. S. Pachom. [t. 4. ps. 2. p. 809.] Conc. Chalc. Act. 3. p. 408. E. [Mans. 6. p. 1025.] [2 Tillem. 7. p. 799.] [3] Vit. S. Pach. c. (12.) 53. [Bolland. t. 14. p. 324.]

XXXII. State of the West. *Idolatry was assailed with equal vigour in the West, but there its defenders were most powerful.* While Theodosius was still in Italy, he made, in conjunction with the Younger Valentinian, two laws relating to the West, where he left him. The first was addressed to Albinus, Præfect of Rome, and dated from Milan, 27th Feb. A.D. 391[4]. It forbids any person to sacrifice victims, to go to the temples, or to adore the idols. The judges are expressly included in the prohibition, under a penalty of a fine of fifteen pounds of gold, as

[4] Cod. Th. 16. tit. 10. 10. de Pagan.

made to them, Bellarm. 1. c. 20. de Sanct. Beat.) led to certain expressions, which require the explanation of Cardinal Bellarmine, (ibid. c. 17.) where he says that when, for instance, *patience* is asked for, from St. Peter, no more is meant than is implied in Rom. 11. 14. 1 Cor. 9. 22. See too S. Iren. 3. 22. 4; 5. 19. 1. The English Church has removed such addresses from her services on account of the abuses to which they have led; and she pointedly condemns what she calls the Romish doctrine of the Invocation of Saints as "a fond "thing" &c. She does not define the honour due to the Saints, or the degree of their intercommunion with us; in this, imitating the Primitive Church.

[1] See note h, page 203.

well as their officers, unless they informed against them. A. D. 391.
The other law is dated from Concordia[1], 11th May A.D. 391, and addressed to Flavian, the Prætorian Præfect of Illyricum and Italy[2]. This is against apostates, who profaned their Baptism by becoming Pagans; it declares that their testimony is null, that they may neither make wills nor inherit by will; and so pronounces them infamous, and, to use the Latin word, intestable. It deprives them of any dignity which they might have either by birth inherited or might since have been conferred on them; it deprives them, moreover, of all hope of restoration, however they may shew their penitence.

[1] near Aquileia. See Baudrand.]

[2] Ibid. 16. tit. 7. 4, 5. de Apost. et de Fide Test. 9. tit. 39. 11.

On the departure of Theodosius, Valentinian, who was but twenty years of age, found himself too weak to withstand the power of the Pagans. There were still many in the Senate, and among the rest the famous Symmachus, Consul of this year, A.D. 391. The most influential of all was the Count Arbogastes. He was by nation a Frank, warm-hearted, a great general, unselfish, but ambitious, daring, fierce. The Emperor Gratian had employed him with Bauto; he had become the Master-General of the forces of Valentinian. He had been foremost in the defeat of Maximus, whose son Victor he had slain, and he effected peace with the Franks, in the year 389. Since that time he had been all-powerful with Valentinian. Having the command of the army he spoke to him with the utmost freedom, and arranged several matters even against his will. The military posts he gave to the Franks, and the civil offices to his own partisans[3]; no officer of the Court dared execute the orders of Valentinian, without the approval of Arbogastes. The youthful Prince felt his bondage intolerable: he wrote constantly to Theodosius complaining of the contemptuous behaviour of the Count, and conjuring him to hasten to his help, otherwise that he would himself come and seek Theodosius.

[3] Sulpit. Alex. apud Greg. Turon. lib. 2. c. 9.

All men, but the Pagans, loved Valentinian. His mother Justina died some years before this, and the wrong impressions he had received from her had been effaced by the instruction and example of Theodosius. His character was already grave, and he had learned to master himself. He was accused of a fondness for the games of the circus and of spending his time

A. D. 391. in combats of wild beasts[1]. He corrected this failing so well, that he put an end to these shows, even on the usual anniversaries, and ordered all the beasts to be killed. It was objected that he ate too early; he practised frequent fasting, without ceasing, however, to preside at his table, and entertaining with the due courtesy his Counts. While he was yet unmarried, he heard that at Rome there was an actress, by whose beauty the young nobility were all desperately enamoured; he gave orders that she should come to his Court. His envoy suffered himself to be bribed, and returned without effecting the object of his mission. Valentinian was not to be thus treated, and sent another; but when the actress was brought, he would see her neither in public on the stage, nor in private, and then, satisfied with the example which he had set, sent her back.

[1] Philost. 11. 1. S. Ambr. de Ob. Val. § 15, 16, &c.

He carefully attended to business in his Consistory, and frequently set right his aged counsellors, who either hesitated or were unduly prepossessed in favour of any one[2]. He was affectionately attached to his sisters; in the case, however, of a disputed inheritance, which their mother had left them and which was claimed as the property of an orphan, he referred the matter to the public judge, and privately persuaded his sisters to give up their pretensions[3]. When some noble and wealthy persons were accused of crimes of state, he at first put off the trial[4] till after the holy season[m], and then, after the indictment had been read, pronounced the accusation a calumny, and ordered that the accused should have full liberty for his defence, till sentence had been passed by the Præfect. Thus, under his reign, such accusations ceased to be dreaded. Though he found the exchequer empty, he would allow no fresh burdens to be laid on the provinces[5]. "If they cannot support their old burdens," said he, "how "will they endure greater?" Such was Valentinian, beloved by the Romans, respected by the Barbarians.

[2] S. Ambr. Ibid. § 16.

[3] § 37.

[4] § 18.

[5] § 21.

XXXIII. Death of Valentinian. Eugenius, Emperor.

He was in Gaul[6] when the Roman Senate sent to him a deputation to demand once more the restoration of those

[6] Ep. 57. § 5.

[m] Probably *Holy Week*. (Cf. S. Ambr. Ep. 20. § 6. Supra, bk. 18. ch. 41. p. 91.) Valentinian's piety was the more remarkable because both Valentinian I. (Cod. Th. 9. tit. 38. 3. A. D. 367) and himself (Ibid. 6. A. D. 381; 7. A.D. 384; 8. A.D. 385) had denied this indulgence to persons accused of treason.

privileges of which his brother Gratian had deprived the Pagan temples[1]. The solicitations of the Pagans, [nay, the recommendation of the Christians too,] who were in his Consistory, availed nothing, he returned a peremptory refusal[2]. He heard about the same time, that the Barbarians, on the side of Illyria, were threatening the Alps[3]. He determined to leave Gaul, and go to the help of Italy, and he gave the necessary directions for his journey to Milan. So much was he respected by the Barbarians, that the bare report of his march induced them to retire. They even restored the captives, and excused themselves on the plea that they did not know them to be Italians[4]. St. Ambrose had promised the Præfect and the other magistrates[n] to go to the Emperor and urge him to hasten to the relief of Italy; but he desisted[5] from his purpose as soon as he heard that the Emperor was on his way. Valentinian, while yet at Vienne, sent him a *Silentiarius*[o], (i. e. one of his Chamberlains,) with a letter, urging him to go to him without delay, and wishing him to be surety of his good faith to Count Arbogastes, whose respect and friendship towards St. Ambrose were very great[6]. To hasten him, he added that he desired to be baptized by him, before passing into Italy. There were other Prelates in Gaul of great sanctity, at whose hands Valentinian might have received baptism, as St. Martin, St. Victricius of Rouen, and St. Delphinus of Bordeaux, but he had especial confidence in St. Ambrose, whom he looked upon as his father. After he had sent for him, his impatience was continual. His messenger left Vienne in the evening, and on the morning of the third day he enquired whether he had returned. This day was Valentinian's last. After he had dined and been left alone by his attendants, who were gone to their own repast, he was amusing himself on the banks of the Rhine[7], within the precincts of his palace, when Arbogastes ordered some of his guards to strangle him, who afterwards hanged him with his handkerchief, that he might appear to have been himself the author of his death[8]. Valentinian

A. D. 391.

[1] Vit. Paul. § 26.

[2] § 19.

[3] De Ob. Val. 2, 22.

[4] § 4.

[5] § 23, 24.

[6] Paul. Vit. § 30.

[7] Philost. 11. 1. [Vid. not. Vales.]

[8] Oros. 7. 35. Ruff. 11. 31.

[n] *Honorati.* Those who had discharged public offices and were in consequence held in repute.

[o] The Silentiary attended at the door of the Council Chamber and secured the Emperor from interruption. He was often the Emperor's messenger. An officer of the same name (Gostegwr llys) existed in the old British Court. (Laws of Howel Dda. 1. 1.)

A. D. 392. was killed on [the Sabbath or] Saturday, the 15th of May, on the Eve of Pentecost, under the Consulship of Ruffinus, and
[1] S. Epiph. de Pond. § 28. [al. 20. t. 2. p. 177.] of the Emperor Arcadius for the second time, A. D. 392[1]. He was only twenty years of age, and of them had reigned rather more than sixteen.

Arbogastes, unable himself, in consequence of his birth, to assume the Imperial title, gave it to a man named Eugenius. He was a man of learning, and after having taught grammar
[[a] ἀντιγραφεὺς, *Magister Scriniorum.*] and rhetoric had been made Secretary[p] to the Emperor[2], and gained his esteem by his knowledge and eloquence. He favoured Paganism, and gave implicit faith to the predictions of wizards and astrologers. Arbogastes was in fact the Emperor, and reigned under the name of Eugenius. The obsequies of Valentinian were performed the day after he
[2] Epiph. ibid. died, on the day of Pentecost[3], and his body was conveyed to Milan, to be buried there. St. Ambrose learned these sad
[4] de Ob. Val. § 26. tidings on his journey to Vienne[4], and in consequence retraced his steps. Theodosius sent directions for the burial of Valentinian, and St. Ambrose, after laying him in a tomb of porphyry, near to that of Gratian, pronounced his funeral oration. Valentinian's two sisters, Justa and Grata, were present. He had a third, Galla, the wife of Theodosius; the other two continued virgins. In this oration, St. Ambrose deplores the death of Valentinian with the tenderness of a father, and consoles his sisters for his never having received Baptism; "Tell me," says he, "what more can we do than "to desire and to ask? Long has he desired Baptism, and "that he might receive it was the principal cause of his
[5] § 52. "sending for me. Grant then, O LORD[5], to Thy servant "Valentinian the grace which he longed for, which in the "vigour of health he asked for. Had he delayed even when "assailed by disease, he had not been utterly excluded from "Thy mercy, for it would not have been the *will* that failed "him but the *time*." And a little further on, "If you are

[p] "The principal administration of "public affairs was committed to the "diligence and abilities of the *Master* "*of the Offices*. The correspondence "between the prince and his subjects "was managed by the four *Scrinia* or "Officers of this Minister of State. "The first was appropriated to Memorials, the second to Epistles, the third "to Petitions, and the fourth to papers "and orders of a miscellaneous kind. "Each of these was directed by an "inferior *Master* of *respectable* dignity, "and the whole business was despatched "by 148 secretaries." Gibbon, ch. 17.

"distressed[1], because the Mysteries have not been solemnly "celebrated, think that, so far, the Martyrs ought not to be "crowned, if they suffer while only Catechumens. If they "are washed by their blood, this prince has been washed by "his piety." He then prays that this prince may not be severed from his father Valentinian and his brother Gratian, and then adds, "Give me the Holy Mysteries[2], let us pray "for his rest with pious affection; give the Heavenly Sacra- "ments, let us follow his soul with our oblations." From this it is obvious that he pronounced this oration before the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, as it is still customary on like occasions. He promises to offer it all his life for the two brothers Gratian and Valentinian[3]. A. D. 392.

[1] § 53.

[2 *Date manibus (?) sancta mysteria* § 56.]

[3] § 78-80.

XXXIV. Theodosius prepares for war.

Theodosius was already informed of the death of Valentinian, when he received an embassy from Eugenius, proffering peace, if he would acknowledge him as his colleague[4]. Nothing was said of Arbogastes, and no letters were received from him; only some Bishops[5], who formed part of the embassy, bore witness that he was innocent of the death of Valentinian. Theodosius, after keeping the ambassadors of Eugenius for some time, dismissed them with presents and fair words, but on their departure made active preparations for war; he felt that there could be neither honour nor security in treating with traitors and leaving unpunished the death of the young prince, his brother-in-law. During these preparations occurred several acts of religion. Theodosius sent Eutropius, eunuch of his palace and a confidential person, to bring, if possible, the famous Anchorite, St. John of Egypt, to his Court, or, at least, to consult him about the war, and learn whether Theodosius ought to march against Eugenius or await his attack[6]. So useful had the Emperor found it to consult this holy man in the war against Maximus, that he placed the fullest reliance in him.

[4] Zos. 4. (c. 55.) p. 776.

[5] Ruff. 11. 31.

[6] Vid. Supr. ch. 12.

Ever since his return to the East, Theodosius had, as at the beginning of his reign, devoted himself to the restoration of the churches to the Catholics[7], and to the removal of whatever obstacles there were to the preaching of the truth, while, at the same time, he abstained from punishing with severity past offences. To the Bishops he was easy of access, admitted them to familiar intercourse, anticipated their

[7] Ruff. 11. 19.

A. D. 392. requests, and was extremely liberal in his offerings for the erection or decoration of churches. To prevent, however, abusing the reverence due to religion, he passed a law, on the fifth of March[1], A.D. 392, forbidding the judges to use as a plea, that a culprit had been snatched from them by the Clergy[2]; and another, on the eighteenth of October in the same year, requiring that debtors who to avoid payment, had taken Sanctuary in the Churches should be drawn thence, unless the Bishops undertook to pay for them[3], which we find St. Augustine doing after he had been made Bishop[4]. In this same year, on the eighth of November, Theodosius passed a law against the Pagans, forbidding any person, in any place whatsoever, to sacrifice to idols, to offer wine or incense to the gods or genius of the household, or to light lamps, or hang up garlands in honour of them. The sacrifice of animals or inspection of their entrails was made high treason. To honour idols by offering them incense, decking trees with fillets, or raising altars of turf, forfeited the house or land, in which the superstition had been practised, to the exchequer. The penalty for sacrificing in a public temple or on another man's property was five-and-twenty pounds of gold, and if in the latter case, the proprietor were an accomplice, he was to pay the same fine. If those, whose duty it was to expose the transgressions of this law, failed to impeach the guilty, they too were liable to punishment; and the magistrates who refused to proceed on such impeachment were, with their officers also, sentenced to a fine of thirty pounds of gold[5]. This law is addressed to Ruffinus, the Prætorian Præfect of the East, and Consul this year, who is thought to have had considerable share in its enactment, and hence the hatred in which the Pagans held him, as is apparent from Zosimus and Claudian.

[1] Id. Mart. i. e. 13th March.]

[2] Cod. Th. 9. tit. 40. 15. de Pœnis.

[3] Ibid. tit. 44. 1. de his qui ad eccles.

[4] Ep. 268. (al. 215.) [tom. 2.]

[5] Cod. Th. 16. tit. 10. 12. de Pagan.

Some months before, on the fifteenth of June, in this year, A. D. 392, Theodosius sentenced every heretic, who had either given or received ordination, to a fine of ten pounds of gold, and declared, at the same time, the place in which it had been performed confiscate. If it had been done without the proprietor's knowledge, the tenant, if a freeman, paid the fine of ten pounds; if a freed man only, or a pauper, he was bastinadoed and transported[6]. About a month after, there

[6] Cod. Th. 16. tit. 5. 21. de Hæret.

was a law[1] addressed to Potamius, Præfect of Egypt, on the 18th of August [July], sentencing to banishment[2], all who should disturb the people by disputing about the Catholic Faith in violation of two[q] other laws which prohibited it, [passed A.D. 386 and 388[3].] A. D. 392.

[1] Ibid.tit.4. 3. de his qui super relig. [2 deportatio.]
[3] Ibid.ll. 1.2.

The heretics brought ruin upon themselves by their divisions. Dorotheus and Marinus, both Arian Bishops at Constantinople, held separate assemblies[4]. They had quarrelled upon the question, whether God could be called Father, before the existence of the Son[5]. The party of Marinus, [who maintained the affirmative,] on being joined by the Goths and their Bishop Selinas, the successor of Ulphilas[r], received the name of *Goths*. They were called also *Psathyrians*[6], from a man named Theoctistus, a cake-seller[7]. These were again divided by Agapius, who was made by Marinus Bishop of Ephesus, and formed a new sect called Curtians from a man named Curtius, from whom, because he was a little hump-backed man and like enough a *monkey*[8], they were called *Pithecians*. Many of the Arian ecclesiastics, disgusted with these divisions, returned to the Church. The Eunomians too split on verbal questions, one party following Theophronius[9], who had studied Aristotle's Logic [partially and superficially, under Eunomius], and the other following Eutychius. Both perverted the form of Baptism; they baptized not into the Name of the HOLY TRINITY but into the Death of CHRIST[s]. There was a schism too among the Macedonians, some followed the Priest Eutropius, others Carterius, who held separate assemblies.

XXXV. Division among the heretics.

[4] Vid.Supra. ch. 13.
[5] Socr.5.23. Soz. 7. 17.
[6] Theod. Hær. Fab. 4. 4.
[7 Psathyropoles.]
[8 Pithecus.]
[9] Socr.5.24.

The Novatians also were divided[1]. A Jew named Sabbatius had become a Christian of their sect, and was ordained Priest by Martian, their Bishop, at that time, at Constantinople.

[1] Socr.5.21. Soz. 7. 18.

[q] The Law, dated A.D. 386. (Supra. bk. 18. ch. 43.) is the Law of Valentinian the Younger and his mother Justina, forbidding the Catholics to disturb the Arians.

[r] Ulphilas was the instrument of the Conversion of the Visigoths. To him also they were indebted for an alphabet and a translation of the Bible. Gieseler, vol. 1. § 106.

[s] See Apostol. Can. 49. (50 or 42.) "If any Bishop or Presbyter perform "not three immersions of one initiation "but one immersion made into the "death of the LORD, let him be deposed. "For the LORD said not 'Baptize into "'my death,' but, 'Go, teach all na-"'tions, baptizing them in the name "'of the FATHER and of the SON and "'of the HOLY GHOST.' Ye, there-"fore, O Bishops, baptize into the "FATHER and SON and HOLY GHOST "according to the LORD'S intention "and our order in the SPIRIT." See Hooker, Eccl. Pol. bk. 4. ch. 12. § 3.

A. D. 392. Sabbatius' mode of life was disciplined and severe, but he retained some lingering attachment to Judaism, and aspired to the Episcopate. He began to hold assemblies under various pretences. Martian repented of having ordained him and was often heard to say, "It had been better "for me to have laid my hands on thorns, than on that "man's head." At last he held a Council of the Bishops of his sect at Sangarus, a trading town, near Helenopolis in Bithynia. Sabbatius was sent for and questioned about the cause of his discontent. He answered that the decree of the Council of Parus[1] concerning Easter, was neglected[t]. Parus[1] was a village in Phrygia, where some Novatian Bishops had assembled in the reign of Valens, and had decreed, to distinguish themselves more from the Catholics, that the calculation of the Jews should be followed in the celebration of Easter, only with the exception, that it should always be kept on Sunday. The Council of Sangarus, to deprive Sabbatius of his pretence, decreed that each might celebrate Easter, on whatever day he thought best, provided he did not separate from the communion of the rest. This decree was contrary both to the decree of Nicæa[u] and their own principles, since their plea for separating from the Church, was the preservation of discipline.

[1 Qu. Pazus.]

XXXVI. Heresy of the Aërians.

The Aërians also, though they held no peculiar opinions [as distinct from the Arian] touching the Holy Trinity, may be reckoned among the branches of Arianism. Their leader was Aërius, a friend[2] of Eustathius of Sebaste, with whom he had led an ascetic life[3]. He aspired to the Episcopate and was stung with envy at the elevation of Eustathius to that dignity before himself. Eustathius did all he could to pacify him; he ordained him Priest, committed to his care his hospital[4], and, as he still murmured, expostulated with him,

[2 συσχολαστής. about A.D. 360.]

[3 Epiph. Hær. 75.]

[4 πτωχοτροφεῖον.]

t "The Aëtians in Phrygia held a "Synod in the village of Puza (Qu. "Pazus. Socr. 5. 21.) and decreed that "the Passover should be celebrated "according to the Jewish reckoning. "On the strength of this decree, Sab- "batius led astray many of the inhabit- "ants of Constantinople who to this day "are called Sabbatians." Ex Libell. Synod. (vid. Mans. 3. p. 451. et ap. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom. 11. p. 185. § 68.) drawn up circ. A.D. 860. Cotelerius (Not. ad cap. 59. Johan. Damasc. de Hæres. Vid. Eccles. Græc. Monument.) substitutes "Novatians" for Aëtians, from Soc. 4. 28. Soz. 6. 24. The date of the Synod was probably A.D. 375.

u The determination of the Festival of Easter does not occur among the Canons of Nicæa as they are come down to us, but see Bingham, bk. 20. ch. 5. § 3. and Gieseler, vol. 1. §§ 52, 57.

caressed him and menaced him by turns, but all in vain. A. D. 392.
He quitted the hospital, and was followed by a multitude of men and women. Denied entrace into the churches, towns, and villages, they assembled in woods, caves, and in the open fields, and might sometimes be seen covered with snow. Aërius was living at the time St. Epiphanius wrote his Treatise on Heresies[1], but his sect is spoken of by St. Augustine, in his work on the same subject, as still existing, A. D. 428[2]. Aërius held all the errors of Arius, with the addition of others, which may be reduced to three principal ones: 1. That there is no difference between a Bishop and a Priest; 2. That it is useless to pray for the dead; 3. That it is useless to fast or to observe the festivals, even Easter, as though to do so were to return to Judaism. St. Epiphanius speaks of his heresy as of something absurd to madness[3]. He refutes him mainly by the tradition and consent of all the Churches[x]. "The order of the Episcopate begetteth Fathers to "the Church; the order of Priesthood cannot beget Fathers, "but by the laver of Regeneration it begetteth children to the "Church," the former, namely, by Ordination, the latter, by Baptism. "The Priest has not received the right and appoint- "ment to lay on hands[4]." The Aërians perverted the sense of certain passages, in which St. Paul seems to use indifferently, the names of Bishop and Priest. St. Epiphanius replied, that while the Church was yet in its infancy, the Apostles established sometimes, Bishops and Deacons, without Priests, sometimes Priests and Deacons, without Bishops, according to the condition of the place and the fitness of the persons.

[1 A. D. 374-6.]
[2 Hær. § 53. [tom. 8. p. 18.]
[3 μανιωδὴς μᾶλλον ἤπερ κατα- στάσεως ἀν- θρωπίνης.]
[4 χειροθε- σίαν τοῦ χειροτο- νεῖν.]

In Africa, St. Augustine persevered in his resistance to the Heretics, and more particularly, the Manichees, who contributed to their own ruin by their divisions. On the return of St. Augustine and Alypius to Africa, they were received into the house of Innocentius, who had been an advocate[5] in the tribunal of the Vicar of the Prætecture[y]. His household, as well as himself, was most religious[6]. He had long been under the care of the physicians for a number of ulcers, and had submitted to a painful operation, in which one part

XXXVII. Retreat of St. Augustine.

[5 exadvocatus vicariæ præfecturæ.]
[6 De Civ. 22. c. 8. § 3. [tom. 7. p. 663.]

[x] "The heresy of Aërius was often "charged upon the Protestants." Gieseler, vol. 1. § 104. The Church has always condemned it.
[y] See bk. 18. ch. 10. note s.

A. D. 392. had been left untouched. Notwithstanding, external remedies only were now resorted to, till an eminent physician of Alexandria declared a repetition of the operation absolutely necessary.

The sick man dreaded it, and felt sure of sinking under it; his whole family was thrown into the utmost affliction. He was visited daily by holy persons, Saturninus, Bishop of Uzala, Gelosus a Priest, and the Deacons of the Church of Carthage, and among the rest, by Aurelius, who became afterwards its Bishop[1]. The evening before he was to submit to the operation he implored them to come the next day, to be present at his death. They consoled him, and exhorted him to trust in GOD and be resigned to His will. They then falling, as was usual, on their knees, and bending to the ground, began to pray. Innocentius violently threw himself prostrate, and prayed with such tears and sobs, with such extraordinary efforts, that he seemed ready to expire. They then rose, and having received the Bishop's blessing, departed. The next day they returned. The physicians came, placed the sick man on his bed, took off the bandages and laid open the diseased part. With his instruments in his hands the surgeon looked for the place to make the incision. He examined with his eyes, and his hands; he found the wound healed and the evil perfectly cured. St. Augustine himself was present, and relates this as one of the most remarkable miracles of his time, to prove that they had not entirely ceased in the Church.

[1 See below, ch. 41.]

On St. Augustine's return to Africa, he retired with certain of his friends, who served GOD like himself, to his own house in the country[2]. There he continued three years, weaned from all secular cares, living to GOD, in fastings, prayers, and good works, meditating in His Law day and night, and instructing others in those things which GOD revealed to him in meditation or in prayer[3]. In order to confute the Manichees more openly and in a way more easily understood than he had hitherto done, he wrote at this time his two books *On Genesis*, against them[4]. In them, he begins to refute their calumnies against the Old Testament by answering their objections against the opening of Genesis. He finishes with the expulsion of Adam from the

[2 Possid. c. 3. [tom. 10. ad fin. p. 259.]]

[3 Ibid.]

[4 Retract. I. c. 10.]

earthly paradise. At the same time he wrote his book on *The Master*[1], which is a dialogue with his son Adeodatus, in which he examines minutely into the use of speech, and proves that we have no other Master to teach us but eternal Truth, which is, CHRIST[2]. St. Augustine calls GOD to witness in his *Confessions*, that he has ascribed to his son no thoughts but such as really occurred to him, though he was only sixteen years old, and he says that he has seen still more extraordinary proofs of his genius, such as even terrified him. Soon after his son died[3]. The last work which he composed during his retreat was his book *On True Religion*, where, after proving that it is found neither in Paganism nor among sects, apart from the Catholic Church, he explains the history of GOD'S dealings for the salvation of mankind, and refutes the Manichæan doctrine of two eternal principles. He speaks of the two ways by which GOD leads men, Authority and Reason; of the three main vices, which must be avoided in order to rise to GOD, the love of pleasure, pride, and curiosity; and concludes that true Religion consists in adoring One only GOD, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST. This work, both for thoughts and style, is among the most excellent of St. Augustine.

A. D. 392. [1 tom. 1. p. 541.]

[2] Retract. 1. c. 12.

[3] Confess. 9. c. 6.

XXXVIII. St. Augustine ordained Priest.

Whilst he was thus occupied in his retreat, near Thagaste, there was an Imperial agent[z] at Hippo, a sea-coast town in the neighbourhood, who was already among his friends[4] and was desirous of hearing the word of GOD from his mouth[5]. He was already a Christian, but St. Augustine wished to win him wholly to GOD, that he might live with him in his monastery. The desire of this man's salvation then brought him to Hippo, but he did not at that time succeed in persuading him to a life of seclusion. Valerius was now Bishop of Hippo. One day he was speaking to the people of the necessity of ordaining a Priest for his Church. St. Augustine was present, and, to

[4] Serm. 355. § 2. [tom. 5. p. 1380.]

[5] Possid. c. 3.

[z] "The perpetual intercourse between the Court and the provinces was facilitated by the construction of roads and the institution of posts. But these beneficial establishments were accidentally connected with a pernicious and intolerable abuse. Two or three hundred *agents* or messengers were employed, under the jurisdiction of the Master of the Offices, to announce the names of the annual consuls and the edicts or victories of the Emperors. They insensibly assumed the license of reporting whatever they could observe of the conduct either of magistrates or of private citizens; and were soon considered as the eyes of the monarch and the scourge of the people." Gibbon. ch. 17.

A.D. 391. his surprise was by some who knew his virtue and learning suddenly seized and presented to the Bishop for Ordination. His fear of being forcibly raised to the Episcopate had led him studiously to avoid any Churches which stood in need of a Bishop. All were now unanimous in their earnest acclamations, and besought Valerius to ordain him Priest. When St. Augustine burst into tears, some of the bystanders[1] supposed that he felt disappointed that he was to be made Priest only, and said to console him, that he was indeed worthy of a higher office, but still that the dignity of the Priesthood was not far inferior to that of the Episcopate. He, however, was contemplating the perils which awaited him in the government of the Church, in which the Priests then had a considerable share. At last the people were satisfied, and St. Augustine was ordained priest about the beginning of A.D. 391.

[1] Ep. 21. al. 148. §2.]

His love of seclusion continued and he wished to lead the same monastic life at Hippo as he had hitherto done at Thagaste[2]. Valerius, knowing his design, gave him a garden belonging to the Church, where he began to collect around him some of GOD's servants, poor like himself. He had sold his inheritance and distributed to the poor; he brought nothing with him to Hippo, but the garments in which he was clad. They all lived, apparently, of the work of their own hands, and practised the Apostolic rule[3], having all things common, none calling any thing his own, but each receiving according to his need. Valerius thanked GOD that He had heard the prayers he had offered for a man, who, by edifying the Church by his instructions, might compensate for his own inability; for being a Greek by birth, he had not sufficient acquaintance with Latin either for speaking or reading. Contrary then to the custom of the African Church, in which Bishops alone used to preach, he authorized St. Augustine to explain the Gospel in his presence. Some Bishops objected to this, but Valerius, who knew that he was only following the example of the Eastern Churches and consulting for the good of his own, did not attend to them.

[2] Possid. c. 5. Serm. 355. ubi supr.

[3] Acts 4.32.

St. Augustine did not at once yield to the wishes of his Bishop. He petitioned for more time to study in a letter[4], in which he writes as follows; "Before all things I would

[4] Ep. 21. al. 148. [tom. 2. p. 25.]

"beg you to consider, that there is nothing, especially at this A. D. 392.
"time, more easy or more comfortable than the office of a
"Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, if it be discharged merely pro-
"fessionally[1] and in compliance with people's humours; no- [1 perfunctorie.]
"thing in the sight of GOD more wretched, more miserable,
"more worthy of His condemnation. On the other hand,
"nothing is more difficult, more painful, more dangerous,
"than these offices, nothing more blessed in the sight of
"GOD, if they be discharged as He would have them. My
"youth was spent in ignorance of these things; as soon as
"I was beginning to learn them, lo! I am by constraint
"placed, even in the second place[2]. I think that GOD has [2 § 1.
"willed to punish me for daring to reprove the faults of
"others; I have since felt my rashness. If I have learned
"my failing only to be barred from supplying it, do you bid
"me perish, O my father? Where is your love for me and
"for the Church?" He ends with petitioning for time, as till Easter, for preparation by study and prayer, not that he needed instruction in points necessary to salvation, for of these he allowed he was not ignorant, but in the manner of teaching them, so as not to seek his own profit, but the profit of many, that they might be saved[3]. When afterwards he [3 1 Cor. 10. 33.]
began to preach, his success was so great, that other Bishops followed the example of Valerius in allowing Priests to preach[4]. [4 Possid.c.5.

St. Augustine continued to write against the Manichees, and soon after his Ordination, he composed his book, *On the Profitableness of Faith*[5]. It was addressed to a friend, named [5 Retract. 1. 14.
Honoratus, whom he had himself formerly misled into this heresy, and whose chief attraction to it was the magnificent promises of the Manichees that they would teach nothing which was not evidently drawn from reason, while they ridiculed the Church Catholic, which required Faith[6]. [6 tom. 8. p. 45.]
St. Augustine shews the profitableness of Faith in preparing those for the Mysteries who are yet unable to understand them, and in particular he defends the Old Testament against the calumnies of the Manichees. He defines[7] a heretic to be "a man, who for the sake of some tem- [7 ad init.
"poral good, more particularly of fame or precedence, either
"introduces or follows false and novel opinions." He shews

A. D. 392. the difference between Faith and blind credulity[1]; the necessity of human faith in the greater part of the affairs of life; and the solid reasons there are for following the authority of CHRIST and of the Church Catholic[2]. After this St. Augustine wrote a book *On the Two Souls*, one good, the other bad, which, according to the Manichees, existed in every man[3]. The good, they said, was a part of God, the bad was of the kingdom of darkness. God did not make the latter, which was co-eternal with Himself; it was proper to flesh, and the cause of all the evils of man, as the good soul was of everything good.

[1] credere, opinari.]

[2] c. 11, 12, &c.

[3] Retract. l. 15.

XXXIX. Conference with Fortunatus. First day.

There was at Hippo a large number of Manichees, at the head of whom was a Priest of the sect, named Fortunatus. He had been long there and had grown attached to the place from his success there in seducing many of the people[4]. The natives of Hippo and the foreigners residing there, as well Catholics as Donatists, entreated St. Augustine to enter into a conference with him. St. Augustine did not refuse, provided Fortunatus' consent could be obtained. He had been acquainted with St. Augustine at Carthage, while still a Manichee, and feared to enter on the conference. However, through the solicitations by which he was pressed, especially by those of his sect, he was made ashamed of his backwardness. The day and place were fixed; a large concourse of persons, who were curious about the event, and a crowd of other people were assembled; the disputation was taken down in short hand, and the acts have come down to us. They are dated the fifth of the calends of September or the twenty-seventh of August, under the consulate of Arcadius and Ruffinus, A. D. 392, in the baths of Sossius, a place chosen as a protection from the heat[5]. St. Augustine opened the disputation as follows: "I now hold that to be error, which I before held "as truth. I would know of you, Fortunatus, who are here "present, whether I judge rightly. Among other errors, "I hold it to be a very great one to believe, that Almighty "GOD, in whom is all our hope, can in any one of His parts "be violated, defiled, or corrupted. This, I know, your "heresy maintains, though not in these terms, for you too "will say that GOD is inviolable and incorruptible. But you "say that a certain nation of darkness revolted against the

[4] Possid. c. 6.

[5] ap. S. Aug. tom. 8. [p. 93.]

"kingdom of GOD, and that He, seeing the ruin which A. D. 392.
"threatened His kingdom if nothing opposed this nation of
"darkness, sent a power, from the commixture of which with
"evil and the nation of darkness was formed the world.
"Hence it is that good souls are here in trouble and in
"servitude, go astray and become corrupted, so as to have
"need of a deliverer, to rescue them from error, mixture
"and servitude. It is this which I deem impiety, to believe
"that Almighty GOD feared any nation adverse to him, or
"that He was under the necessity to precipitate us into
"miseries." Fortunatus replied; "I know that once you
"were one of us, and these are the principal points of our
"faith; but the question is now concerning our mode of
"life and the calumnious charges made against us. Let
"then these worthy persons, who are present, hear from
"you whether these charges are true or false. Have you
"been present at prayer?" St. Augustine replied, "I have;
"but the questions of Faith and Manners are distinct.
"*I* spoke of the former. If, however, those who hear us
"would rather hear the latter discussed, I do not refuse."
Fortunatus said to the people, "I wish, first, to set myself
"clear in your opinion, by the testimony of a trustworthy
"witness." St. Augustine answered; "As to your manners,
"your Elect are better acquainted with them than I. You
"know I was only among your Hearers; so that, though I
"have been present at prayer, whether you use any other be-
"side what I heard, GOD only and yourselves can tell. Where
"I was present, I saw nothing to blame. The only thing
"I noticed contrary to the Faith, which I have since learned, is
"that you said your prayers facing the sun[1]. Whoever objects [1 contra solem.]
"to you any thing else touching manners, must apply to
"your Elect. What I received from you is the Faith which
"I, this day, condemn. Let an answer be given to the pro-
"position which I have made."

Fortunatus replied; "We too maintain that GOD is in-
"corruptible, full of light, inaccessible, incomprehensible,
"impassible; dwelling in light eternal and proper to Him-
"self alone; that He produces of Himself nothing cor-
"ruptible, nor darkness, nor evil spirits, nor Satan, and that
"nothing can in His kingdom be found contrary to Him;

A. D. 392. "that He sent a Saviour like unto Himself; that the Word,
"born from the creation of the world, has since come among
"men, and has chosen souls worthy of Himself, sanctified
"by His heavenly commandments, imbued with Faith and
"Reason, who are, under His guidance, to return hence,
"according to His holy promise, to the kingdom of GOD."
St. Augustine asked; "What cause precipitated these souls,
"which, you confess, come through Christ to life from death,
"into death?" "Tell me," said Fortunatus, "whether
"there is any thing beside GOD." "Nay! answer me," said
St. Augustine, "what cause was it, which precipitated these
"souls into death?" As Fortunatus continued to evade the
[1] § 7. point, St. Augustine said[1]; "We ought not to trifle with
"the numbers who are assembled, in passing from one
"question to another. We both agree that GOD is incor-
"ruptible; this, then, is what I infer, either GOD being
"incorruptible could suffer nothing from the nation of
"darkness, and so, uncontrolled by any cause, sent us hither
[2] § 9. "cruelly[2]; or, on the other hand, if He could suffer aught,
"He is not incorruptible." Fortunatus remarked that CHRIST
suffered; to which St. Augustine answered, "In His human
"nature He suffered, which nature He took for our salva-
"tion, but nothing can be hence inferred as to His divine
"nature."

[3] § 9. Instead of answering this, Fortunatus asked[3]; "Is the
"soul, of GOD or not?" "I am willing," said St. Augustine,
"to reply to your question; recollect this, however, that you
[4] § 11. "refused to answer me, while I am ready to answer you[4],
"GOD and the soul are two different things. GOD is im-
"passible and incorruptible; we see that the soul is sinful,
"afflicted, and liable to change. If then the soul be the
"substance of GOD, the substance of GOD is corruptible
"and liable to error, which it is impiety to assert." "You
"say, then," answered Fortunatus, "that the soul is not of
"GOD, as being liable to sin and error." "I said," replied
[5] § 12. St. Augustine[5], "that the soul is not the substance of GOD,
"but GOD is the author of it. He that makes is one thing,
"that which is made is another. That which is made cannot
"possibly be equal to him that made it." "Since you
"assert," said Fortunatus, "that the soul is made, and there

"is nothing beside GOD, tell me, whence did GOD derive A. D. 392.
"the substance of the soul?" "Remember," answered
St. Augustine, "that we both acknowledge that GOD is
"Almighty. But He would cease to be so if He needed the
"help of any matter to make what He will[1]. So we believe, [1] § 13.
"that He has made every thing out of nothing." Fortunatus
objected the contrariety which appears in the world, as be-
tween darkness and light, truth and falsehood, death and life,
soul and body; whence he inferred, that there are two sub-
stances in the world, one of the body, the other of GOD.
St. Augustine said; "These contrarieties[2], which strike you, [2] § 15.
"are the consequence of our sin. For GOD made all things,
"and made them good; He did not make sin, which alone
"is evil; or rather, that are two evils, sin and its penalty.
"Sin appertains not to GOD; its penalty comes from Him,
"because He is just. He gave free-will to the rational soul,
"that we might merit a reward by being good, not of ne-
"cessity, but of free-will. He subjected every thing to this
"soul, provided that it would itself be subject to Him. If
"it refused this condition, every thing, which had else been
"submitted to it, would be turned to its punishment."

After Fortunatus had cited a long passage of St. Paul[3], [3] Eph. 2. 1, &c.
St. Augustine took occasion from it, to press him on the
subject of free-will, as follows; "The soul, to which GOD
"promises pardon of its sins, on condition of its penitence,
"might, according to your faith, answer, 'What have I de-
"'served? why hast Thou driven me from Thy kingdom, to
"'struggle against I know not what nation? Thou knowest
"'the necessity under which I lay, and that I had no free-
"'will. Why impute to me the wounds of which Thou art
"'Thyself the cause? If I am indeed part of Thyself, I ought
"'not, surely, to suffer any thing in this nation of darkness.
"'But if this nation could not be amended but by my cor-
"'ruption, how can it be that I am part of Thee, and at the
"'same time that Thou art incorruptible, or, at least, not
"'cruel, in having made me suffer for Thy kingdom, which this
"'nation of darkness after all could not hurt?'" They went
on examining passages from St. Paul, though, as St. Augustine
objects, it had been agreed to discuss the creation of the two
principles, by reason. The audience was now disturbed;

A. D. 392. every one began to speak, until Fortunatus said that the word of GOD had been bound in the nation of darkness, a speech which excited such horror in the assembly, that it broke up.

XL. Second day. On the morrow the conference was resumed. It was argued that GOD could not be the author of evil, and St. Augustine insisted upon free-will, without which there could be neither just punishment nor desert. To this Fortunatus answered[1], "If GOD gave this licence to sin, which you call free-will, He "must either consent to my sin and be the author of it, or "else, being ignorant of what I should become, He must have "done ill in producing me, a creature unworthy of Himself;" and afterwards, "We sin in spite of ourselves, controlled by "a power adverse and inimical to us; otherwise, if the soul, "to which GOD, as you say, has given free-will, were put "alone in the body, it would never have made itself subject "to sin." St. Augustine replied[2]; "Though all that GOD "has made is good, His work cannot be so good as Himself, "for it would be wrong and foolish to believe that the creature "is equal to the Creator." He then pressed the words of the Apostle, that *Lust is the root of all evil*[3a]; and afterwards, speaking of the imaginary nation of darkness, he says; "If this nation only commit sin, it alone, and not the soul, "ought to be punished; for if the soul is constrained of neces- "sity to do evil, is it not unreasonable to believe that I should "exercise penitence, when it is the nation of darkness that "sins? that it should sin, and I should have the pardon of "the sin granted to me?"

[1] § 20.

[2] § 21.

[3] 1 Tim. 6. 10.

Fortunatus adduced the passages of St. Paul, which speak of a struggle in us of the flesh against the spirit[4], to which St. Augustine[5] answered, "The first man possessed free-will, "so that nothing could have resisted his will, if he would[6] "only have kept the commandments of GOD; but after that "he had sinned of his free-will, we, his descendants, have "been thrown into necessity. Every man may experience "within himself, that before contracting a habit, we are free, "but when, by this liberty, we have done any thing, the per- "nicious sweetness and pleasure of the act so gains upon us, "that we become no longer able to master the habit, which we

[4] Gal. 5. 17. Rom. 7. 23, &c.

[5] § 22. [si vellet.]

[a] The Vulgate reads *Cupiditas*. In the original is φιλαργυρία.

"have ourselves formed; it is this habit formed in the flesh, A. D. 392.
"which fights against the soul. So our LORD speaks of the
"good tree and the bad[1], and to shew that by the two trees [1] St. Mat. 12. 33.
"He means free-will, and not two different natures, He says
"*either make the tree good or else make the tree corrupt,* and
"who," says St. Augustine, "could make a *nature?*"

He then returned to his first question[2] and pressed Fortu- [2] § 24, 25.
natus to say why GOD, whom nothing can hurt, sent us here against the nation of darkness. He replied by these words of the Apostle[3], *Shall the thing formed say to Him that formed* [3] Rom. 9. 20.
it, why hast Thou made me thus? He said at first that there existed *necessity;* he afterwards maintained that GOD had sent the soul *voluntarily,* on which St. Augustine had[4] his [4] § 28.
former statement read to shew the contradiction, for there were persons to write the conference as it proceeded. At last, when St. Augustine pressed him to explain why it was that GOD, whom nothing can hurt, had sent the soul hither to misery, he was reduced to answer, "What must I say[5]?" [5] § 36.
"I know," said St. Augustine, "that you have nothing to
"say[6], and that when I was one of your Hearers, I too could [6] § 37.
"never find an answer to this question; and it was by this
"means that GOD recovered me from my error. But if you
"will confess that you have no answer, I will, if those who
"hear us think good, explain the Catholic Faith." Fortunatus replied; "Without prejudice to my former declaration I tell
"you, that I will examine your objections with my superiors;
"if they give me no satisfactory answer, it will then remain
"for me to consider whether I should seek that which you
"offer to shew me; for I too would save my soul." St. Augustine then said, "Thanks be to GOD," and the conference ended. It displayed to all those[7] who had a high opinion of [7] Possid. c. 6.
Fortunatus, the weakness of the sect, which he had so ill defended. He was himself so abashed at the result, that he forthwith quitted Hippo and never returned; he remained, however, unconverted.

XLI. St. Augustine's letter to Aurelius on the Agapæ.

Aurelius, formerly a Deacon in the Church of Carthage, had just succeeded Genethlius in the Episcopate, and all good men were filled with hope that GOD would make use of him, to remedy the evils of the African Churches. He was already a friend of St. Augustine, and he now wrote to him for the

A. D. 392. help of his prayers and his advice. St. Augustine[1] in his answer, thanks him in the name of Alypius and the rest of those who lived with him in common, for the friendship he professed towards them. He then comes to the matter in hand, and exhorts him to correct the abuses which had been introduced in Africa, at the revels held in honour of the Martyrs, and that, not on the festivals alone, but every day, and even in the Churches[2].

[1] Ep. 22. al. 64. [tom. 2. p. 27.]

[2] § 3.

[3] § 4. He brings forward[3] the example of Italy and the greater part of the Churches across the sea where these disorders did not exist, whether it was that they never had, or that the care of the Bishops had removed them. "The abuse," adds St. Augustine, "is so great that the authority of a Council "only can cure it; if however, one Church should take the "lead, it is that of Carthage. But let every thing be done "with moderation; harshness and haughtiness are unavail-"ing; success must be sought from teaching rather than from [4] § 5. "commanding, from warning rather than from threatening[4]. "It is thus a multitude must be treated, severity is to be "used against the sins of individuals. If menaces are em-"ployed, let it be with grief, and by setting forth by the "Scriptures the wrath to come, so that not ourselves nor our "power, but GOD be the object of fear in our expostulations. [5 spiritales.] "Thus those under the influence of the Holy Spirit[5] will be "the first touched, and by their influence the rest will be [6] § 6. "gained. But since[6] these revellings and intemperate feasts "are looked upon by the rude and ignorant, not only as "honours paid to martyrs but as contributing to the relief of "the dead, I think that they will more easily be persuaded, "if, while the authority of the Scriptures is urged, care be "also taken at the same time to avoid all excessive expense "in the offerings made for the spirits[b] of those who are

[b] Prayer for the Dead, in the early Church was peculiarly connected with the Holy Sacrifice (S. Aug. Confess. 9. 13. 4. Supra, bk. 18. ch. 56.) but not by any means exclusively. The anniversary of the departed brother's death was considered the most appropriate *time* (Tertul. de Exhort. Cast. c. 11. de Monog. c. 10. de Coron. Mil. c. 3.), especially in the case of the Martyrs (S. Cypr. Ep. 37. [36.], 34. [33.]); and for the *place*, the Martyrs were commemorated at their graves, (Euseb. Præp. Evang. 13. 11.) "(κοιμητήρια, dormitoria), which were "not unfrequently caves (Cryptæ, Ca-"tacumbæ), and therefore peculiarly "convenient in times of persecution." Giesel. vol. 1. § 70; so that we find the Christians forbidden to assemble there by the Pagan governors (Ep. Dionys. Alex. ap. Euseb. 7. 11. A. D. 247. and Eus. 9. 2. A. D. 305.). Altars were raised over the Martyrs' graves (De Civ. 8. 27.) and Churches (Not. Var.

" fallen asleep, (which, we must believe, do really somewhat A. D. 392.
" help them,) and that they be distributed with alacrity to all
" who apply for them." These offerings on the graves are spoken of in the book of Tobit[1]. The rest of St. Augustine's [1] Tob. 17.4.
letter to Aurelius consists of wise and modest advice with

in Eus. 9. 2.) after the persecution under Dioclesian; and churches, moreover, were enriched with their relics. (See p. 103. note q, and Cf. Ep. Eccles. Smyrn. de Martyr. Polyc. ap. Euseb. 4. 15.) In these places, then, Martyrs were commemorated, and others from a pious feeling would be deposited in a Martyr's Basilica (S. Aug. De Cura pro Mort. gerend. c. 5. (7.) tom. 6.), a practice which St. Augustine approves, on the ground that the living would be thereby better reminded to pray for the departed. In the Apostolical Constitutions the Oblation is made for all who had lived well-pleasing to GOD from the beginning of the world. (lib. 8. c. 12.)

Prayer for the Martyrs, at least in the time of St. Austin, took the form of thanksgiving; he declares it to be "an injury" to pray in any other sense for those, "to whose prayers we ought to be commended," Serm. 159. (17 de Verb. Apostol.) tom. 5. p. 765. c. 1; for the other faithful dead, intercession was made. However, St. Austin declares that Rom. 14. 10. is by no means contradicted by this custom, for "unless a man so lived here, as to "have obtained this merit, viz. that "prayers offered for him may profit "him, they are useless." Enchirid. 109, 110. (29.) tom. 6. p. 238. quoted by Rabanus Mogunt. A. D. 871. (Cf. S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. 5. c. 9.) *Penitents*, who had met with sudden death, were commemorated with prayers and oblations. Conc. Carth. 4. can. 79. Mans. 3. p. 957. *Alms* too were offered for the repose of the dead (Ibid.), fasting observed (Theodor. Cantuar. capit. 7. A.D. 688.), Psalms sung (Conc. Bracar. 1. A.D. 561. c. 16.), and above all, the "sacrifice of the "propitiation" offered. Supra, c. 33. S. Aug. De Cura Mort. c. 4. tom. 6. quoted Conc. Cabilon. 2. A. D. 813. c. 39. Mans. 14. p. 101. There were cases in which it was thought sacrilege to celebrate the mass for the dead, e. g. for suicides (Theod. ubi Supr. c. 63. See too c. 56. and Greg. 3. Pap. Epist. A. D. 720. ad Bonif. c. 3. Vid. first rubric for Burial of the Dead); the oblation of prayer and alms alone was allowed.

In the case of Martyrs, since their *Natalitia* were celebrated from the first in times of persecution, hence arose the custom of celebrating them by the light of tapers at their κοιμητήρια during the night. Customs, which had originated through necessity, were afterwards retained as figurative and on pious grounds. Two canons (34, 35.) of Conc. Eliber. A.D. 305. refer to the present subject, the first forbidding the use of lighted tapers for an assigned reason (vid. not.) during the day, the other forbidding women to be present at the Vigils. Another principle, namely, the desire to convert the heathen, led St. Gregory Thaumaturgus to institute feastings on the Natalitia of the Martyrs, A.D. 254. at Neocæsarea in Cappadocia (Vit. per S. Greg. Nyss. tom. 3. p. 573, 574.) These were connected with the Agapæ of Holy Scripture, but, as was probable, became grossly abused, and were put down by St. Ambrose (Confess. 6. 2. see Supra, bk. 18. ch. 51.) partly for the same reason which led St. Gregory, under different circumstances, to allow it. They were most common in Africa (where too we find it had become necessary for Conc. Carth. 3. c. 6. Mans. 3. p. 881. to forbid administering the Eucharist to the dead) and were discouraged by St. Ambrose's hearer, St. Augustine.

One of the points of the heresy of Aërius was his condemnation of Prayer for the Dead. Supra, ch. 36.

The Church of England retains this pious practice in her Burial Service (Wheatley, ch. 12. Sect. 4. § 2.), "for "we pray that *we, with all those that* "*are departed in the true faith of* GOD's "*holy Name, may have our perfect con-* "*summation and bliss;* which is not "barely a supposition that all those, "who are so departed, *will* have their "perfect consummation and bliss; but "a prayer also that they may have it, "*viz.* that *we with them and they with* "*us*, may be made perfect together, "both in body and soul, in the eternal "and everlasting glory of GOD." See the rest of the Section.

A. D. 392. respect to the preservation of humility in the midst of honours and praises, without the compromise of authority.

In consequence of St. Augustine's advice, Aurelius assembled at Hippo[1] a general[2] Council of the whole of Africa, and several canons were passed, which became a model to succeeding Councils. There are enumerated as many as forty-one[3], of which the thirty-first forbids a Bishop and Clerks to eat in the church, unless through necessity on a journey, and requires them to prevent the people from doing so as much as possible[4]. A decree also was made, in reference to the re-union of Donatists, in these words[5]; "Former "Councils have forbidden the admission of *Donatist Clergy* "to the same rank in the Church, allowing them *only lay* "*communion, with a view to their salvation*, which we must "refuse none. But whereas the lack of Clergy in the African "Church is such, that some places are totally destitute, it is "decreed, that those shall be excepted of whom it can be "ascertained that they have not rebaptized, as well as those "who shall desire to be admitted with their flocks to the "communion of the Church Catholic. For we ought not to "doubt but that the good of peace and the sacrifice of charity "effaces the evil which these last, misled by the authority of "their forefathers, have committed by rebaptizing. *This de-* "*cree, however, shall not be confirmed until the Church* "*across the sea has been consulted.*" *This* Council of Hippo[6] *was held in the Council Hall*[7] of the Basilica of *Peace, on the eighth of October,* in the year of the Emperor Theodosius' Consulship with Abundantius, A. D. 393.[8] At this Council, St. Augustine by order of the Bishops[9], delivered in their presence a discourse *On Faith and the Creed.* From this, at the request of his friends he afterwards composed a book, which is an epitome of Christian doctrine. About the same time, his intimate friend Alypius went to Jerusalem and, becoming acquainted with St. Jerome, spoke to him of St. Augustine, and the seeds of that friendship were now sown, which was afterwards cemented between the two Saints.

[1] Conc. tom. 2. p. 1149. [Mans. 3. p. 849.]
[2] plenarium totius Africæ.]
[3] Conc. tom. 2. p. 1180. [Mans. 3. p. 894.]
[4] Vid. p. 1050, 1165, 1216. [Mans. 699, 875, 969.]
[5] Mans. p. 885. c. 30.]
[6] tom. 2. p. 1641. Conc. Afr. [Mans. 4. p. 481.]
[7] secretario.
[8] Cod. Can. tom. 2. post. c. 33. p. 1066. [p. 732. Mans.]
[9] S. Aug. Retract. I. 17.

XLII. Writings of St. Jerome against Jovinian.

St. Jerome was constantly employed in his retreat at Bethlehem, in defending the doctrine of the Church. In the fourteenth year of Theodosius A.D. 392, he composed, at the

request of the Prætorian Præfect Dexter, his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers[1]. He remarks that no one had before him undertaken a similar work, acknowledging at the same time the use he made of the History of Eusebius. He shews the utility of it as an answer to the calumnies of Celsus, Porphyry and Julian, by proving how many learned and eloquent men had taught and defended the Christian Religion. He begins with St. Peter, and placing himself at the end enumerates the works he had written up to this date; the last which he mentions are the two Books against Jovinian, and the Apology to Pammachius[c]. He wrote against Jovinian[2] at the request of certain believers at Rome, who sent him the works of this heretic for that purpose. He refuted him in two books[3]. The first is mainly occupied in proving the excellence of celibacy. Carried away by his natural warmth[4], he so exalts virginity above wedlock, and widowhood above second marriage, that he seems to regard marriage as an evil, rather tolerated than expressly permitted. This startled many[5], and his friend Pammachius informed him of it, and withdrew as many copies of this work against Jovinian as he could. St. Jerome[6] thanked him, but told him that the trouble he took was to no purpose, for many copies had gone abroad in the East, and some had been brought back even from Rome. "As soon," said he, "as I write any thing, either those who love "me or those who envy me lose no time in publishing it; all "then that I can do is to send you an Apology for the work;" which he did with this letter.

A. D. 392.

[1 tom. 4. pars 2. p. 97.]

[2 Supr. ch. 19.

[3 tom. 4. pars 2. p. 144.]

[4 lib. 1. c. 4. [p. 145-6.] c. 22. [p. 189.]

[5 Apol. 1. [p. 229.]

[6 Ep. 52. [31. Bened. A.D. 394-5. p. 243.] ad Pamm.

In this Apology he repeats and explains all the places where he seemed to speak slightingly of marriage[7]. As Jovinian accused the Catholics of Manicheeism[8], he shewed that, first, he condemned the Marcionites, Manichees, and Encratites, who abhorred marriage[9], that he allowed that marriage *is honourable and the bed undefiled,* according to the Scripture[1], and that he had preferred continence only as being a greater good; that he acknowledged wedlock to be the source of virginity, that he had not condemned second and third marriages[2], that finally the apparently harsh passages ought to be judged by the rest of the

[7 In Jov. c. 3. [Apol. p. 229.]

[8 Supr. 18. 9. n. p.]

[9 p. 145, 230.]

[1 Heb. 13. 14.

[2 p. 232-3.]

[c These are omitted in the Benedictine Edition. They were written after the publication of the Catalogue.

A. D. 392. book. He notices, as he had already done in his work against Jovinian[1], that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, held the converse of marriage to be incompatible with the service of the Altar. He remarks[2] that at Rome the faithful, even the married, communicated daily, and that when they did not think themselves in a condition to enter the Church, still they did not fail to receive the Body of CHRIST at home[d]. He bids[3] his censurers bear in mind the difference between writing to refute an error and for simple instruction. In the first an author is apt to take more scope, and does not always declare his intention. He is obliged sometimes to speak not as he really feels, but with reference to the prejudices of his opponent. He cites the examples of the most eloquent among Pagans and Christians, and appeals to St. Paul himself, at whose eloquence and consummate skill, though clad in simple and rude expressions, he expresses his admiration. St. Jerome wrote on the same subject to his friend Domnio[4] against the declamations of a certain work, for whom he expresses considerable contempt.

[1 p. 242.] c. Jovin. I. [p. 175.]

[2 c. 6. [p. 239.]

[3 c. 4. [p. 235.]

[4 Ep. 51. [32. Scr. A. D. 395.]

XLIII. Ordination of Paulinianus.

Meanwhile there rose against him more considerable adversaries in the East, for this is the time of his great dispute with John, Bishop of Jerusalem, which originated in the following way. Paulinianus, St. Jerome's brother, lived with him in the Monastery of Bethlehem. There were two Priests[5] in this community, St. Jerome and Vincentius, both of whom were so humble, that they were unwilling to offer the sacrifice. Paulinianus was judged worthy of the priesthood, but feeling himself unworthy, and fearing compulsory Ordination, he carefully avoided meeting any Bishops. Their friend, St. Epiphanius, had founded a monastery at his birth-place[6], in the diocese of Eleutheropolis, in Palestine[7]. While he was there, Paulinianus went with several Monks to see him, that they might give him satisfaction for some cause of displeasure he had against them. St. Epiphanius believed that Providence had sent him; and as divine service was being performed in the church of a village near his monastery, he caused Paulinian (who was wholly unconscious of his intention) to be seized by several Deacons, and ordered them to stop his mouth, lest to deliver himself he should conjure them in

[5] S. Epiph. ad Joan. ap. S. Hier. Ep. 60. [110. p. 822.]

[6] bk. 13. ch. 41.

[7] S. Hier. ad Theoph. Ep. 62. [39.] c. 3. [p. 337.]

[d] St. Jerome intimates his disapprobation of the practice.

the name of CHRIST. In this way he ordained him Deacon, A. D. 392.
notwithstanding his great unwillingness, and the protestations which he made of his unworthiness; he obliged him to perform the duties of his office, endeavouring to persuade him by passages from Scripture, and through fear of the judgments of God. Afterwards, as he served at the Holy Sacrifice, St. Epiphanius ordained him Priest with the same difficulty, causing his mouth to be stopped; and he then made use of the same arguments to oblige him to take his seat among the Priests. After this he wrote to the Priests and other Monks of this community, reproving them for not having written to ask for the ordination of Paulinianus; especially since it was now more than a year since several had complained to him of having no one among them to celebrate the Holy Mysteries; and that all desired the ordination of Paulinianus, for the advantage of the monastery. Paulinianus followed St. Epiphanius into Cyprus, and continued subject to him as being one of his Clergy; only going sometimes to visit his brother in Palestine[1].

[1] S. Hier. Ep. 61. [38. p. 332.] c. 3. ad Pamm.

John of Jerusalem was extremely angry at this ordination[2]. He complained loudly of it, and threatened to write concerning it to the whole world. He alleged that St. Epiphanius had no jurisdiction over Paulinianus, nor in Palestine, which he claimed as his province. He said moreover that Paulinianus was too young to be a Priest, though he was thirty years of age. He added certain personal reproaches against St. Epiphanius, and amongst others, that in the prayers of the Holy Sacrifice he said: "Lord! grant unto John to believe "aright;" thus accusing him of heresy[3]. It is true that St. Epiphanius accused John of holding the errors attributed to Origen, and this was the chief cause of their division. John pretended[4] that they had reproached him with this only since he had complained of the ordination of Paulinianus. But St. Epiphanius and St. Jerome maintained on the contrary, that John complained of this ordination only through revenge, because they had found fault with his doctrine.

[2] Ep. 62. [39. p. 337.] ad Theoph.

[3] ap. S. Hier. Ep. 60. [110. p. 824.]

[4] Ep. 61. [38. p. 311.] c. 4.

XLIV. Letter of St. Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem.

St. Epiphanius having been informed of the complaints and menaces of John of Jerusalem, wrote a letter to him, in which he gave an account of the manner in which he had performed the ordination, and said[5]: "You ought to rejoice, knowing

[5] Apud. S. Hier. Ep. 60. [110. p. 822.]

A. D. 392. "that the fear of God obliged me to do it; especially consider-
[1 sacerdotio.] "ing that there is no difference in the Priesthood[1] of God,
"when regard is had to the good of the Church. For though
"the Bishops have every one his church, of which he takes
"care, and though none may encroach upon what belongs to
[2 2 Cor. 10. 16.] "another[2], yet the love of CHRIST, which is without dissimu-
[3 p. 823.] "lation, is to be preferred to every thing." And afterwards[3]:
"O how truly commendable is the meekness and goodness of
"the Bishops of Cyprus; and how worthy of the mercy of
"GOD is our rusticity as you would term it! For many
"Bishops of our communion have ordained as Priests in our
"province, some whom we were unable to secure, and have
"sent us Deacons and Subdeacons, whom we gladly received.
"I, myself, exhorted Bishop Philo of blessed memory and
"holy Theoprobus, to ordain Priests in certain churches of
"Cyprus, which were near them, because my diocese, in
"which they are situated, extends so far. Why therefore
"are you so angry on account of a work of GOD, which was
"done not for the destruction but for the edification of the
"brethren?" He afterwards answers the personal reproaches; and protests that he never spoke of John in the public prayers, any otherwise than of the rest of the Bishops, saying; "Lord!
"preserve him that preacheth the Truth;" or else, "Grant,
"Lord, that he may preach the Word of Truth;" using one or other of these expressions according to the occasion or the
[4 p. 824.] sequence of the discourse[4]. This shews that in the prayers invariable forms were not yet used[e].

He afterwards comes to Origen's errors, which he affirms to be the true cause of John's animosity, and he refers them to eight heads. The first is, that the Son of GOD cannot see the Father, nor the Holy Ghost, the Son; the second, that
[5 bk. 5. c. 54.] souls have been angels[5] in heaven, and that for their sins they were sent here below and imprisoned in bodies; the third,
[6 c. 3. [p. 825.]] that the devil[6] will return to his former dignity and reign in heaven with the Saints; the fourth, that the garments of

[e] "Though there was but one form "of worship throughout the whole "Church, as to what concerned the "substance of Christian worship; yet "every Bishop was at liberty to form "his own Liturgy in what method and "words he thought proper." Bingham 2. 6. 2.

While the Unity of the Church was unbroken, individuals could be trusted with a liberty which would subsequently have been dangerous.

skins, with which GOD clothed Adam and Eve, were their bodies, and that they were incorporeal before they sinned; the fifth, that we shall not rise again with the same flesh; the sixth, that the terrestrial paradise is only an allegory of heaven; the seventh, that the waters which in Scripture are placed above the firmament, are the angels, and those beneath, the evil spirits; the eighth, that man by sin lost his resemblance to GOD. St. Epiphanius exhorts[1] John of Jerusalem to renounce all these errors, of which he likewise accuses the Priest Ruffinus of Aquileia and Palladius[2] of Galatia. A. D. 392. [1 p. 824, 826.] [2 p. 829.]

At the end of his letter are these words: "Moreover[3], "I have been informed, that some have murmured against "me, because when we were going to the holy place named "Bethel, in order to perform the Collect[f] there with you; "on coming to the village Anablatha, and seeing there, as "I passed, a lamp lighted, I asked what place it was, and on "being told that it was a church, I went in to pray accord-"ingly. I found a curtain fastened to the door of this "church, upon which was painted a picture to represent "CHRIST or some Saint; for I do not perfectly remember "the subject. Having therefore seen the image of a man "exposed to view in the Church of CHRIST against the "authority of Scripture, I tore the curtain and advised those "who kept that place rather to wrap the dead body of some "poor man in it, for his burial. They murmured and said; "'If he must tear our curtain, he ought at least to give us "'another in exchange.' When I heard this I promised to "do it, and accordingly I now send the best I could meet "with, and I beg you to order the Priests of the place to "receive it; and to forbid for the future the exhibition in "the Church of such curtains as are contrary to our religion; "it becomes you to remove this scandal." If this part of the letter was really[4] written by St. Epiphanius, it must be confessed that in this point he was more scrupulous than other Bishops. For the use of pictures in the churches was received both in the East and West, as appears from St. Gregory of Nyssa[5], from Prudentius[6], and from St. Paulinus[7], who [3 p. 828.] [4 of this there seems no question.] [5 S. Greg. Nyss. in Theod. p. 1011. D. [tom. 3. p. 579.] [6 Prud. Steph. 9. v. 93. et 11. v. 123. [7 Natal. 11. sub fin. [9. v. 511, &c. p. 641-3.]

[f] "*Collecta, σύναξις*, the sacred sacri-"fice of the Mass, at which all Chris-"tians ought to be collected; also, any "office of the Church, at which people "assemble." Du Cange. For another use of the word, see Bingham, bk. 15. ch. 1. § 4.

A. D. 392. wrote at the same time. And there is mention made of a similar picture upon a curtain in a church, in the book of the miracles of St. Stephen[1], composed by the order of Evodius Bishop of Uzala, St. Augustine's friend. However the customs of the Churches might be different in this point, and the great number of Jews who lived in Palestine might render it necessary to use images with more reserve, that they might not be offended, when there was no necessity for it[g].

[1] lib. 2. c. 4. § 2. apud S Aug. tom. 7. Append. p. 40.

[g] When persecution ceased, and Faith, from the more mixed character of its professors, needed externals to impress the senses, we first find the erection of magnificent churches and the introduction of various ornaments. Still the use of sacred *images* was long excluded in consequence of the abhorrence of Pagan *idols*. Not that symbols on signet-rings were unknown (Clem. Alex. A.D. 192. Pædag. 3. p. 289. Potter.), or on cups (Tert. de Pudic. c. 7.), or embroidered on garments. (Asterii Hom. in Div. et Laz. A. D. 400.) Of these two last, however, Tertullian (c. 10.) seems to disapprove the former and Asterius (who was Bishop of Amasea) dissuades his hearers from the latter. Eusebius rebuked Constantia when she applied to him for a picture of the LORD (Conc. Nicæn. II. Mans. tom. 13. p. 314.), and Conc. Elib. A. D. 305. c. 36. disallowed any pictures in churches. Eusebius (Hist. 7. 18.) tells us of a supposed statue of CHRIST at Cæsarea Philippi, raised by the woman whose issue of blood was healed (cf. Gieseler. vol. 1. § 24. note 4.), and incidentally mentions that pictures of CHRIST and the Apostles were used by Christians. Philostorgius (7. 3.) relates the same history, and says it was placed in the Sacristy (διακονικὸν) where it was much visited and respect was shewn to it (τὰ πρέποντα ἐθεράπευον) in memory of Him Whom it represented, but no adoration (σέβοντες ἢ προσκυνοῦντες οὐδαμῶς). St. Augustine condemns the *adoratores* of pictures (de Mor. Eccles. c. 34. tom. 1.) and those who derived their knowledge of the history of our LORD and His Apostles from them instead of the New Testament. De Cons. Evang. l. 10. He elsewhere speaks of pictures of the Sacrifice of Isaac. (c. Faust. 22. 73.) "At first historical pictures, the "subjects of which were taken from the "Scriptures or from the History of the "Martyrs were allowed in the churches; "of these the earliest instances are men- "tioned by St. Gregory of Nyssa in "the East, and Paulinus Bishop of "Nola in the West." (A.D. 409—431.) See Gieseler, vol. 1. § 97. ad finem. St. Gregory the Great approves their use as instructing the illiterate and kindling the devotion of all, and while he commends Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles for his indignation at seeing certain images adored, he condemns his inconsiderateness in destroying them.

The Emperor Leo III., Isauricus (A.D. 716—741.), was led, from the gross abuses into which the use of images had fallen among the uninstructed, to pursue the same conduct as Serenus. He was resisted by Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, whom he deposed. In A. D. 730, he commanded the pictures to be removed from the churches. He was disregarded both at Rome by Pope Gregory II. and in the East (now overrun by the Saracens). Under his successor, Constantine Copronymus, a Council at Constantinople condemned the practice A.D. 754, and the laws against images were still enforced by the next Emperor, Leo IV. (775—780.) His widow Irene, who governed under the name of her infant son, Constantine VI., summoned in conjunction with Tarasius, the new Patriarch, the seventh (so called) general Council at Nicæa, which sanctioned the use of images (see Gieseler, vol. 2. § 1.), allowing προσκύνησις to them but only honorary (τιμητική). (Defin. Syn. II. Nic. Mans. tom. 13. p. 377. Cf. Supr. ch. 31. note k.) Theod. in A.D. 842, celebrated the conclusion of the Iconoclast controversy by instituting a yearly festival (ἡ κυριακὴ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας). The Gallican Church at a council held at Frankfort (A.D. 794.) expressed its disapprobation of the adoration of images. With respect to the Reformation, Henry VIII. "had

St. Epiphanius sent this letter to John by one of his Clerks and urged him to reply to it. Meanwhile copies of it were circulated in Palestine. St. Jerome translated it into Latin at the request of Eusebius of Cremona, who was in his monastery and was desirous of reading a letter, which he heard so much praised, but which was written in a language he did not understand. St. Jerome sent for a short-hand writer[1] and at once dictated the translation, which he gave Eusebius with the request not to let it get abroad, but which was notwithstanding afterwards published, and it is in this shape only that the letter of St. Epiphanius has come down to us. Instead of answering it, John wrote an Apology, addressed to Theophilus[2] of Alexandria, but really a circular letter to all the Bishops. This he sent to the West and to many other provinces; copies of it as well as of St. Epiphanius' letter were spread at Rome, and Pammachius in consequence wrote to St. Jerome and begged him to explain and make known to the world the real state of the question. St. Jerome acquiesced and wrote a long letter to Pammachius in the year 393, as appears by the mention of a solar eclipse[3]; the quarrel had now lasted three years since the time that Epiphanius, at Jerusalem, had accused John of Origenism, which is related by St. Jerome, who addresses John, in the following way:

A. D. 393.

XLV. Letters of St. Jerome against John.

[1] S. Hier. Ep. 101. [33.] de opt. gen. interpr. [Scr. A.D. 396. p. 248.]

[2] Ibid. Ep. 61. [38. A. D. 397. p. 309.]

[3] c. 16. [p. 333.]

"frequently commanded the removal "of all such images as had been the "occasion of superstition or abuse; a "proclamation appeared" (in the reign of Edward VI. Feb. 24. 1548.) "which "complained that these injunctions had "given birth to dissensions among the "parishioners, and required that, to re-"store tranquillity, all images whatso-"ever should be destroyed." Lingard, vol. 7. p. 34. This requisition of course has never been complied with. "Luther "much reproved Carlostadius for re-"moving images out of the churches, "where before they had been suffered "to stand, letting him know, *ex menti-"bus hominum potius removendas*, that "the worship of images was rather to "be taken out of men's minds by dili-"gent and painful preaching than the "images themselves to be so rashly "and unadvisedly cast out of the "churches." Heylyn's Introduction to his Life of Abp. Laud, § 15. "It "never was the meaning of the Queen "[Elizabeth], her Council, or Com-"missioners to condemn, abolish, or "deface all images, either of CHRIST "Himself or of any of the Prophets, Apo-"stles, Martyrs, Confessors, and other "godly Fathers in the Church of CHRIST; "the abuse whereof is ordered to be re-"formed by the first Injunction [A.D. "1559], but only to remove such pic-"tures of false and feigned miracles, "as had no truth of being or existence "in nature, and therefore were the more "abused to superstition and idolatry in "the times of Popery." Ibid. See too page 126. ad A. D. 1624. The Council of Trent declares "that the images "of CHRIST, of the Virgin Mother of "GOD, and those of the Saints are to "be had and retained, specially in "churches, and that due honour and "veneration ought to be paid them," which honour is referred to their prototypes. Sess. 25. ad Init.

A. D. 393. "You have imposed upon strangers. We were present[1]
[1] c. 4. [p. 312.] "and know the whole truth. When the Pope Epiphanius
"spoke in your church against Origen, and, under his name,
"attacked you, you and your company made it sufficiently
"appear by your looks and your contemptuous gestures, that
"you considered him a mere dotard. Did you not, before
"the Sepulchre of the LORD, send to him your Archdeacon
"bidding him cease to speak in that strain? What Bishop ever
"so treated his Priest before the people? And when, as you
"proceeded from the place of the Resurrection to that of the
"Cross, a multitude of people, of every age and sex, ran up
"to him, presenting to him children, kissing his feet, plucking
"the border of his mantle, so that you could not advance
"and even had difficulty in standing, your envy for the holy
"old man's glory made you cry out to his face, that it was
"on purpose that he stopped. Call to mind, I pray you, the
"day, when the people waited till an hour after mid-day,
"only with the hope of hearing Epiphanius. You spoke,
"like a madman, against the Anthropomorphites, who with
"a rude simplicity believe that GOD has in a literal sense the
"members, which the Scriptures attribute to Him; and you
"turned your hands, your eyes, and your whole body, towards
"the holy old man, with the wish to render him suspected of
"this absurd heresy. After you had spoken, he rose to shew
"his wish to say something, and after saluting the assembly
[2 p. 313.] "with voice and hand, he said[2]; 'All that my brother has
"'pronounced against the Anthropomorphites is good and
"'conformable to the Faith, and I, too, condemn them; as,
"'however, we condemn this heresy, it is right that we also
"'condemn the evil doctrine of Origen.'" What bursts of laughter, what cries immediately arose! surely, you must remember them.

St. Jerome goes on to relate, that John of Jerusalem pronounced in the presence of St. Epiphanius a Sermon, in which he touched on all the doctrines of the Church, of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Cross, of Hell, of the Nature of Angels, the State of Souls and of the Resurrection. John declared that the coincidence was accidental, but St. Jerome maintained that he wished to justify himself with respect to the doctrine of Origen. However that may be, he also gives an

account of the quarrel, to prove that it was not of longer standing than the Ordination of Paulinianus. A. D. 393.

As to John's Apology, St. Jerome complains that, though charged with Origenism by so many Monks in Palestine and by a Bishop of such authority as St. Epiphanius, he did not distinctly avouch his freedom from those errors. "I should "be sorry for any man," he says[1], "patiently to submit to "the suspicion of heresy." He then enters into particulars and says that of the eight heads alleged against him, he notices but three[2], without answering definitely even with respect to them, and that he passes the rest over in silence. St. Jerome enlarges upon all these points and all the errors of Origen and refutes them in full. When he is speaking of the Creed, he says that it had been received from the Apostles and was learned by heart without being written[3]. As John attributed to Theophilus the superintendance over all the Churches, and particularly over that of Jerusalem[4], St. Jerome asked him, "You profess to "follow the Canons of Nicæa, what, tell me, has Palestine to "do with the Bishop of Alexandria? If I am not mistaken, "they order that Cæsarea should be the Metropolis of "Palestine, and Antioch of all the East[5]. You ought then "to have addressed yourself to the Bishop of Cæsarea, knowing "that we were in his communion, after we had rejected yours, "or if you must look for a judge at a distance, you ought to "have written to Antioch." He then complains of the Priest Isidore, one of the "four great brothers[h]," whom Theophilus had sent to Jerusalem and by whom John had sent his Apology. St. Jerome maintains that Isidore was himself suspected of Origenism, and then says, "When he was come as a deputy "from Theophilus[6], he would not deliver the letters with "which he was entrusted for us, because the Bishop of "Jerusalem had made him promise the contrary; and thus "he, who said, forsooth, that he was sent to make peace, is "convicted of partiality." Two months after the arrival of

[1] Ep. 61. [38. p. 307.] c. 1, 2.

[2] c. 3. [p. 309.]

[3] c. 9. in fin. [p. 323.]

[4] [p. 330.]

[5] Conc. Nic. c. 6, 7. [Mans. 2. p. 895.] Supr. II. ch. 20.

[6] [p. 331.]

[h] "Among the disciples of Pambo" a celebrated Monk of Mount Nitria (see Gieseler, vol. 1. § 93.) "were "four brothers, Dioscurus, Ammonius, "Eusebius, and Euthymius, who were "so tall that they went by the name of "the 'four great brothers.'" Supra, bk. 17. ch. 4. Isidore's name does not appear among these. He accompanied Ammonius, when he was taken by St. Athanasius to Rome, A. D. 341. Supra, bk. 12. ch. 20. See Rosweyd. VV. PP.

A. D. 393. Isidore, the Count Archelaus mediated between Bishop John and the Monks. They required that the Faith should be made the ground of the reconciliation. A place was fixed, a day was appointed about Easter, and John had promised to be present. A large concourse of Monks repaired to the place, when suddenly word was brought from the Bishop that his presence was required with some sick woman and that he could not come on that day. The Monks felt that he was only mocking them, but did not fail to attend. Archelaus wrote to him and offered to stay the morrow or even two [1 p. 332.] days[1], if he would but come; however, John did not appear. He accused St. Jerome and the Monks of rending the Church: [2 p. 333.] "Do we," says St. Jerome, "rend the Church[2], we, who "towards Pentecost, some months since, when the Sun was "darkened and all believed with terror that the Judge was "at hand, presented to your Priests for baptism, forty persons "of different ages and sexes? We had five Priests in our "monastery, who had right to baptize, but they were un- "willing to give you any offence or to give you a pretext for "refusing to declare yourself as to the Faith. Do not you "rather rend the Church, who have forbidden your Priests "at Bethlehem to administer baptism at Easter to our can- [3 competentes. See Gieseler vol. 1. § 68.] "didates for the Sacrament[3] whom we have sent for that "purpose to Diospolis, to the Confessor, Bishop Dionysius?" [4 Ep. 62.] St. Jerome wrote another letter[4] in answer to one from [39. p. 334.] Theophilus of Alexandria, in which he exhorted them to peace. In defence of the ordination of Paulinianus, St. Jerome says that it had taken place in the monastery of St. Epiphanius, in the territory of Eleutheropolis and not [5 p. 337.] of Ælia[5], i. e. of Jerusalem, and that Paulinianus could not be too young, being thirty years old. "Why do they not," he [6 p. 338.] says, "make their choice[6]? If we are good, let them leave "us in quiet, if bad, why do they seek communion with us? "A short time since he obtained a petition that he made "for our banishment, and would to GOD, he had had power "to enforce it. The Church has been founded by men who "shed their blood, and endured insults!" Such were St. Jerome's writings on the quarrel with John of Jerusalem. His translation of St. Epiphanius' letter to John was attacked as [7 Ep. 101. [33. A. D. 396.] de opt. gen. interp.] unfaithful; in defence, he wrote to Pammachius[7], shewing

that the best method of translating is, without rendering word for word, to bring out the sense clearly. This letter, however, was written two years after. A. D. 393.

XLVI. Voyage of Palladius.

Ruffinus and Palladius[1], whom St. Epiphanius mentions as the chief Origenists, were then in Palestine. Ruffinus came thither[2] with Melania as early as the year 373, as is related in the seventeenth book[3], and he continued there twenty-five years[4]. He had been an intimate friend of St. Jerome, but his attachment to the errors of Origenism so divided them, that from that time he became his greatest adversary. Palladius was of Galatia; at twenty years of age he came to Alexandria[5] under the second Consulship of Theodosius, that is, in the year 388. He fell at first into the hands of the Priest Isidore[6], who was then about the age of seventy, and lived fifteen years afterwards, that is, till the year 403. This is the same Isidore of whom St. Jerome complains. Isidore[7] put Palladius under the care of a hermit named Dorotheus who had lived sixty years in a cave near Alexandria, and he obliged him to stay three years with him that he might learn to subdue his passions. Palladius after living with the old man two years and a half fell sick, and left him that he might live less austerely. He visited the Monks of Mount Nitria[8] and passed a year there; after that, he retired to the desert of Cellæ, and lived three years[9] with St. Macarius of Alexandria who performed the office of Priest in that place; he there became acquainted with Evagrius[11] of Pontus, and with five other Monks, who were foreigners. The desert of Cellæ was for nine years (during which time however, he performed several journeys,) the common residence of Palladius. He visited[2] the monastery of Scetis and consulted an ancient Monk named Pachon. He also went into Palestine[3] and stayed at Bethlehem with a Monk named Posidonius, and at the Mount of Olives with the Priest Innocent[4]. St. Epiphanius informs[5] us that Palladius was in Palestine when he wrote to John of Jerusalem, which was in the year 392.

[1] S. Hier. Ep. 60. c. 4, 5. [110. p. 827-9.]
[2] Pall. Laus. c. 118. [p. 585. Rosw.]
[3] ch. 6. [4] Qu. *twenty-seven.*
[5] Pall. Laus. Præf. et init. [p. 538.]
[6] Supr. bk. 16. ch. 35.
[7] Laus. c. 2. [p. 539.]
[8] c. 7.
[9] c. 20. p. 721. [547.]
[11] Rosw. p. 721. A.
[2] c. 29. [p. 555.]
[3] Laus. c. 77. [p. 576.]
[4] c. 103.
[5] ap. S. Hier. Ep. 60. [110. p. 827.]

Evagrius of Pontus also, under whose direction Palladius had placed himself, was considered a great follower of Origen; he was ordained Reader[6] by St. Basil, and Deacon by St. Gregory of Nyssa. Coming to Jerusalem he found there the

[6] Pall. Laus. c. 86.

A. D. 393. elder Melania, and by her advice assumed the monastic habit about the year 384. After that he went into Egypt, and lived on Mount Nitria, and at Cellæ; he there led a most austere life, and as he wrote well and rapidly, he employed himself in transcribing books for his subsistence, and became very learned. He died in his retirement at the age of fifty-four. He is supposed to be the author of the second book of the lives of the Fathers which begins with the history of St. John of Egypt, where he speaks almost always as an eye-witness. The Latin translation of this work[1], as well as the Elogium[2] of Evagrius which we find inserted in it, are ascribed to Ruffinus. It is certain that Evagrius, with Palladius, Albinius, Ammonius, and three other Monks, seven[3] in all, went to see[4] the famous St. John of Egypt, as they came from Jerusalem, and that they were informed by him of the victory of the Emperor Theodosius over the tyrant Eugenius on the very same day[5] that the news was carried to Alexandria[5], although St. John's monastery was at a very great distance, near Lycus or Lycopolis in the Thebais.

[1] Rosweyd. Vitæ PP. [p. 343.]
[2] Ibid. p. 479. [365.]
[3] Pall. Laus. c. 43. [p. 561.]
[4] Rosw. lib. 2. c. 1. [p. 343.]
[5] Laus. c. 46. [p. 565.]

XLVII. War of Theodosius against Eugenius.[6]

Eutropius, whom the Emperor had sent to St. John of Egypt, could not persuade him to quit his retirement, but he foretold that the Emperor should be victorious in this war, not however without [7]effusion of blood as in the war against Maximus[8]; that he should put the tyrant to death; and that after his victory, he should die himself in Italy, leaving to his son the Empire of the West. Eutropius having carried back his answer, the Emperor continued to prepare himself for the war[9], not so much by his arms as by works of piety, by fasting, watchings, and prayers[1]. He visited, with the Bishops[2] and people, all the places of prayer, and prostrated himself before the tombs[3] of the Martyrs and Apostles; imploring the intercession [of the Saints] as the most trustworthy succour. He made several laws for the relief of the people; he[4] took off the tributes[5] that Tatian the Prætorian Præfect had imposed, and [6]ordered that all the goods of those whom he had proscribed should be restored to them or to their nearest relations; he forbade[7] the soldiers to exact[8] any thing from their hosts, or to make them pay in money what ought to be supplied in kind[9]; he checked the indiscreet zeal of those who, under pretence of religion, took upon them to

[6] Soz. 7. 24.
[7] Ruff. 11. 32.]
[8] Supra. ch. 12. and 34.
[9] Philost. 11. 2.
[1] Ruff. 11. 33.]
[2] sacerdotibus.]
[3] thecas.]
[4] Cod. Th. 11. tit. 1. 23. de ann. et trib.
[5] *ærariæ præstationis adjectio.*]
[6] Ib. 9. tit. 42. 12. de bon. proscr.
[7] Ib. 7. tit. 9. 3. de Salg.
[8] *salgami nomine.*]
[9] Ib. 7. tit. 4. 18, 19, 20. de erog. mil. ann.

pillage and ruin the synagogues of the Jews[1]; and he made a law to hinder those, who had presumed to rail either against him or his government, from being prosecuted as guilty of high-treason[2]. "If it is done through levity," says his law, "it ought to be despised; if through folly[3], we ought "to have compassion; and if through malice[4], we must "pardon it; so that we would have the matter referred "entirely to us, that we may judge, from a consideration "of the persons accused, whether it ought to be passed "over or prosecuted." All these laws[5] were dated at Constantinople under the Consulship of Theodosius and Abundantius, that is, in the year 393. Theodosius spent all the rest of this year there, and the beginning of the next, and continued his preparations for the war during the winter.

A. D. 393.

[1] Ib. 16. tit. 8. 9. de Jud.

[2] Ib. 9. tit. 4. l. si quis imp. maled.

[3] *insania.*

[4] *injuria.*

[5] as well as lib. 7. tit. 3. l.]

Eugenius made preparations on his side, but in a far different[6] manner; for as he had been supported by the Pagans, he allowed them every liberty. At Rome[7] they performed a multitude of sacrifices, poured forth the blood of victims, inspected their entrails, and pretended to find in them fortunate omens, indicating certain victory to Eugenius. Flavian[8] the Prætorian Præfect and friend to Symmachus[9], who was looked upon as a great politician, and very learned in this science of divination, was the most eager to practise these superstitions, and the forwardest to make these magnificent promises. Eugenius having made himself master of the passages of the Julian Alps, suffered the Pagans to set up there idols of Jupiter[1], and his chief ensign carried on it that of Hercules[2]. He granted to the Pagans that which the Younger Valentinian[3] had twice refused, namely, the restoration of the altar of Victory at Rome, and also of the revenues of their temples. He had refused it twice, but granted it the third time[4]. St. Ambrose seeing Eugenius thus given up to the Pagans, returned no answer to a letter which he had written to him at the beginning of his reign, but he afterwards wrote to him, and solicited him for those who were in danger; shewing on the one side that he was incapable of flattery even at the hazard of his life, and on the other, that he knew how to honour power when charity required it[5]. Afterwards, understanding that Eugenius was making all imaginable expedition to Milan, he left it and retired to

[6] Ruff. 11. 16.

[7] Ib. c. 33.

[8] Ibid. et Soz. 7. 22.

[9] Supra, bk. 18. ch. 31.]

[1] S. Aug. De Civ. 5. 26.

[2] Theod. 5. 24.

[3] Paulin. Vit. S. Amb. c. 26.

[4] S. Ambr. Ep. 57. 6.

[5] Ibid. § 11, 12.

A. D. 393. Bologna. He however wrote[1] to Eugenius, and gave him
[1] Ep. 57. an account of his retreat, representing likewise how he had opposed the demands of the Pagans made to Valentinian and
[2] § 6. Theodosius himself. He refuted the poor excuse[2] which Eugenius pleaded, namely, that he had not restored the goods to the temples, but had given them to certain persons to whom he was under obligations, that is to say, to Arbogastes
[3] § 7. and Flavian. "Your power is great," says St. Ambrose[3], "yet consider that of GOD, who sees all things, and knows "the very bottom of your heart. You will not suffer any "to deceive you, and yet you would conceal things from GOD.
[4] § 8. "How will[4] you make your offerings to CHRIST? How will the "Priests distribute them? All that the Pagans do will be im-"puted to you." St. Ambrose's threatenings came to pass, for
[5] Paulin. § 31. the church at Milan[5] refused the offerings of Eugenius, and would not even admit him to prayers; this so exasperated Arbogastes and Flavian that upon leaving Milan they vowed, that if they returned victorious they would turn the Basilica into a stable, and oblige the Clergy to bear arms.

XLVIII. St. Ambrose at Bologna and Florence.

St. Ambrose upon leaving Milan went to Bologna, to which place he was invited[6] to be present at the translation of the holy Martyrs, Vitalis and Agricola[7], who had just been found there. These Martyrs had suffered together. Vitalis was one of Agricola's slaves, and he was executed first to terrify his master, who was of a very gentle disposition, and beloved by the persecutors themselves; but finding that he would not yield they crucified him. They were buried among the Jews, and the Christians knew not where, till the Martyrs revealed it to the Bishop of the same Church, who on searching found their bodies, and took them up from among a great number both of Jews and Christians. By the quantity of nails which were found it was known what a multitude of wounds[8] St. Agricola had received; they also collected his blood, and recovered the wood of his cross. The bodies of the holy Saints were laid beneath the altar of the Basilica with the joyful acclamations of the people, and the evil spirits tormented at the sight of the Martyrs declared their merits. St. Ambrose therefore having been invited to this festival, came to Bologna and assisted at the translation, bringing back with him part of the relics, that is, some of the nails and the wood of the cross;

[6] S. Ambr. Exhort. Virgin. init. [A.D. 393.] Paulin. § 29.
[7] See bk. 18. 47. note s.]
[8] c. 2.

for they did not as yet divide the bodies; indeed it was not usual even to translate them. Theodosius had made a law[1] in the year 386, forbidding the translation of human[2] bodies from one place to another, or the sale[3] or purchase of a Martyr, only permitting such edifices to be built as they thought proper to his honour[4], in the place of his burial. The cause of this was that there were false Monks, who made it their business[5] to run over all the provinces with pretended relics. From Bologna[6] St. Ambrose went immediately to Faience[7], and there stayed some days, during which time he was invited by the Florentines into Tuscany, whither he went, and carried to Florence the relics of St. Vitalis, which he had designed for [8]others; and he placed them under the altar of a church, which he dedicated there, and which was named the *Basilica Ambrosiana*. A holy[9] widow named Juliana had built it; she had three daughters whom she had consecrated to GOD, and on this account, the title of the sermon which St. Ambrose preached at this dedication being chiefly made with a view to their instruction, is *An Exhortation to Virginity*. At Florence he lived[1] in the house of a considerable citizen named Decens, a Christian, whose son, an infant, named Pansophius, was tormented with an evil spirit; the holy Bishop cured him by praying often for him and laying his hands on him, but a few days after the child died suddenly; his mother who was a very religious woman carried him from the top of the house to a lower apartment, in which St. Ambrose lodged, and laid him on his bed whilst he was abroad. St. Ambrose, on his return, finding the child lying dead on his bed, was moved with the faith of his mother, and immediately, in imitation of Elisha, laid himself on the child, and by his prayers procured[2] his restoration to life; he presented him alive to his mother, and composed at that time a little book which he addressed to this infant, that he might hereafter learn by reading what his years prevented his yet understanding. This work is not extant, but we know[3] that there was no mention made in it of this miracle. St. Ambrose returned to Milan[4] as soon as he knew that Eugenius had left it to proceed on his march against Theodosius; so that he arrived about the beginning of August A. D. 394, and

A. D. 393.

[1] Cod. Th. 9. tit. 17. 7. de sepulch. viol.
[2] legend. *humatum.*]
[3] distrahere.]
[4] pro ejus veneratione.]
[5] S. Aug. de Op. Monac. c. 28.
[6] Paul. § 27.
[7] Faventia, Faenza.]
[8] Exhort. Virg. § 1.
[9] Ibid. c. 2.
[1] Paul. § 28.
[2] meruit.]
[3] Paulin. ibid.
[4] Paulin. § 31. S. Ambr. Ep. 61. § 1, 2. [Scr. A. D. 394.]

A. D. 393. there waited for the Emperor, being confident that GOD would give him the victory.

XLIX. Victory of Theodosius.

Theodosius having passed the whole winter in making preparations for the war, and having lost Galla his first[1] wife, who died in childbed, left at Constantinople his two sons Arcadius and Honorius with Ruffinus the Prætorian Præfect, to govern the affairs of the East[2]. He had given Honorius the title of *Augustus* on the tenth[3] of January 393. He left Constantinople in the spring of the following year 394, under the third Consulship of Arcadius, and the second of Honorius. On leaving Constantinople he stopped at Hebdomon in the church which he had built [to GOD] in honour of St. John Baptist[4], to whom he commended the happy success of his arms, invoking his assistance[5]. This place was called Hebdomon because it was seven[6] miles[7] from Constantinople. It is said that Theodosius conveyed thither the head of St. John Baptist, having found it in a village near Chalcedon, where it had been taken and remained ever since the reign of Valens, under the care of a Priest named Vincentius, and a virgin called Matrona, who were both of the Macedonian sect. Matrona continued in her error, but Vincentius was converted, and followed the Emperor to Constantinople.

[1 Qu. *second.* See Supra c. 1.]
[2 Zosim. 4. p. 777. [c. 57.]]
[3 Socr. 5. 25. Claud. de 3. Cons. Honor. v. 83, &c.]
[4 Soz. 7. 24.]
[5 Supr. ch. 31. note k.]
[6 Soz. 7. 21. Chron. Pasch. ad an. 391. [p. 305.]]
[7 See Gibbon, vol. 3. p. 119.]

When Theodosius had reached Italy, he forced the passage of the Alps, and found all Eugenius' army assembled in the plain before Aquileia. He immediately caused the auxiliary troops of the barbarians[8] commanded by Gaïnas to advance. After a very sharp engagement they were unable to sustain the force of the enemy under the command of Arbogastes. Ten thousand Goths perished; and Bacurius[9], an Iberian prince, who had served under the Romans a long time, and was remarkable for his virtue and piety, was killed fighting valiantly. Night parted the armies, and Eugenius believing himself victorious, distributed largesses, and sent his troops away to feast and take rest; in the mean time [Arbogastes] lined the passage of the mountains, in order to enclose Theodosius, and hinder his retreat. The officers[1] of Theodosius' army advised him to retire, and put off the decision of the war to the following year; but he answered, that he could not bear that the Cross, which was carried at the head of his legions, should fall back before the idol of Hercules, dis-

[8 Zos. 4. c. 58.]
[9 Supra, bk. 11. ch. 39.]
[1 Theod. 5. 24.]

played by Eugenius; so, though there remained with him A. D. 394.
but few troops, and those discouraged, he resolved to stay. He retired to an oratory built on the top of a mountain, where he encamped, and without taking any nourishment or sleep, he passed the night in prayer, prostrate on the ground, which he watered with his tears. At last, at cock-crow, overcome with fatigue he fell asleep, and thought that he saw two men clothed in white, mounted on white horses, who exhorted him to take courage, to arm the troops at day-break, and draw them up in order of battle, for that they were come to his assistance, and that one was John the Evangelist, the other Philip the Apostle. The Emperor after this vision redoubled the fervour of his prayers. A soldier having seen the same thing, told it to his captain, who repeated it to his tribune, and the tribune to the general, who came and told the Emperor, thinking he brought him news. The Emperor said, "It is not on my account that this soldier "has seen this vision, I am sufficiently assured of the "victory; but that I should have a witness of what GOD "permitted me first to see. Let us march therefore boldly "under the conduct of the Saints[1], regarding their power, "and not the number of the enemy." Having then encouraged his army, he descended the mountain, and fortified with the sign[2] of the cross, marched against the enemy. He then began to perceive[3] the danger which surrounded him; for the forces of Eugenius were posted behind him on an eminence, to attack him in the rear during the engagement. However, Count Arbetio[4], who commanded them, moved with respect for the Emperor, went over to Theodosius; and many more by his example, after the battle had begun, sent to offer their services to the Emperor, provided he would continue them in an honourable rank. He granted what they desired, and promised them in writing several military commissions. As the defiles and the baggage retarded his progress, Theodosius, seeing the enemy advance to take advantage of it, leaped from his horse and advancing alone at the head of his forces, cried out; "Where is the GOD "of Theodosius?" and with these words encouraged the whole army. Eugenius saw him descend, and causing his army to advance, remained himself on a hill. He said that

[1 τοῖς προμάχοις καὶ πολεμάρχοις.]

[2 Oros. 7. 35.]

[3 Soz. 7. 24.]

[4 or Arbitrio. Oros. ibid.]

A. D. 394. Theodosius sought to die, and gave orders that they should bring him to him alive and in chains; but when they began to discharge their arrows, there arose a violent wind which blew directly in the face of Eugenius' troops, and drove back their shafts against themselves; it blinded them with the dust it raised; tore away their bucklers from their hands, or dashed them into their faces, and forced them to break their ranks. Theodosius' forces felt not the least inconvenience; on the contrary, the wind assisted them, and drove their shafts farther than usual. The Poet Claudian[1], though a Pagan, has himself owned, that heaven fought for Theodosius in this battle. The troops of Eugenius losing courage, one part took flight, the other threw down their arms and begged mercy of Theodosius, who readily granted it, and ordered them to bring Eugenius to him.

[1] Claud. de III. Cons. Honor. [v. 96-98.]

Eugenius seeing these men running to him towards the hill where he had placed himself, asked whether they had taken Theodosius. "We are come," they replied, "to take you;" and immediately they carried him before Theodosius, stripped of his imperial ornaments and with his hands tied behind him. Theodosius reproached him with the death of Valentinian, with his usurpation, the injustice of the war, and his confidence in the idol of Hercules. Eugenius fell prostrate at the feet of Theodosius, begging his life in a despicable manner; but the soldiers by his orders cut off his head, and fixing it on the point of a spear, carried it through the camp. At this sight the rest of the troops submitted, and the vanquished became perfectly united to the victorious. Arbogastes despairing of pardon fled into the most inaccessible mountains, and finding that strict search was being made for him, he killed himself with two[2] swords, on the third day after the battle, which was fought on the sixth of September, under the third Consulship of Arcadius, and the second of Honorius, in the year 394.

[2] Claud. ibid. v. 103.]

It is said[3], that at the same time a certain person possessed with an evil spirit, coming out of the church of Hebdomon near Constantinople, was carried up into the air, and began to abuse St. John Baptist, reproaching him that his head was cut off, and crying out; "Thou gettest the better of "me, thou art overcoming my forces." Those who stood by,

[3] Socr. 5. 25. Soz. 7. 24.

who were most anxious to learn tidings of the battle, noted the day, and some time after discovered that it was the very day on which the battle was fought, by the account of those who had been there. Theodosius threw down all the idols of Jupiter which had been erected on the Alps; and as some of his train[1] said that they would willingly receive the strokes of those thunderbolts which were of gold, he freely gave them[2]. A. D. 394.

[1 cursoribus.]
[2 S. Aug. de civ. 5. c. 26.

He contented himself with the death of the two chief rebels, Eugenius and Arbogastes, and pardoned all the rest. The children of his enemies having taken sanctuary in a church, he took that opportunity of having them brought up in the Christian religion; and so far was he from taking their estates from them, that he gave them employments, and after the victory suffered no man to gratify his private revenge. He wrote[3] to St. Ambrose, imagining that he kept from him through the unfavourable opinion which he had of his affairs, as though God had forsaken him; but these letters found him at Milan, where he had been ever since the beginning of August. The[4] Emperor desired him to return thanks to God for his victory. St. Ambrose carried the letter into the church, laid it on the altar, and then took it in his hand as he offered the sacrifice, to the end that the faith of the Emperor might speak by his mouth, and that the letter might serve as an offering. In his answer to the Emperor, he intreated him to pardon the guilty, especially those who had not offended before. He wrote[5] to him some little time after by one of his Deacons named Felix, who is thought to be the same with him who was afterwards Bishop of Bologna, and in this letter he begs mercy for those who had taken refuge in the church. The Emperor sent John[6] a notary and tribune, afterwards Prætorian Præfect, to protect them. St. Ambrose then went to the Emperor at Aquileia, and implored full pardon for them, which he easily obtained. The Emperor even threw himself at his feet, acknowledging that he had been preserved by his merits and prayers.

Clemency of Theodosius.

[3 S. Ambr. Ep. 61. [Scr. A.D. 394.]
[4 § 4.
[5 Ep. 62.
[6 Paulin. § 31.

St. Ambrose returned to Milan, where Theodosius arrived the day after him[7]; he abstained from partaking of the Sacraments, on account of the enemies who had been killed in battle, although the war was just; and he refrained till

[7 ibid. § 32. De Ob. Theod. § 34.

A. D. 394. he had a testimony of the divine favour by the arrival of his children. St. Ambrose commends and gives an account of this behaviour of Theodosius, to which he had perhaps advised him. By these children[1] of the Emperor, whom he sent for into Italy, are meant Honorius, and perhaps his sister Placidia, because Arcadius[2] stayed at Constantinople. On their arrival, Theodosius put them under the care[3] of St. Ambrose, judging that he could not take a better method to protect them. As he knew that he had not long to live, according to the prophecy of St. John of Egypt, he divided his empire between his children; to Arcadius he gave the East, of which he had been possessed a great while, and gave him Ruffinus to assist him in his government[4]. He gave Honorius the West, that is, Spain, France, Africa, and the Western Illyricum, and appointed Stilicho, to whom he had married one of his nieces, to govern during his son's nonage.

[1 *filiorum.*]

[2 Ruff. 11. 33. Philost. 11. 2. Socr. 5. 26.]

[3 Paulin. § 32.]

[4 Zosim. 4. p. 779. [c. 57.]]

[5 c. 59.] Whilst Theodosius stayed in Italy, he exhorted[5] the Senators of Rome to quit their ancient superstition, and to embrace the Christian faith, which has the promise of delivering a man from all sin. They made answer that they could not renounce the ceremonies with which the city had been founded and which had continued for twelve hundred years, to embrace a religion which required belief without reasoning, and that, should they consent to the change, they knew not what might be the consequence. Then Theodosius declared to them that the public treasure was overcharged by the sacrifices and other ceremonies, and that he thought the money might be better employed in maintaining the forces. The Senators persisted, though to no purpose. The sacrifices ceased, the profane ceremonies were neglected; the priests and priestesses of the idols were driven away, and all the temples were forsaken. To this Zosimus, who relates it, attributes the destruction of Rome.

In this last journey of Theodosius into Italy, the Western Bishops made another[6] effort against Flavian of Antioch, complaining that the Emperor still permitted the tyranny of that Bishop. "Tell me," says Theodosius, "wherein "lies the tyranny of which you accuse him. Suppose me "to be Flavian, and I will undertake to plead his cause." And when they replied that they could not plead against

[6 Theod. 5. 23.]

the Emperor, he exhorted them thenceforward to labour towards the reunion of the Churches, and to put an end to their animosities and unprofitable contentions. The Western Bishops yielded to the advice of Theodosius; and it does not appear that they afterwards made use of the Imperial authority against Flavian. He had on his side the East, Asia, Pontus, Thrace, and Illyria. A. D. 394.

LI. Council at Constantinople.

He was present this same year at a council held at Constantinople, on the following occasion. Ruffinus the Prætorian Prefect, who now governed the East, had built[1] a palace and a large church, in a town[2] called Drys or The Oak, near Chalcedon, to which has since been given the name of Ruffiniana. The church was called in Greek *Apostoleion*, because it was built in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul. Ruffinus placed a body of Monks close by, who performed there the office of Clerks[3]. In order to celebrate the dedication of this church, he assembled several Bishops out of different provinces, and a great number of Monks; he sent particularly for Evagrius of Pontus, and honoured him so far, that at the ceremony of his Baptism, which was performed at this dedication, he desired to be raised from the font by his hand[4]. By this we may see that adult persons had godfathers as well as infants.

[1] Soz. 8. 17.

[2 προάστειον. Soz.]

[3 See Bingh. 7. 3. 19.]

[4 Heracl. Paradis. c. 2. ap. Rosw. p. 947. [713. Vid. not. p. 771.]

It is thought then that it was on account of this dedication, that a Council[5] was held at Constantinople; and there remains a session dated the third of the calends of October, under the third Consulship of Arcadius and the second of Honorius, or the twenty-ninth of September, A.D. 394. Besides the nineteen Bishops, whose names we find there set down, it is mentioned that there were many others present at the Council. Nectarius of Constantinople is the first named; then Theophilus of Alexandria; Flavian of Antioch; Palladius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, or rather Helladius[6], St. Basil's successor; Gelasius of Cæsarea in Palestine; Gregory of Nyssa; Amphilochius of Iconium; Paul of Heraclea; Arabianus of Ancyra; Ammon of Adrianopolis; Valerius[7] of Tarsus; Lucius of Hierapolis; Elpidius of Laodicea. These were all Metropolitans of different provinces of the East, excepting St. Gregory of Nyssa, who was a simple Bishop, but very venerable both on account of his age and his personal

[5 tom. 2. Conc. p. 1151. [3. p. 851. Mans.]

[6 See bk. 18. ch. 9. and ch. 25. note g.]

[7 Φαληρίου, fors. Βαλ.]

A. D. 394. merit: besides which he had been set down as [one of the] chief Bishops of Pontus, with whom all [in that diocese] were to communicate, in order to be deemed Catholics, according to a law[1] of Theodosius, made on the thirtieth of July, A.D. 381. We likewise find among these Bishops Theodorus[1] of Mopsuestia[2], who was consequently at this time esteemed a Catholic. It is observable that Nectarius of Constantinople presided at this Council, in preference to either the Bishop of Alexandria or Antioch. The place where this Council was held, was the Baptistery[3] of the Church of Constantinople, which must consequently have been very large, since besides the Bishops, all the Clergy were present.

[1] Cod. Theod. 16. tit. 1. 3. de Fid. Cath. Vid. Supr. l. 8. ch. 9.]

[2] Supr. bk. 9. ch. 27.

[3 φωτιστηριον.]

At this Council was decided the difference between the two Bishops Agapius and Bagadius[4], concerning the See of Bostra, the Metropolis of Arabia. They were present, and stood before the council, as the parties concerned, and it was proved that the deposition of Bagadius was performed by two Bishops only, and in his absence; upon which Arabianus, Bishop of Ancyra, begged the council to make a general decree as to whether two Bishops were sufficient for deposing another, and whether it could be done when the person was absent. Theophilus said that with reference to the future, he was of opinion, that even three Bishops were not sufficient to depose any person, but that all of the same *province*[5] ought if possible to be present, as well as the person accused. Nectarius approved this advice as conformable to the Apostolic canons, and he was followed by Flavian and all the rest: so that it was determined that though three Bishops were sufficient for ordination, they were not for deposing.

[4 Al. Gebadius.]

[5 ἐπαρχειώτας.]

LII. Canonical Epistle of St. Gregory of Nyssa.

After this Council no more mention is made of St. Gregory of Nyssa, whose memory is held in great veneration in the Church on account both of his virtue, his writings, and of St. Basil his brother. The Greek Church honours him on

[1] Theodore was the disciple of Diodorus Bishop of Tarsus (A. D. 378—circ. 394), and was Bishop of Mopsuestia from A.D. 393. He died A.D. 429. The heresy of Apollinaris had led to the necessity of distinguishing the two natures in the SON with greater exactness. This necessity was increased by the tendency to *confound the Substance*, in Egypt. Theodore of Mopsuestia consequently fell into the opposite extreme, and was regarded as the real originator of the error of Nestorius, who divided the *Unity of Person*. His Biblical Commentaries are the standard of the Nestorian Chaldæan or Thomas Christians in the East. See Gieseler, vol. I. §§. 82, 86.

the tenth of January[1], and the Latin on the ninth of March[2]. We find nothing more of St. Amphilochius, whose memory the Church honours on the twenty-third of November; St. Gregory of Nazianzus witnesses[3] that he used to cure the sick by prayer, and by the oblation of the Holy Sacrifice. He left several writings which were very much esteemed by Antiquity, but of which there are now hardly any remains. A. D. 394.

[1] Menolog. Græc. [2] Martyrol. [3] Carm. 52. p. 125. A. [p. 1030. v. 243. scr. A. D. 375.]

Among the writings of St. Gregory of Nyssa is a Canonical Epistle[4] written in his old age to Letoïus, Bishop of Melitine in Armenia, whom he calls his spiritual son. It seems to be part of a Paschal letter, and the rules for penance which he lays down in it are more severe than those of his brother St. Basil, though equally founded on the tradition of the ancients; which shew the difference of these traditions, even in neighbouring Churches. For voluntary apostasy, penance was due throughout life[5]; the penitent was to be for ever excluded from public prayers; he was to pray in private, and was not suffered to receive the communion[6] till he was dying. If he had apostatized through weakness and overcome by torture, he was to undergo the penance due for fornication, that is, for nine years. Those who sought after enchanters and diviners[7], if they did it through contempt of religion, are treated as apostates; but if it was through frailty or weakness[8] of spirit, they are treated as those who had yielded under torture.

[4] Conc. tom. 2. p. 1775. [S. Greg. Nyss. tom. 2. p. 114.] [5] p. 117.] [6] τὰ μυστικὰ ἁγιάσματα.] [7] c. 2. [8] μικροψυχίας. Vid. Onomast. S. Chrys. tom. 13.]

For fornication[9] there was to be nine years' penance[k]; three years of which the guilty were to be entirely excluded from the prayers, three years to be only Auditors, and three years to be Prostrate[1]. For adultery double the time was imposed in the same manner, that is, eighteen years. Sins against nature[2] are ranked with adultery; St. Basil[3] imposed four years' penance[4] for the sin of fornication, and for adultery, fifteen[5]. For voluntary homicide[6] St. Gregory has set down three times nine years, that is, twenty-seven; nine years in each of three conditions, of which the first is entire exclusion from the Church, the second that of Auditor,

[9] c. 3. [p. 119.] [1] ὑποπίπτοντες.] [2] p. 118.] [3] Supra, bk. 17. ch. 15. [4] Ep. [199.] ad Amphiloch. c. 22. [et Ep. 217.] [5] ibid. c. 58. [6] S. Greg. ibid. c. 4. [5.]

k "As early as the third century there "were four grades of penance, like those "through which the Catechumens had "to pass. These were προσκλαυσις, "ἀκρόασις, ὑποπίπτωσις, σύστασις (προσ- "κλαίοντες, χειμάζοντες, flentes, hie- "mantes,—ἀκροώμενοι, audientes,—γο- "νυκλίνοντες, ὑποπίπτοντες, genuflec- "tentes, substrati,—συνιστάμενοι, con- "sistentes)." Gieseler, vol. 1. § 68.

A. D. 394. and the third Prostration in prayer; for involuntary homicide[1], as in the case of fornication, nine years. St. Basil[2] imposed ten years for involuntary homicide. St. Gregory placed robbery by open force[3] in the same rank with homicide, but for simple theft he defined no particular time of penance, but obliged the culprit to make restitution by alms, and would have those, who had no possessions, make satisfaction by bodily labour, according to the precept of the Apostle[4]. He was himself surprised[5] that by the tradition of the Fathers there were not more severe penalties prescribed to restrain avarice, and far from complaining of their rigour he wonders at their indulgence in many particulars. In general, he pronounced that those who came to confess their sins should be treated with greater gentleness than such as were accused and convicted against their will, and that according to the earnestness of the penitent, the Bishop ought to shorten the time of his penance. He requires, that if to any of these the[6] communion is given on supposition that they were dying, they must if they recover, accomplish the time of their penance that remains unfinished.

[1] S. Greg. ibid. c. 4. [5.]
[2] Ep. [217.] c. 56, 57.
[3] c. 5. [6.]
[4] Eph. 4. 28.
[5] p. 121.]
[6] τοῦ ἐφοδίου, Viatici. Supr. ch. 18. note x.]

LIII. The Donatists.

It was at this time that St. Augustine being still a Priest[7] began to write against the Donatists[1]; they had so increased their numbers in Africa that they had got there above four hundred Bishops, and the Catholic Church in those parts seemed to be overwhelmed by their numbers. His first piece[8] against them was a hymn in Acrostic verse[9], following the order of the alphabet, as a help to the memory.

[7] Possid. c. 7. [Append. tom. 10. p. 262.]
[8] Retr. lib. 1. c. 20.
[9] Abecedarius.]

[1] "On occasion of the choice of Cæcilianus to be Bishop of Carthage (A.D. 311), the minority were so violently opposed to him, that they elected another Bishop, Majorinus, on the ground that Cæcilianus had been consecrated by a Traditor (i. e. one who had surrendered the Holy Scriptures to the Magistrates, during Diocletian's persecution, A.D. 303-4.), Felix, Bishop of Aptunga. Majorinus was soon succeeded (A.D. 313.) by Donatus, called *the Great*, from whom and Donatus, Bishop of Casæ Nigræ, one of its most zealous supporters, the party took its name. Their strictness in matters of discipline suited so well with the prevailing tendency in Africa, that their numbers fast increased, and at length they brought their cause before the Emperor Constantine,—the first instance of an appeal to the civil power in the affairs of the Christian Church. [See b. 18. ch. 29. note o.] Constantine at first entrusted Melchiades, Bishop of Rome, and the Synod of his Province, with the investigation of the affair (A.D. 313.); and afterwards a special Council was called for the purpose at Arelate (A.D. 314). In both instances the decision having been made against the Donatists, they were condemned by the Emperor and severe laws passed against them (A.D. 316). This did not seem to diminish their numbers, however, and the sect long continued to exist." Gieseler, vol. 1. § 69.

St. Augustine wrote it in a very simple style without observing any Latin measure, for fear of being obliged to put in words which the generality would not be able to understand; for he composed this hymn for the instruction of the most uneducated people. This proves that though the Punic language was at that time in use in that part of Africa, there were but few who did not understand Latin. In this hymn[1] St. Augustine gave a short account of the schism of the Donatists, and sets down the most obvious arguments for confuting them. He did not forget[2] to reproach them with the *Circumcelliones*[m], and other wicked people whom they suffered among them. He wrote also[3], whilst he was a Priest, another piece which is lost, against the letter of Donatus[4], the second Donatist Bishop of Carthage. These schismatics were taken at a great advantage at that time on account of their internal divisions[5]; for besides the great party whom they styled pure[6] Donatists, there were many other[7] societies less numerous; each believing that they alone had the true Baptism, and were the True Church. Amongst these lesser schisms of the Donatists there were the Claudianists, and the Urbanists[8], who existed in a corner of Numidia; the Rogatists[9] at Cartenna in Mauritania Cæsariensis, the chief of whom was Rogatus[1] [Bishop of Cartenna,] who had caused a schism about thirty years before. During the war of the tyrant Firmus[n], that is, about the year 372, they were persecuted by the other Donatists, and on that account they gave

A. D. 394.

[1 Extat. tom. 9. p. 1.]

[2 Literal.]

[3 Retract. 1. 21.

[4 S. Aug. Hær. 69. [tom. 8. p. 21.]

[5 In Psalm. 36. Serm. 2. 19, &c.

[6 Cardinales.]

[7 De Bapt. 1. 6. [tom. 9. p. 84.]

[8 Contr. Crescon. 4. c. 60. § 72. [p. 520.]

[9 [De unit. c. 3.]

[1 Cont. lit. Petil. 2. 83. [p. 269.] Ep. 93. ad Vinc. 11, 12. [tom. 2. p. 249.]

[m] In consequence of the condemnation of the Donatists by the Church, imperial laws were enacted against them. (Contr. Ep. Parmen. 1. 19.) These were openly resisted by the fanatic Agonistici, by the Catholics called Circelliones or Circumcelliones (or Vagrants, *circum cellas*, hac illac euntes, nusquam sedes habentes. S. Aug. in Ps. 132. Contr. Gaudent. 28.), whose watchword was *Deo laudes* (c. lit. Petil. 2. 65.) and who, at first with clubs, afterwards with arms, assailed not only the Catholics (Ibid. 1. 17.), but the seceders from the Donatists (De gest. cum Emer. § 9). Their fanaticism led them to suicide, as a kind of martyrdom. (Brev. Coll. cum Don. 3i. diei. § 13, 23. Contr. Ep. Parm. 3. § 29.) Those Donatists who did not disclaim them (for some did), alleged against the Catholics the excesses of Macarius (Ps. c. Donat.) whom Constans sent (A.D. 347.) to restore the African Church to the peace, which lasted till the accession of Julian (A.D. 361.); and of the Monks. (In Psalm. 132.) Comp. Supr. ch. 14. and 24. note q.

[n] The tyranny of Count Romanus, the elder Valentinian's military commander in Africa, provoked the natives to join Firmus, the Moorish fratricide, in revolt, A.D. 372. Valentinian sent Theodosius, the father of the great Emperor of the same name, against Firmus, and the Jugurthine war was acted over again. At last, when Igmazen, king of the Isaflenses, in whose dominions Firmus had taken refuge, had been terrified into consenting to his betrayal, the rebel avoided it by strangling himself. Gibbon, ch. 25.

A. D. 394. these last the name of Firmians[1]. But the greatest scandal was the schism of the Maximianists.

[1 Ep. 87. ad Emerit. 10. p. 213.]

LIV. Schism of Maximianus.

After the death of Parmenian, successor to Donatus, the Donatists elected Primianus to the Bishopric of Carthage; but the Deacon Maximianus[2] having been condemned and excommunicated by him, went to the neighbouring Bishops, and formed a party against him, chiefly accusing him of receiving unworthy persons to communion with him. The elders[3] among them wrote[4] to all the Bishops of their party, entreating them to come immediately to check the designs of Primianus; upon this they assembled at Carthage to the number of forty-three[5]; but Primianus would not appear, and they were contented[6] with ordering him to justify himself in a more numerous Council, which they were afterwards to hold. They did assemble to the number of above a hundred at Cabarsussi in the province of Bizacena, where Primianus still refusing to appear was condemned as guilty of several crimes, viz. [7]of having constituted successors to Bishops that were still living; [8]of having mingled the wicked with the communion of the saints; of having engaged the Priests in a conspiracy against Maximianus, and three other Deacons; of causing the Priest Fortunatus to be thrown into a common-sewer, because he had baptized some sick persons; of having refused communion to the Priest Demetrius, in order to force him to forsake[9] his son; and of having abused the elders of the Church, because they disapproved of his admitting the Claudianists to communion. To these accusations the Bishops of the Council added: "His having refused to present himself before us in "order to have his cause heard, his having joined with the "people and officers[1] in shutting the door of the Basilicas to "hinder us from coming in, and his having contemptuously "rejected the deputies whom we had sent to him."

[2 de gest. cum Emer. § 9. [tom. 9. p. 630.]

[3 seniores nobilissimi. See Bingham, bk. 2. ch. 19. § 19.]

[4 In Ps. 36. Serm. 2. 20. [p. 278.]

[5 Contr. Cresc. 4. 6. 7. [6 p. 487. F.]

[7 In Ps. 36. p. 279. C. D.]

[8 incestos.]

[9 abdicare.]

[1 multitudine et *officio.*]

For these and certain other crimes which they expressed, besides those which they said[2] shame hindered them from mentioning, they condemned Primianus, and warned all the Bishops, Clerks, and people, to avoid communion with him; allowing them however six months' time to declare in, namely, from the twenty-fourth of June, the day on which they pronounced sentence, to the twenty-fifth of December. These events are thought to have happened in the year 393. They

[2 p. 280.]

wrote this condemnation in a circular letter called *Tractatoria*[1], signed by them, to the number of fifty-three. Having in this manner condemned and deposed Primianus, they elected[2] Maximianus Bishop of Carthage in his stead, the same Deacon whom Primianus had before condemned, and he was ordained by twelve[3] Bishops, who laid their hands on him in the presence of the Clergy[4] of Carthage. Primianus seeing his adversary supported by several Bishops of the proconsular province of Bizacena and that of Tripolis[5], relied upon those of Mauritania and Numidia, besides those of other provinces, who continued in his party, which was always the more numerous. He therefore assembled[6] at Bagaia in Numidia a Council of three hundred and ten Bishops on the eighth of the calends of May, under the third Consulship of Arcadius and the second of Honorius, in the year 394, on the twenty-fourth of April. In this Council Primianus, not looking upon himself as condemned, sat with the judges[7], among whom his name stands second[8]. They there condemned[9] Maximianus though absent, Emeritus[1], Bishop of Cæsarea in Mauritania, pronouncing the sentence in the following terms[7]: "As by the Will of Almighty "God, and His CHRIST, we hold this Council in the city of "Bagaia, it hath seemed good to the HOLY SPIRIT, Which is "in us, to secure continual peace, and to cut off sacrilegious "schisms." And afterwards[2]: "Maximianus the opposer[3] of "the Faith, an adulterer[4] from the Truth, an enemy of our "mother the Church, a minister of Corah, Dathan and Abiram, "hath been cast out of the bosom of peace by the thunder-"bolt of our sentence." The rest runs in the same style. They condemn by name the twelve Bishops who had ordained Maximianus, and in general all the Clergy of the Church of Carthage who had been present at his ordination; but as for the other Bishops[5] who had not laid their hands on him, they allowed them eight months time to return to them, that is, to the twenty-fifth of December, after which time they were not to be received, but to remain condemned.

A. D. 394.

[1] ibid.

[2] Contr. Cresc. 3. 13.

[3] Contr. lit. Petil. 1. 10.

[4] Contr. Cresc. 3. 19, 53.

[5] De Unit. Ecc. [sive Epist. ad Cathol.] c. 3.

[6] Contr. Cresc. 3. 56. et 4. 39.

[7] In Ps. 36. Serm. 2. 22. [p. 282.]

[8] Mans. tom. 3. p. 857.]

[9] c. Cresc. 3. 53.

[1] de gest. cum Emer. c. 10. p. 631. G.]

[2] c. Cresc. 3. 19.

[3] Æmulum.]

[4] veritatis adulterum.]

[5] c. 54.]

It was during the time of St. Augustine's Priesthood, that he contracted a friendship with St. Paulinus, afterwards Bishop of Nola, through St. Alypius, who had lately been made Bishop[6] of Thagaste his native place. St. Alypius had known St. Paulinus at Milan, when he was baptized there,

LV. Friendship of St. Augustine and St. Paulinus.

[6] de gest. cum Emer. § 1, 5. [tom. 9.

A. D. 394. in 387. Hearing of his conversion, he sent to him, about the year 394, five of St. Augustine's works against the Manichees, which probably were his books, *On the Manners of the Church*[1], *On Free-will*[2], *On the True Religion*[3], *On the Profitableness of Faith*[4], and that *On the Two Souls*[4]. St. Paulinus[5] returned St. Alypius thanks, and at the same time begged him to send him the history of his life in writing. He sent at the same time with this letter, another[6] for St. Augustine, in which he says that he was delighted with his works, and commends[7] himself to his prayers. He sent each of them a loaf of bread by way of *eulogia*, that is to say, of blessing[8]. Both letters bore the names of Paulinus, and of Therasia or Theresa his wife, who had with him quitted the world. In the letter to Alypius, St. Paulinus commends himself to the brethren who are in the churches and monasteries at Carthage, at Thagaste, at Hippo, and other places; which shews how monasticism had already spread in Africa. St. Augustine, in answering this letter says among other things, "Suffer not yourself to be so "carried away with what the Truth speaks by me, as not to "take heed to what I say myself; lest, receiving too greedily "that good food which, bestowed on me, I dispense to others, "you should forget to pray for the sins and errors which I "commit myself[9]." And afterwards. "He is indeed better, "(who can deny it?) who is rich in the greatest gifts from "GOD than the man who is rich in the fewer and lower "gifts, but it is better to return thanks to GOD for a moderate "gift than to desire to be commended oneself for a great "one." After this he promises the life of Alypius, which that holy Bishop could not be persuaded to write himself; and as he sent this letter by Romanianus his old friend, he commended to him Licentius who was Romanianus' son. He could not disengage this young man from worldly pleasures and expectations, which made him very uneasy in regard to his salvation, as appears in the letter[1] which he wrote to him and sent at the same time with this to St. Paulinus[2]. St. Paulinus was every way worthy of the friendship of St. Augustine. He was descended of the noblest families in Rome, had a large estate in Aquitania, and was born at Bourdeaux[3]: for the Roman nobility had considerable possessions in the provinces, and sometimes lived there. Paulinus,

[1] p. 625-8.] Epist. 27. § 5. [Scr. 395. tom. 2.]
[1] Supra, ch. 17.]
[2] Supr. ch. 18.]
[3] Supr. ch. 37.]
[4] Supr. ch. 38.]
[5] ap. S. Aug. Ep. 24. [scr. 394.]
[6] Ibid. Ep. 25.
[7] § 3.
[8] *eulogiam esse.* Ep. 24. *unanimitatis indicio.* Ep. 25.]
[9] Ep. 27. § 4. [scr. A. D. 395.]
[1] Ep. 26.
[2] Ed. Bened. ad tit. et Ep. 27. 6.]
[3] Uran. Ep. init. [Apud Surium. tom. 3. p. 733-5. Jun. 22.]

who is sometimes called Pontius and Meropius, was instructed in human learning by the famous Ausonius, who always retained his friendship; and he became one of the most polite writers of his time, both in prose and verse. He was preferred to great employments, even to that of the Consulship[1], although his name is not found in the Fasti. His wife had a fortune suitable to his, and there wanted nothing to complete their temporal happiness, but children. After having long desired them, they had a son, who died eight days after he was born, whilst they were at Complutum[2] in Spain, and they buried him near some Martyrs. Whilst they were in this condition they determined, after they had long considered it, to quit the world and to give themselves up entirely to GOD. The wife, far from opposing it, encouraged her husband. He was baptized by St. Delphinus Bishop of Bourdeaux, when he was thirty-eight years of age, about the year 392; so that he was of the same age with St. Augustine, and born about the year 354. As he had deferred his baptism till he was entirely converted, he soon embraced a monastic life, and retired with his wife into Spain, whom he looked upon no otherwise than as his sister. The retreat of so celebrated a man made a great noise in the world; many blamed him, and among the rest his friend Ausonius, who reproached him for suffering himself to be governed by his wife[3], and with having become melancholy[4]. But St. Paulinus knew very well how to answer him, and did so in verse, as Ausonius had written to him[5].

A. D. 394.

[1] Auson. Ep. 20. init.

[2] Alcala.]

[3] Auson. Ep. 23.
[4] Ibid. Ep. 25.
[5] Op. S. Paul. Poem. 11, 12. [10, 11. scr. sub fin. an. 393. p. 361-377.]

When Vigilantius, a Priest belonging to the Church at Barcelona, went to Jerusalem, St. Paulinus gave him a letter for St. Jerome, whom he consulted concerning the manner in which he ought to live in his retirement, and congratulated him on the happiness he enjoyed in living in the Holy Land. He sent him at the same time a discourse[6] which he made at the request of one of his friends, in defence of the Emperor Theodosius against the calumnies of the Pagans, which he had not published. Vigilantius found him in Palestine, during an earthquake[7], which is thought to be one of those which preceded the death of Theodosius, about the end of the year 394. St. Jerome answered St. Paulinus, and said to him among other things[8]: "Think not that any thing is wanting

LVI. Letter of St. Jerome to St. Paulinus.

[6] S. Hier. Ep. 13. [49. scr. 395. p. 566.] ad Paulin. S. Paul. Ep. 9. al. 28. [p. 175.] ad Sever. Gennad. in Paul. [§ 49. ap. S. Hier. tom. 5.
[7] S. Hier. in Vigilant. c. 4. [p. 286.]
[8] Ibid. Ep. 13. [49.] c. 2. [p. 564.]

A. D. 394. "in your faith, because you have not seen Jerusalem, nor "suppose that I am the better for living in Bethlehem; "I would only have you in furtherance of your design, leave "the cities and live in the country. Jerusalem is a large "city, which has its public Council, its Court, Officers, Actors, "Jesters, and victims of impurity, like other cities, a great "crowd of people, and a continual concourse from all parts "of the world; so that you would find there all that you "might elsewhere escape."

He then shewed[1] him the difference between the life of a Clerk and a Monk; "If" (he says) "you would follow the "office of a Priest or a Bishop, live in the cities and towns, "and work out your own salvation by procuring that of "others; but if you merit in the least the name you bear, "that is, a solitary[2], what would you do in cities, which are "the habitation of the multitude? Every one has his own "patterns to live by; the Bishops and the Priests ought to "imitate the Apostles and Apostolic men; *our* leaders are the "Pauls[o], the Antonies[p], the Hilarions[q], and to go back to the "Scriptures, Elias, the sons of the Prophets and the Recha- "bites. I would have you, therefore, since you are united "to your holy sister[3], and not entirely free, to shun public "assemblies, and feasts, and offices of civility. Eat not until "evening, and then cheap things, as herbs or pulse. You "have the books against *Jovinian*[4], where *I have discoursed* "at large of the contempt of luxurious living, but let the "Holy Scriptures always be in your hands. Frequent be "your watchings, frequent your prayers. Distribute your "alms yourself. Do not take upon you to distribute those "of others, and give your own with caution and discretion, "as being no more than the steward of your goods." He afterwards commended his discourse on Theodosius, which was a panegyric, to shew that he had vanquished the tyrants,

[1] c. 3. [p. 565.]

[2] Monachus, μόνος.]

[3] His wife, Therasia. Bened.]

[4] Supra, ch. 42.]

[o] St. Paul, of Thebes in Egypt, retired into the desert at the time of the Decian persecution (A.D. 249-251.), the period of St. Anthony's birth. In A.D. 340, St. Anthony, by revelation, visited him, and buried him.

[p] See bk. 18. ch. 20. note s.

[q] St. Hilarion was born of idolatrous parents, about A. D. 292. near Gaza, and educated at Alexandria. On his conversion he visited St. Anthony, and adopted a solitary life near his birth-place, in Palestine, (A.D. 307). He began to work miracles A.D. 329. He assembled a monastic community near Gaza, and led to the establishment of many others in Palestine and Syria, which he annually visited. He died about A.D. 370.

rather by faith than arms, and that he had reconciled sovereign power with Christian humility. St. Jerome considered this discourse to be judicious, agreeable, and composed according to all the rules of art. He exhorts St. Paulinus to improve his talent for eloquence, and to cultivate it by reading the Holy Scripture and the Ecclesiastical authors, whom he criticises cursorily. A. D. 394.

About the same time St. Jerome was also consulted[1] by Furia a Roman lady of the highest rank, descended from the Camilli, and a connection of St. Paula. She was a widow, young, and without children, and asked his advice how she should behave in this state. St. Jerome exhorted her to continue in it, notwithstanding the solicitations of her father Lætus, and her attendants, who urged her to marry again. He represented to her the inconveniences of a second marriage, and advised her to abstain from wine, and not only from flesh but from most sorts of pulse, and to apply herself to reading, prayer, and alms, and to live in the most retired manner. He referred her also to his books against Jovinian, written two years before.

[1] [Ep. 47. al. 10. ad Fur. p. 554. scr. A. D. 396.]

LVII. Retreat of St. Paulinus.

Once when St. Paulinus was at Barcelona and present at the service of the Church on Christmas-Day, the people inflamed with zeal suddenly fell[2] upon him, and presenting him to Lampius, the Bishop, obliged him to consecrate him Priest. St. Paulinus[3] was unwilling to submit to it, because he thought of nothing but retirement, and the obscurity of a monastic life. He had long resolved to pass his life at Nola in Italy, near the tomb of St. Felix, and therefore would only suffer himself to be ordained upon condition that he should not be attached to the Church of Barcelona, but admitted to the Priesthood without a title; and this is likely one of the instances of a free ordination, without the ordained person being attached to any particular church[r]. He seems likewise

[2] S. Paul.] Ep. 10. [45. al. 3. § 4. ad Alyp.]

[3] Ep. 1. al. 6. ad Sever. [§ 10.] Ep. 2. al. 23. ad Amand.

[r] St. Jerome seems to have had this privilege granted him as well as Paulinus, having licence, when he was ordained, to continue a Monk and return to his monastery. See Bingham, bk. 4. ch. 6. § 3. and supra 17. ch. 53. Besides these, and the cases of Barses and Eulogius, two Monks of Edessa, (who, according to Sozomen, were ordained Bishops without any see), and Macedonius, the Syrian Anchorite, ordained Priest, Bingham says he remembers none. Ibid. The Church custom, that no man should be ordained without a title (ἀπολελυμένως), was confirmed at Chalcedon. Ibid. § 2. This rule was transferred into the body of the canon law; and afterwards into the constitution of the English Church by Egbert, Archbishop of York, (A.D. 732—767),

A. D. 394. to have been immediately[s] ordained Priest, without going through the inferior degrees; for he called GOD to witness, that he was so far from despising the rank of a Priest, he could wish to have begun with serving the Church[1] in the office of door-keeper[2]. After this, that he might devote himself more entirely to GOD, St. Paulinus disposed of all his estate[3], which he had already begun to do, and distributed it to the poor. He opened his granaries[4] and his store-houses to all that came, and not thinking the poor of his own neighbourhood sufficient, he assembled them from all parts that he might feed and clothe them. He redeemed numbers of imprisoned captives and debtors, who were reduced to slavery for want of means to pay, and he discharged the debts of numbers of other bankrupts. Having thus disposed of his affairs he came into Italy, and passed through Milan where St. Ambrose[5] wished to detain him, and place him among his clergy, so that, wherever he happened to be, he might be looked upon as a Priest of Milan. St. Paulinus did not, however, consent to it, but continued his journey and came to Rome, where he was better received by the people than the Clergy, part of whom, and even the Pope himself, would have no intercourse with him. St. Paulinus yielded to their envy and retired, but when he wrote[6] to his friend Severus he could not forbear complaining of it. The Pope may have been displeased that St. Paulinus had been ordained Priest, being but a Neophyte and a simple layman, contrary to the rules, the observation of which he recommends in one of his letters[7]; but the force that was used to St. Paulinus might well excuse him.

He at last retired to Nola[8] and there spent the remainder of his life, as he had desired eighteen years before. He was persuaded to it by the devotion he felt for St. Felix the Martyr, whose miracles drew a great concourse of people from all parts of Italy. St. Paulinus had an intimate knowledge of this, because his paternal estate was near Nola. So that from his youth he looked upon St. Felix as his patron and

[1] sacram servitutem]
[2] ædituus]
[3] Hooker, bk. 7. ch. 23. § 9.]
[4] Uran. Epist. c. 4. [apud Sur. tom. 3. p. 734.]
[5] S. Paulin. Ep. 3. al. 45. ad Alyp. [§ 4.]
[6] Ep. 1. al. 5. ad Sever. [§ 13.]
[7] S. Siric. Ep. ad Orthod. [p. 662. Coust. scr. circ. A.D. 386.]
[8] Natal. 2. [Scr. A.D. 395. 14° Jan. p. 380.]

and it was accordingly prohibited in the several bodies of our Canons, made since the Reformation and before the Canons of 1603. See Keble's Note to Hooker, bk. 5. ch. 80. § 3. Read the whole Chapter of Hooker.

[s] Compare the cases of St. Ambrose (bk. 17. ch. 21), Nectarius (bk. 18. ch. 5), and St. Cyprian; and see Bingham, bk. 2. ch. 10. § 7.

protector, and the respect which he had for him contributed not a little to his conversion. He retired, therefore, to a place near the church where his relics were deposited, in an agreeable situation, half a mile from the city of Nola, and lived there with his wife St. Therasia, upon a small estate which he had reserved for himself. He looked upon himself as the keeper of that church; he cleansed the doors every morning, and watched there all night; and every year made a poem in honour of St. Felix, which he published on the 14th of January, the day of his festival. There are ten of them still remaining, the first of which was composed while he was still in Spain, preparing to return into Italy; the second in the first year that he was settled there, but he must have made many more since he stayed there about thirty-five years. In this retreat St. Paulinus lived in a state of poverty, using earthen and wooden vessels, wearing a coarse and neglected garment, fasting and praying, and practising all the exercises of a monastic life. A. D. 394.

St. Ambrose, hearing of his retreat, wrote[1] about it to St. Sabinus, Bishop of Placentia, his friend, foreseeing how indignant the world would be at so strange an alteration. "They will not endure," said he, "that a man of such a "family, of such a mind, and so eloquent, should leave the "Senate, and suffer his family to become extinct; men, who "used to shave their heads and eyebrows when they con-"secrated themselves to Isis[2], esteem it an unworthy action "in a Christian to change his habit through zeal for re-"ligion."

[1] Ep. S. Ambr. 58. [Scr. circ. 393.]

[2] [Bingham, 7. 3. 6.]

LVIII. Death of the Emperor Theodosius.

The Emperor Theodosius[3] was returning to Constantinople in the beginning of the year 395, when he was seized with a dropsy, brought on by the fatigue of the last war, which proved fatal. As soon as he found himself ill, he called to mind the prophecy of St. John[4] of Egypt, and being persuaded that he should never recover, he applied himself to the last to regulate the business of the state, foreseeing the disorders that would happen after his death. He commended[5] his children to Stilicho, who had married his niece Serena[6], and even resolved to marry their daughter Mary to his son Honorius; he exhorted[7] both his sons, in dividing his dominions, to be zealous for religion, as being the support of

[3] Soc. 5. cap. ult.

[4] Soz. 7. cap. ult.

[5] Claud. de iii. Cons. Honor. [v. 144, &c.]

[6] See Gibbon, ch. 29. vol. 3. p. 114.]

[7] Theod. 5. 25.

A. D. 395. the empire. Having no farther orders to give concerning his children, he made his will merely for the benefit of the people.

[1] S. Ambr. de Ob. Theod. § 4, 5. He confirmed[1] the pardon of those who had borne arms against him, and whose patents had not yet been finished; he likewise confirmed the discharge of a tax, in pursuance of a promise that he had made; and not satisfied with enjoining his children to perform these two points, he left a law concerning them ready drawn up; his last concern was for the [2 § 35.] welfare of the churches[2]. He died at Milan on the 17th of [3] Socr. 5. cap. ult. January[3], under the Consulship of Olybrius and Probinus, i. e. in the year 395, after having reigned sixteen years, and lived sixty.

[4] De Ob. Theod. § 3. St. Ambrose upon this occasion made his funeral oration[t] at the time of the service of the fortieth[4][u] day, in the presence of the Emperor Honorius. He notices that some observed the third and thirtieth day after the person's decease, and others the seventh and the fortieth; which we find elsewhere confirmed in ecclesiastical antiquity[5]. He attributes[6] the victories of Theodosius to his faith, particularly the last, against Eugenius; and exhorts[7] his soldiers to observe an inviolable fidelity towards his children, considering not only their youth, but the obligations which they owed to their father. He particularly extols his clemency, which[8] many rebels had experienced; and his penitence[9], of which he was so faithful a witness; he doubts not but that he will be [1] § 15. [See supr. ch. 31. note i.] a powerful protector[x] for his children's youth with God[1]. Theodosius' body, which had been embalmed[y], was afterwards transported to Constantinople, and was received by the Emperor Arcadius, who buried him in the tomb of the Emperors [2] Chron. Pasch. p. 306. [πρὸ ϵ′ ἰδ. Νοϵμβ.] Soc. 6. 1. [τῇ ν′ ἡ τοῦ Νοϵμβ.] on the eighth[2] of November the same year.

[5] Const. Apost. 8. c. 42. Vid. Not. Bened. in § 3. de Ob. Th.
[6] § 7, 8.
[7] § 11.
[8] § 13.
[9] § 14.

[t] For other instances of Funeral Orations, see Bingham, bk. 23. ch. 3. § 10.

[u] Let the third day be observed for the dead with Psalms and lessons and prayers, because CHRIST on the third day rose again from the dead; and let the ninth day be observed in remembrance of the living and the dead; and also the fortieth day, according to the ancient manner of the Israelites mourning for Moses forty days; and finally, let the anniversary day be observed in commemoration of the deceased. Bingham, 23. 3. 19. from the Apost. Constitutions, 8. 42. St. Augustine complains of the abuses which sometimes accompanied the ninth day commemoration, probably resembling the Novendialia of the heathens.

[x] For the doctrine of the Intercession of the Saints, see supra ch. 31. note i.

[y] The Christian custom of embalming (which was less usual among the heathens, from their custom of burning the dead) is spoken of by Bingham, bk. 23. ch. 2. § 5.

Thus died the Emperor Theodosius, whom all Christian authors, and even most of the Pagans, have greatly extolled. Zosimus[1] is the only person who has laid great faults to his charge. He accuses him of being naturally soft and voluptuous, fond of festivals, dancers, and the shows of the circus and the theatre; "insomuch," says[2] he, "that I am "astonished at the inconsistency of his character. For when "no cause of alarm troubled him, he abandoned himself to "his natural disposition; but when any thing threatened the "state, he quitted his pleasures, resumed his courage and "valour, and willingly underwent fatigue and labour." He accuses him of being eager for money, in order to furnish the expenses of his table[3], and his other extravagances, and of selling his governments and employments; so that you might see money-brokers and other low persons bearing publicly the insignia of the magistracy. He finds fault with the number and the great power of his eunuchs; and it must be acknowledged that the prodigious fortune of Eutropius gives some colour to this reproach.

A. D. 395.

LIX. Character of Theodosius.

[1] Zosim. lib. 4. pp. 758. 768. 773. [c. 27—29.]

[2] c. 50.]

[3] p. 754. [c. 28.]

But Symmachus, who was a Pagan as well as Zosimus, and as living at the same time had better information than he, in a letter[4] to his friend Flavian, speaking to him of the panegyric on Theodosius, which he had himself pronounced publicly, owns that he had only touched lightly upon the subject, and particularly commends his disinterestedness. This is a testimony which cannot be suspected, being contained in a confidential letter between two Pagans, both very zealous for idolatry, and consequently not much inclined to flatter Theodosius. The sophist Themistius, in two[5] of his discourses, places him above the greatest men of antiquity. Lastly, Aurelius Victor, a Pagan historian, speaks[6] thus of him:—"Theodosius resembled Trajan, in his qualities both "of body and mind, as far as we can judge from the writings "and the paintings of the ancients. Like him he was tall "and well-proportioned; his hair and face were much the "same; in his mind he perfectly resembled him, being gentle, "obliging, and popular; thinking that there was no difference "between him and others but in his dress, and friendly to "every body, but particularly to men of worth. He loved "the candid, admired the learned, provided they did not

[4] Lib. 11. Ep. 13.

[5] Themist. Orat. 18, 19.

[6] Victor. Epit. in fin. [c. 48.]

A. D. 395. "abuse their learning to do harm; he made liberal presents, "and in a liberal manner; he continued attached to those "with whom he was acquainted while he was but a private "person, and bestowed honours, money, and other favours "upon them; especially those whose fidelity he had ex- "perienced in adversity, either in his own person, or that of "his father. But he had so great an aversion to Trajan's "faults, excess in drinking and fondness for triumphs, that "he never made war until he found himself engaged in it, "and by a law forbade the presence of wanton attendants or "female musicians at feasts. He was such an encourager "of modesty as to prohibit men from marrying their cousins, "no less than their sisters. He had a moderate share of "knowledge in comparison with the learned; but was intel- "ligent and diligent in the study of history, in which he "always abhorred those persons who were proud, cruel and "hostile to liberty, such as Cinna, Marius, Sylla, and all "who were ambitious; but above all, the treacherous and "ungrateful."

"It is true that he was passionate when provoked with "reason; but he was soon appeased, and a little delay "mitigated his orders, which were sometimes severe. It was "a rare virtue in him, that he certainly improved when time "had increased his power, and still more, after the civil war. "He applied himself very carefully to the regulation of pro- [1] [annonæ curam] "visions[1]; and as the tyrant had raised and expended im- "mense sums, he restored them to many out of his own "treasury, whereas some of the most liberal princes have "with much difficulty restored inheritances, and those "stripped and spoiled."

"As to his behaviour within his court and family, he re- "spected his uncle as his father, he treated the children of "his brother and sister as his own; he had the affection of a "father for his relations and connections. He knew how to "give an entertainment with taste and cheerfulness, without "profusion; he suited his discourse to the persons with whom "he conversed, to their character and their rank, mixing "gravity with pleasantry. He was a kind father, and a faithful "husband; he used bodily exercises without being too fond "of them or fatiguing himself, and of them, he preferred

"walking, to relax his mind when he was at leisure; he pre- A. D. 395.
"served his health by sobriety." This is the character which Aurelius Victor has left us of Theodosius [z].

We have still remaining one of the laws, which he mentions in his panegyric on Theodosius, dated [1] at Constantinople on the eighth of the Calends of July, under the Consulship of Arcadius and Bauto, *i. e.* on the twenty-fourth of June, 385, forbidding all persons to buy, instruct, or sell any woman that played upon musical instruments [2], or to bring her to banquets or shows, or to have slaves that were musicians by profession. This was an old abuse against which the Fathers [3] had often complained. The other law against marrying cousin-germans is not to be met with; but other authors mention it, and particularly St. Ambrose [4] in an Epistle to Paternus, who was a man of considerable rank among the Romans, and had consulted him by the advice of his Bishop, in relation to a treaty of marriage between his son and his daughter's child, *i. e.* between the uncle and niece [5]. St. Ambrose absolutely dissuades him from this marriage, as being contrary to the divine law, and the human laws of his time. We meet with a law [6] of Theodosius of the year 390 addressed to the Vicar of Rome, which condemns those to be burnt who sinned against nature; and another [7] of the year 389, by which he refuses what is given to the Emperor by a codicil, only receiving what was bequeathed by will, on which Symmachus [8] bestows great praise.

[1] Cod. Theod. [15. Tit. 7.] l. 10. de scæn.

[2] fidicinam]

[3] Vid. Gothof. ibid.

[4] S. Ambr. Ep. 60. § 8. [scr. 393.]

[5] Vid. Not. Andr. Schott. ad Aurel. Vic. de leg. *Nervæ*.]

[6] Cod. Th. [9. Tit. 7.] l. 5. ad leg. Jul. de adul.

[7] Ibid. [4. Tit. 4.] l. 2. de Testam.

[8] Lib. 2. Ep. 13.

LX.

Anicius Probus and his family.

The Consuls of this year, 395, are remarkable for the glory of their family, all the members of which became Christians. They were two brothers, Olybrius and Probinus; and that two brothers should be colleagues in the Consulate was an event, up to that time, unheard of. Their father, Sextus Anicius Petronius Probus [9], was the most famous Roman of his time, from his nobility, his riches, and his dignities; his father and grandfather had been Consuls, and he himself held that office with the Emperor Gratian in 371. He was at first Proconsul of Africa, after that, four times Prætorian Præfect, one while of the Gauls, another while of Italy; and it was in this last capacity that he gave [1] St. Ambrose the government

[9] Ammian. Marcell. lib. 27. c. 11. et ibi Vales.

[1] Supra bk. 17. ch. 21.

[z] Compare the character of Theodosius, given by Gibbon, ch. 27. vol. 3. pp. 42—45.

A. D. 395. of Æmilia and Liguria[a]. He had immense riches; he had estates in every province of the empire, and his liberality was in proportion to his wealth. He was a Christian, and received baptism at the close of his life, as appears by his epitaph; in which his wife and children are commended to his prayers. There was raised to him a magnificent monument in the Vatican, near St. Peter's church; his coffin was of marble, adorned with sculptures, representing our LORD holding a cross set with precious stones, and attended by the twelve apostles; and on the lid, doves in pairs drinking in vessels. It is still to be seen at Rome. So great was his reputation that two noble Persians being come into the West, in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, were curious to see but two persons, St. Ambrose of Milan and Probus of Rome. His wife was Proba Faltonia, remarkable for her piety, to whom St. Augustine afterwards wrote a famous letter concerning Prayer. She had three sons, Probinus and Olybrius, the Consuls of this year, and Probus, who was Consul in 406. Olybrius married Juliana, and soon after left her a widow, with a daughter named Demetrias, who continued a virgin. It was to Juliana to whom St. Augustine addressed his book on the Excellence of Widowhood; and to Demetrias, St. Jerome wrote a treatise on the Way to Preserve Virginity. Such was this holy and illustrious family.

[1] Claud. de Cons. Olybr. et Prob. [v. 42, &c.]

[2] Ap. Baron. ad an. 395. init.

[3] supr. ch. 31. note i.]

[4] Paul. Vit. S. Ambr. § 25.

[5] Ep. 130. al. 121. [scr. A.D. 411—412.]

[6] S. Hier. Ep. ad Demetr. c. 4. [p. 787. A.]

[7] p. 785. A.]

[8] Tom. 6. [p. 369.]

[9] Ep. 8. [97. scr. A. D. 414.]

[a] St. Ambrose had distinguished himself as a pleader, and was, therefore, thus rewarded. Probus dismissed him with the almost prophetic words: "Go! "and act not as magistrate, but as "Bishop."

END OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XX.

A. D. 395. AFTER the death of Theodosius, his two sons, according to his appointment[1], divided the empire. Arcadius, who was twenty years old, reigned in the East, and Honorius, who was only ten, in the West. They had been brought up under St. Arsenius, who was their surety at their Baptism[2], and was chosen both to form their habits and to instruct them, there being at that time no distinction between these two offices. He was a Roman[3] by birth, and a man skilled both in divine and human learning, and solidly virtuous. He was in Deacon's orders, and, with his sister, was leading a retired life at Rome, when the Emperor Theodosius, wanting a person to whom he might entrust the care of his children, wrote for this purpose to the Emperor Gratian. Gratian[4] applied to the Pope, who recommended Arsenius. He was, consequently, sent to Constantinople, where he was kindly received by Theodosius, who advanced him to the rank of a senator, and wished him to be regarded as the father of his children[5]. On coming one day to their study, he found them sitting while Arsenius taught them, standing. Being much displeased[6] at this, he deprived them of the marks of their dignity, and obliged Arsenius to sit down.

I. Retreat of St. Arsenius.

[1] Supr. bk. 19. ch. 58.

[2] Vit. Patr. 3. c. 37.

[3] Simeon Metaphr. [A.D.900.] ap. Surium. Jul. 19. c. 2, 3. [Tom. 4. p. 250. Vide Cave. Hist. Litter.] [Vide Januar. 20. tom. 1. p. 484.]

[4] c. 5.

[5] c. 6.

[6] c. 7.

Arsenius always preserved a longing for a solitary life, which the cares of his employment, and the incumbrances of a large fortune, made him desire the more ardently, being altogether unambitious of distinctions. At length an opportunity offered itself[7]. Arcadius having committed a great fault, Arsenius proceeded to the most severe correction, namely, the rod. The young prince was so exasperated, that he charged one of the officers of his guards to rid him of Arsenius at any rate. The officer, feeling respect for Arsenius, and fearing to disoblige the Emperor, disclosed to Arsenius the prince's anger, and advised him to retire secretly from the

[7] c. 8. [p. 253.]

palace, assuring him that there was no other chance of safety. A. D. 395.
Arsenius had recourse to prayer, in order to know the will of GOD, and heard a voice, saying: "Arsenius[1], fly from men, "and thou shalt be safe." He obeyed this command without delay, and going on board a vessel, sailed to Alexandria, and from thence proceeded to the desert of Scetis, where he embraced the monastic life. On coming there, he renewed his prayers to GOD, to instruct him in the way of salvation, and again heard a voice[2], which said: "Arsenius, fly, be silent, "be quiet[3]; these are the sources[4] of innocence."

[1] Apoph. Patr. ap. Coteler. Monum. Græc. tom. I. p. 353. § 1.

[2] § 2.

[3] Bingham, 7. 2. 14.]

[4] ῥίζαι.]

The Emperor Theodosius, much troubled at his withdrawing himself, caused search to be made for him in all the islands and deserts, but to no purpose[5]. At length, after the death of Theodosius, Arcadius was informed of the place of his retreat. He wrote to him, commending himself to his prayers; confessed his wicked design against him, and begged his forgiveness, offering the disposal of all the tribute of Egypt, that he might distribute it to the monasteries, and to the poor, and earnestly requesting an answer from him. Arsenius could not prevail on himself to write, but sent him this answer by word of mouth: "God grant us all the pardon "of our sins; as to the distribution of money, this appertaineth not to me, who am already dead to the world." At first he retained, without perceiving it himself, certain customs practised in the world; as for instance, when sitting, he would cross his legs or lay one foot upon his knee. But no one was willing, through the great respect felt towards him, to tell him of it directly. The Abbot, Pastor, made use of this stratagem: he agreed with another to put himself in the same posture at their assembly, in order to give him an occasion to reprove him: Pastor did so, and was rebuked for the impropriety, nor did he offer any thing in excuse. Arsenius perceived that the reproof was designed for him, and corrected himself according to the intention of the Fathers.

[5] Metaphr. c. 9. [p. 253.]

II. Virtues of St. Arsenius.

In other respects, it was his eminent virtue only that distinguished him from the Monks of the community of Scetis. When he was at the court[6], none were more richly habited than he; but in the monastery, none more plainly. He employed himself till noon in making mats of palm, and worked

[6] Apoph. § 4.

A. D. 395. with a handkerchief[1] in his bosom, to wipe off the tears which
[1] § 41. continually fell from his eyes, even to the day of his death.
[2] § 18. He changed[2] the water in which he wetted his palm-leaves no oftener than once a year, contenting himself with filling it up from time to time. When the elders of the monastery asked him one day, why he did not change the fetid water? he answered, "I ought to be punished by this ill smell, for "the perfumes I used when I lived in the world." He used
[3] § 17. no more in his diet for the whole year[3], than a small measure of corn called Thallis; of which they who came to see him,
[4] § 16. likewise partook. A present of figs[4] was once made to the brethren of Scetis, of which, being but a trifle, they did not send him any, fearing to give him offence: on this he forbore
[5 εἰς τὴν σύναξιν. Cf. ch. 3. note b.] coming to church[5], saying: "You have excommunicated me, "not thinking me worthy to partake of the blessing which "God has sent you." They were all edified by his humility; and the Priest carried him some figs, and brought him to
[6] § 14. church with great joy. He used to watch[6] all night, and when towards morning, nature forced him to close his eyes, he said to sleep: "Come thou evil servant;" and after having
[7] § 43. taken a little rest, he presently got up. He once[7] desired two of the Monks, Alexander and Zoïlus, to watch with him all night, and they could not perceive that he had slept at all, only towards morning [when they awoke] he breathed hard
[8 νυστάξαντα.] three times, as if he had[8] been asleep, and even then they doubted whether he had not done it on purpose. On
[9] § 3. Saturday[9], in the evening, he went to prayers, turning his back to the sun, and remained thus with his hands lifted up
[1] § 15. to heaven, till the sun shone on his face. He used[1] to say, that one hour's sleep was enough for a Monk.
[2] § 36. One day, being sick[2] at Scetis, the Priest carried him to
[3 χαλάδριον.] church, and laid him on a bed[3] made of the skins of beasts, with a pillow under his head. One of the Monks came to see him, and being scandalized at his lying so much at his ease, said: "Is this the Abbot Arsenius?" The Priest took him aside, and asked him what his employment had been in the village? The old man answered: "I was a shepherd." "And how did you live?" said the Priest. "With much "pains and difficulty," replied he. "And now, how do you
[4 κελλίῳ.] "fare in your cell[4]?" "Much better," said he. Then the

Priest added: "Do you see this Abbot Arsenius? When he A. D. 395.
"was in the world, he was the father of Emperors; he had a
"thousand slaves clothed in silk, with bracelets[1] and with [1 μανιάκια.]
"girdles of gold; and he slept on the richest beds. You,
"who were a shepherd, did not in the world find the ease
"which you enjoy here; and he is deprived of the delights
"which he had there: you are comforted, and he is afflicted."
The old man moved by these words, bowed penitently[2], and [2 ἔβαλε μετάνοιαν.]
said, "Pardon me, my father, I have sinned; he is in the
"true way of humiliation:" and went away edified. St. Arsenius was so poor[3], that wanting a shirt in his sickness, he [3 § 20.
accepted something given him in charity, to buy one, and
said, "I thank thee, O LORD, that Thou hast thought me
"worthy to receive alms[4] in Thy name." One of the Em- [4 λαβεῖν ἀγάπην.]
peror's officers[5] brought him the will of a senator, his relation, [5 μαγιστρίανος.]
who had left him a very large estate; he took the will, and
would have torn it in pieces; but the officer threw himself at
his feet, and begged him not to tear it, because it would cost
him his life. St. Arsenius refused the legacy, with the words:
"I died before him; he is but just dead."

The virtue which shone brightest in him, was the love of
retirement. His cell was about two and thirty miles[6] distant [6 § 21.
in solitude, nor did he ever willingly stir out of it, the other
Monks doing for him what services he wanted. When he
came[7] to church, he seated himself behind a pillar, that none [7 § 42.
might see his face, nor he see any one. The Abbot Mark [8 § 13.
asked him one day, "Why do you avoid us?" Arsenius re-
plied, "GOD knows how well I love you; but I cannot be
"with GOD and with men too. The thousands and tens of
"thousands of the heavenly Host have but one will, but men
"have many." A certain Father[9] knocking at his door, the [9 § 37.
aged saint opened it, thinking it was the person who attended
him; but seeing a stranger, he fell on his face. The other
said to him, "Rise, father, that I may embrace you." "I
"will not rise," said he, "till you are departed;" nor could
any entreaties prevail with him to get up. Theophilus, the
Archbishop[1], came one day to visit him with a certain ma- [1 § 7.
gistrate, and besought him to say something to them.
Arsenius, after a short silence, answered: "And if I say any
thing to you, will you heed it?" They assured him that they

A. D. 395. would. "Then," said he, "never come near the place
[1] § 8. "where you know Arsenius to be." Another time[1], the Archbishop desiring to discourse with him, first sent to know if he would open his door. He answered: "If you will come, "I will open it to you; and if I open it to you, I will open "it to all the world; after which I will stay no longer here." The Archbishop replied: "I had rather not go, than drive
[2] § 44. "him away." Some of the more aged[2] having one day pressed him to speak, and tell him the reason of this close retirement; he answered: "When a maid is in her father's "house, many woo her; when she is married, they change "their tone, and make less account of her. So is it with "spiritual things; being made common, they cease to be "useful to every body."

[3] § 42. St. Arsenius[3] lived in this manner till ninety-five years old; for he was forty years old when he quitted the court; and he spent forty years in the desert of Scetis, which he left when it
[4] § 21. [5] § 42. was ravaged by the barbarians[4], and he lived fifteen[5] years afterwards. He was tall, but became bent in his old age, he had a graceful mien, his hair was quite white, and his beard reached down to his girdle; but the tears, which he shed continually,
[6] § 42. had worn away his eye-lashes. He never would[6] discourse on any point of Scripture, though he was well able to do it,
[7] § 5. and never willingly wrote letters. He one day[7] said: "All "our worldly knowledge is of no use, and these Egyptian pea- "sants have gained virtue by their laborious life." Having consulted an old Egyptian upon something which he had in
[8] § 6. his thoughts, another said to him[8]: "Father Arsenius, why "do you, who are so well skilled in all the Greek and Roman "sciences, ask the advice of this illiterate man?" "I am "acquainted," said he, "with the learning of the Greeks "and Romans; but I have not yet learned the alphabet of "this old man."

III. Cassian in Egypt. Chæremon, Nesteros, and Joseph. [9] Gennad. § 62. [ap. S. Hieron. tom. 5. p. 39.] The perfection of the Egyptian Monks is known by the accounts of John Cassian, who visited them about this time. He was a Scythian[9] by nation, born of rich and pious[1] parents, and was in his early years[2] instructed in religion, in a monastery of Palæstine, near Bethlehem[3], not the same

[1] Cassian. Collat. 24. c. 1. [2] Præf. ad Instit. [p. 2.] [3] Instit. 3. c. 4. et 4. c. 31. Collat. 11. c. 1, 5. et 17. c. 5.]

with that of St. Jerome, but probably more ancient. Cassian there led a monastic life, and contracted a particular friendship with a Monk named Germanus[1]. These two, at the same time, conceived a wish[2] to make a visit to the Egyptian solitaries, to learn the perfection of that state of life. The Abbot and Monks of the society consented, provided[3] that they would return to the monastery. They embarked, and arrived in Egypt, at a city called Thennesus[4], the territory of which was a morass overflowed with salt water, so that the whole subsistence of the inhabitants depended upon traffic. Here they found Archebius[5], Bishop of Panephysis, a neighbouring city, who received them with great charity. He had been drawn[6] from a solitary life to the dignity of a Bishop; but far from being exalted by it, he said that he had been compelled to quit the life of a Hermit, as unworthy of it; because, though he had spent thirty-seven years in it, he had never made adequate improvement. However, he continued, when a Bishop, to practise all the austerity of his former life. Being at Thennesus, on account of the election of a Bishop, and being informed of the motives that brought Cassian and Germanus into Egypt, he said to them: "Before you proceed "further, come and see certain old men near our monastery, "whose bodies are so bent with age, and whose looks beam "with such holiness, that the mere sight of them is an in-"structive lesson, and you will learn from them what I "grieve over as forgotten, and therefore am unable to tell "you."

A. D. 395.

[1] Coll. 1. c. 1.
[2] Coll. 11. c. 1. [p. 300.]
[3] Coll. 17. c. 5.]
[4] Coll. 11. c. 1.
[5] Ibid. c. 2.
[6] raptus.]

Archebius[7] having said this, took his staff and goat-skin[8], for thus the Monks of Egypt used to travel, and conducted the guests to Panephysis. The country being flooded, there was no part dry, except some rising grounds which formed several islands, in which there lived three old Hermits, Chæremon, Nesteros, and Joseph. Archebius first carried[9] his guests to Chæremon, who was the nearest and oldest. He was above a hundred years old, and so bent with age, that he crawled upon his hands. Cassian and Germanus were surprised at his motion and appearance, and besought him to tell them something for their instruction, since that was the occasion of their journey. Chæremon replied with a deep sigh: "What instruction can I give you, since the

[7] c. 3.
[8] pera, *i.e.* pellis caprina vel melotes. Vid. Instit. 1. c. 8.]
[9] c. 4.

A. D. 395. "weakness of my age hath forced me to abate so much of "my former austerity, that it hath not left me confidence to "speak? How can I teach others what I do not practise "myself? It is for this reason that I do not suffer any "young man to live with me, least he should grow remiss by "my example." However, he yielded to their entreaties,

[1] c. 6—13. and discoursed[1] first concerning *Perfection*, shewing that it

[[2] 1 Cor. 13. 13.] consisted in Charity[2]. After their repast, he spoke of

[3] Coll. 12. *Chastity*[3]; and the next day, after morning prayers[4], he

[[4] Synaximatutinam.] conversed with them on the subject of the *Protection of* GOD[5],

[5] Coll. 13. that is, of Grace[b]; without which, chastity cannot be preserved; nor any other virtue acquired. These two last discourses were in answer to the questions which they proposed to him.

[6] Coll. 14. After this[6] they went to see the Abbot Nesteros; the name of *Abbot* being given to all these holy old men, on account of their age and sanctity, though they were Anchorites and had no other Monks under their government. This Nesteros is supposed to be the same who is elsewhere spoken of as the

[7] Vit. Patr. [5. Libell. 1. § 11.] Rosw. p. 562. [428. b.] friend[7] of St. Anthony. He discoursed to Cassian and Germanus on *Spiritual Knowledge*, and of the difference between an active and contemplative life; where, by the way, he takes notice of the study of the poets, and other profane authors,

[8] Coll. 14. c. 12, 13. as a hindrance to religious perfection[8]. After supper and

[[9] synaxim vespertinam. [[1] psiathis.] evening prayer[9], they sat down upon *mats*[1], according to custom, and Nesteros continuing the conversation, spoke[2]

[2] Coll. 15. of the diversity of *the Gifts of* GOD, that is, of miracles, and the like graces, that they might set a higher value on the virtues. Their third visit was to the Abbot Joseph. He was

[3] Coll. 16. c. 1. a native of Thmuïs[3], of a very noble family, and a chief man

[a] Cassian does not use *Synaxis* in the sense of the "Sacrifice of the Mass," as Du Fresne explains it above, bk. 19. ch. 44. note f.

[b] This Collation, the thirteenth, has brought on Cassian the charge of Pelagianism, and incurred the condemnation of Pope Gelasius, (A. D. 492). Prosper has written *Contra Collatorem*, and supposes that Cassian has ascribed unwarrantably his own opinions to Chæremon. "The Monks in Massilia "adopted a view of free grace between" the Catholic "and that of Pelagius, "which seems to have originated with "John Cassian, (died soon after A.D. "432), a pupil of St. Chrysostom. St. "Augustine heard of this party (after-"wards called Semi-Pelagians) through "his zealous followers, Prosper of Aqui-"tania and Hilarius (A. D. 429), and "attempted to bring them over—in his "two last works (A. D. 429—430). "After the death of St. Augustine, "Prosper (died A. D. 460, or later) "continued the controversy." Gieseler, vol. 1. § 85.

of the city. He had been educated with great care, so that A. D. 395.
he spoke Greek perfectly well, and had no occasion for an interpreter as the others had, who understood no language but the Egyptian. He first asked Cassian and Germanus whether they were brothers; and on their replying that they were so only by spiritual brotherhood, he discoursed to them on *Friendship*, proving that true friendship is that which is founded in virtue. Afterwards he put them[1] into a cell by themselves, to pass the night; but they were so affected by the zeal which his discourse had raised in their hearts, that they could not sleep.

[1] Coll. 17. c. 1.

They went, therefore, out of the cell, and sat down in a more retired place, about a hundred paces off. Then Germanus[2], with a deep sigh, said, "What shall we do? These "holy men shew us by their examples the way of perfection, "and might be our guides therein, were it not for our pro- "mise of returning to our monastery; and if we once return, "we shall never be permitted to come hither again." Thus they remained some time, distressing themselves with these thoughts, and reproaching themselves with their weakness[3], which had induced them to make the promise, to obtain leave. At length[4] Cassian said: "Let us ask the advice of "this old man, and receive what he says as a divine oracle." They waited till the time of Nocturns[5] [c], which[6] being ended, they sat down, as usual, upon the mats, which had served for their beds; and Joseph observing their sadness, asked the reason[7]. Germanus told him[8], and Joseph said[9], "Are you "persuaded that a greater progress in spiritual things is "likely to be conferred on you in this country?" "We "think," answered[1] Germanus, "that there is no comparison "to be made." Upon this Joseph discoursed to them[2] upon the *Obligation of Promises*[3], shewing that it is sometimes better not to perform them. He even allows of lying to do good[4], pretending to prove it by examples from Scripture, according to the error of some Orientals. The two friends[5] being persuaded by Joseph's discourse [d], resolved to stay in

[2] c. 2.
[3] [*teneritudinem frontis et ingenitam verecundiam.*]
[4] c. 3.
[5] [*Nocturnæ synaxeos*]
[6] [*legitimus orationum atque Psalmorum numerus*]
[7] c. 4.
[8] c. 5.
[9] c. 6.
[1] c. 7.
[2] c. 8, 9, &c.
[3] [*De definiendo.*]
[4] [*mendacium officiosum.* Vid. S. Thom. Aquin. Sum. Theol. 2. 2. Q. 110. Art. 2.]
[5] c. 31.

[c] Nocturns, or the Night Service, took place in the very early morning, after sleep.

[d] *Velut divino oraculo confirmati*, by which words Cassian makes these sentiments his own, and is therefore attacked by Prosper, contra Collat. c. 9.

A. D. 395. Egypt, where they spent seven years; during which time they often wrote to their brethren.

In the neighbourhood of Panephysis they met with the Abbot Pynufius, who[1], having been at their monastery in Palestine, was before known to them. He was a Priest[2], and Superior of a great monastery[3], and venerated throughout the province for his virtue and miracles. Not being able to exercise the virtue of humility to that degree which he desired, he put on a secular habit, and went to the monastery of Tabenna in the Thebaïde, founded by St. Pachomius[4]; he knew that there was observed there a strict regularity, and he hoped to be concealed by the distance of the place and the great number of Monks. He was suffered to stay a long time at the gate, begging for admittance, and embracing the knees of the brethren. They looked upon him as an old man who had quitted the world, when he could enjoy it no longer, and who was more concerned to get food, than to take care of his salvation. At last, after many repulses, he was admitted, and set to work in the garden, under a young brother, whom he obeyed with the utmost submission, undertaking the most servile and ungrateful drudgeries, and even rose in the night to perform them in secret. Having thus lain concealed three years, though his brethren had been in search for him all the country over; at length a certain person, who came from the Lower Egypt, saw him, and, with much difficulty, (finding him in a mean habit, stooping down to prepare the ground for planting herbs, and carrying manure,) recognized him. It was long before he could be certain that it was the same person; but as soon as he recollected his face and voice, he threw himself at his feet, to the great astonishment of the Monks of Tabenna, who looked upon him as the meanest person of the whole community. They were still more surprised when they heard his name, which had been famous among them by general report. Pained sensibly at their former ignorance, they entreated his pardon for the unworthy usage he had unwittingly received. He on his part shed tears at the discovery, and at losing the opportunity of self-humiliation, which he had so earnestly sought. His brethren conducted him back to his monastery, and

[1] Coll. 20. c. 1.
[2] Instit. [4.] c. 30.
[3] [Cœnobii]
[4] Supr. bk. 15. ch. 58.]

[e] See supra, bk. 18. ch. 20. note t.

watched him with great care, that he might not again find means to escape. A. D. 395.

However, not long after[1] he again took flight; and to avoid recognition, went to a foreign country. He fled by night, and embarking, came to Palestine to the monastery of Bethlehem, where Cassian and Germanus were at that time. He was there admitted as a novice, and placed by the Abbot in the same cell with them: but he did not continue here long, being discovered by some Egyptian Monks, who came to pay their devotions at the holy places; and by whom he was carried back to his monastery. When Cassian and Germanus came into Egypt, they made diligent enquiries after him, and were present at a charge which he made, before the whole community, to a Monk whom he had newly received[2], after having suffered him to remain at the gate of the monastery many days. "We have suffered[3] a long time to "pass," said he, "before we agreed to your admission; not but "that we desired your salvation with all our hearts, as we do "that of all others, and would go far to meet such as are "willing to turn to CHRIST; but lest we and you also, should "become guilty before GOD, if after too easy an admission "you should leave us or grow remiss." He afterwards[4] gave him a strict charge, concerning that perfect *Renunciation*[5], which is required by a monastic life. The two friends were so moved, that they almost fell into despair[6]; so far did they find themselves from the perfection of the state into which they had entered[7]. This gave the Abbot Pynufius an opportunity of discoursing[8] to them *on Repentance*[9], and the means of repairing past offences. He pressed them earnestly to continue in his monastery[1]; but their desire of seeing the famous desert of Scetis[2] would not suffer them to remain here.

[1] Lib. 4. c. 31.
[2] Inst. 4 c. 32.
[3] c. 33.
[4] c. 34, &c.
[5] [Bingh. 7. 2. 14.]
[6] Coll. 20. c. 2.
[7] c. 3.
[8] c. 4, 5, &c.
[9] *de Pœnitentiæ fine.*]
[1] c. 11. in fin.
[2] Scythioticæ solitudinis]

Having therefore crossed the Nile, they went to Diolcos[3], a small city on one of the seven mouths of that river, where were many ancient and famous monasteries. There were likewise some Anchorites[f] in an island surrounded on one

V. Piammon and John.
[3] Coll. 18. c. 1.

[f] "The distinguishing characteristics "of the Monks were a solitary life, "manual labour, spiritual exercises, and "abstinence even from the necessaries "of life; that so the sensual part of "their nature might be weakened, and "the mind undisturbed in the contemplation of heavenly things. The "rules of the convents did not, indeed, "demand all this, but for the most

A. D. 395. side by the Nile, and on the other by the sea[1]; the soil was a barren sand, where there was no water to be had, but that of the river above three miles distant from their habitations; insomuch, that they kept it with greater care than others do the most costly wines; the way to it being over sandy mountains, very difficult to pass. One of these Hermits, named Archebius[2], having discovered the desire that Cassian and Germanus had to make some stay in this place, left them his cell with every thing in it, pretending that he had before resolved to live elsewhere; [he went away, till he had collected the materials for another cell, but soon returned,] and with great labour built another dwelling for himself, which also he afterwards gave up to some other brethren who resorted thither; and then built a third for himself. This Archebius[3] was of a good family in Diolcos; he retired when very young to a monastery about four miles off from the town; and during the fifty years that he lived there, never returned to the city, nor saw any woman, not even his own mother. However, understanding that after his father's death his mother was in some trouble for a debt of a hundred golden pence[4], which his father had left unpaid; he laboured so hard day and night, for a whole year, without leaving the monastery, that he raised the sum, paid the debt, and set his mother at rest.

[1] Instit. 5. c. 36.
[2] c. 37.
[3] c. 38.
[4] Solidorum. See bk. 18. ch. 33. note a.]

In the desert of Diolcos, Cassian and Germanus saw the Abbot Piammon[5], the eldest of all the Hermits, and their Priest, who had the gift of miracles[6], and wrought many in their presence. They were received by him with much courtesy; and having learned from them the occasion of their journey, he discoursed to them *on the Three Sorts of Monks in Egypt*[7]; the Cœnobites[8], who lived in communities; the Anchorites, who having been trained in communities, retired into more perfect solitude; and the Sarabaïtes, who were vagabonds, and pretended Monks. He carried the institution of Cœnobites[9] as high as the time of the Apostles, as derived from the custom of the faithful who lived in common at Jerusalem. From these again, he said[1], proceeded the An-

[5] Coll. 18. c. 1.
[6] Mirabilia Dei per eum, etiam sub conspectu nostro perfecta, divina gratia testimonium meritis ejus reddente.]
[7] Coll. 18.
[8] c. 4.
[9] c. 5.
[1] c. 6.

"part they voluntarily went beyond the "rules, and even withdrew into the de- "serts (Ἀναχωρηταί), that they might "attain greater holiness * * * *." Giesel. vol. 1. § 93.

chorites or Hermits [g], the first of whom he accounted St. Paul [h] and St. Anthony [i]. As for the Sarabaïtes [1], licentiousness and avarice taught them to live without rule, and their numbers had become very numerous [k]. The Cœnobites and Anchorites were almost equal to them in Egypt, but in other countries the number of the Sarabaïtes was far greater. "Which I "observed," said Piammon, "at the time of the persecution, "which Lucius [2], the Arian Bishop [1], raised in the reign of "the Emperor Valens; when I carried alms [3] to our brethren "that were banished to the mines of the Armenian Pontus." There was also a fourth sort of Monks [4], namely, the libertine Hermits, who withdrew themselves from subjection to a superior, to live alone under the *name* of Anchorites.

A. D. 395.

[1] c. 7.

[2] Supr. bk. 16. ch. 36.

[3] diaconiam, *i. e. collationem eleemosynarum.* Cf. 2 Cor. 9. 1.]

[4] c. 8.

A few days [5] after, Cassian and Germanus went to the monastery of the Abbot Paul, which was inhabited by above two hundred Monks. At that time, however, there was an immense number assembled from other monasteries, to celebrate the anniversary [6] of the former Abbot. As they were in a large court, ranged in parties of twelve, to take their repast, one of the younger brethren, who was to bring in a dish, stayed a little too long, at which the Abbot Paul gave him a blow, which was heard at a great distance; the young man did not murmur, nor change colour, nor alter his demeanour in any respect; at which all who were present were extremely edified. The oldest man [7] in this monastery was the

[5] Coll. 19. 1.

[6] anniversaria depositio. See supra bk. 19.c 58. noteu.

[7] c. 2.

[g] Though it may be true that Anchorites did subsequently proceed from the Cœnobites, yet looking to the time of the Decian persecution, (see supr. bk. 18. ch. 20. note s,) Anchorites existed *first*, and it was they who founded communities, e. g. St. Anthony, St. Hilarion, (bk. 19. ch. 56. note q,) and St. Martin, (inf. ch. 49. note). See Bingham, bk. 7. ch. 2. § 2, 3.

[h] See supra, bk. 19. ch. 56. note o.

[i] See supra, bk. 18. ch. 20. note s, and bk. 19. ch. 56. notes o and q.

[k] The Sarabaïtes (fors. סָרַב, *rebellis*), Rhemoboth (fors. רוּם, *exaltatus est, superbivit*), or Renuitæ (*renuo*), "would "live as they listed themselves, only "two or three together, under no rule "or government. They did not resort "to the wilderness, as the others, but "lived chiefly in cities and castles, "where every thing they did might be "seen by men. Every thing about "them was affected. They fasted for "display, but if ever there came a feast-"day, they would indulge themselves "even to excess." Bingham, bk. 7. ch. 2. § 4. St. Benedict (A. D. 530.) speaks of the *Gyrovagi* as worse than the Sarabaïtes. Ib. § 12.

[1] Lucius had taken the lead of the Arians at Alexandria, on the death of their Bishop George of Cappadocia. At the same time St. Athanasius returned to Alexandria, and recovered his throne A.D. 362. When he died (A.D. 371—373), the Catholics, according to his desire, chose Peter to succeed him, but the Arians, with the help of Valens and Euzoïus, the Arian Bishop of Antioch, substituted by main force Lucius, who instantly began a violent persecution against the Catholics. Supra, bk. 16. ch. 25, 34, 35.

A. D. 395. venerable John, remarkable for his humility, which had made him quit the life of an Anchorite, to return to the community. He conversed with[1] the two friends *on the difference of these two conditions of life*, the advantages and dangers incidental to each; and shewed that the highest perfection existed in uniting their several virtues, "as I have "observed," said[2] he, "in the Abbot Moses[3], in Paphnutius[4], "and in the two Macarii[m]. They were insatiably desirous of "the repose of solitude, and for themselves would have been "contented to live without any human society. However, "when they were visited, they bore with the number and "infirmities of their brethren, with inexhaustible patience; "as though it had been their sole business to attend to them "as long as they lived."

[1] c. 3, 4, &c.
[2] c. 9.
[3] Infr. ch. 7.]
[4] Ibid.]

VI. Theonas and Abraham.

After this, Cassian and Germanus saw the Abbot Theonas[5], and were informed of the occasion of his conversion. His parents, to avoid the temptations of licentiousness, had married him when very young. After he had lived with his wife five years, he went one day, according to custom, with the other inhabitants, to carry his tithes and first-fruits to the neighbouring monastery. They were received by an old man named John, who, in consideration of his merit, was appointed to this office; he, to reward their charity, instructed[6] them on the nature of the duty of bringing to GOD their tithes[n] and first-fruits, that they may be employed in relieving the necessities of the poor, and on the excellence of the Gospel perfection, above the obligation of the law[7]. Theonas, moved with this exhortation, resolved to leave his wife, and embrace a monastic life; and not being able to persuade her to the same course, he executed his design alone, and left her against her consent[o]. Cassian[8] does not propose this as an

[5] Coll. 21. 1.
[6] c. 2.
[7] c. 5, 6, 7.
[8] c. 10.

[m] The elder Macarius, called the Great, was a disciple of St. Anthony, and was the first who lived in the desert of Scetis. He flourished, A. D. 373, during the Arian persecution. He was ordained priest, and died, aged 90, in A. D. 391. The power of working miracles is ascribed to him.

The younger Macarius, of Alexandria, was a cotemporary of the Egyptian, but survived him. He lived chiefly at Nitria and was priest of the monastery of Cellæ, a place deriving its name from its monastic cells, about ten miles from the Nitrian Mount. See supra, bk. 16. ch. 37.

[n] We meet with no early instances of tithes being received by Monks, unless it was for the use of the poor, of which there is this one instance in Cassian, and besides this Bingham (7. 3. 19.) knew of none.

[o] It was a general caution prescribed by the ancients, that married persons should not betake themselves to a monastic life but by mutual consent, as

example to be imitated, but as an extraordinary act which GOD approved, by bestowing afterwards on Theonas the gift of miracles. He made so great a progress in holiness[1], that after the death of Elias, who succeeded John, he was by common consent chosen to the same office of receiving and distributing the alms, called in Greek *Diaconia*[2]; which was esteemed an office of great importance[p]. A. D. 395.

[1] c. 9.

[2] Supr. ch. 5. marg.]

The Abbot Theonas[3] came to visit Cassian and Germanus in their cell, and, as he sat on the ground with them, (it being Easter-tide[4],) they asked him: "Why are you so "careful not to use any genuflexions[q] in prayer, during these "fifty days, and not to fast till None; for we never saw this "practice so regularly observed in the monasteries of Syria?" Theonas[5] answered: "Fasting is in itself a thing indifferent, "and consequently may be observed or not, as there is oc- "casion. It is an Apostolic tradition[6] to celebrate joyfully, "not only the forty days in which our LORD appeared after "His resurrection, but also the ten days which His disciples "spent in retirement, till the descent of the HOLY GHOST, "but that this indulgence may not make us lose the fruit of "abstinence during Lent[7], we only shorten the time before "our repast[8]; that is, we take it at the sixth instead of the "ninth hour, without making any change either in the "quality or quantity of our diet." They never, therefore, exceeded twelve ounces of bread in a day. Germanus[9] asked, why the time of Lent[1] consisted but of six weeks, or of seven

[3] c. 10.

[4 *quinquagesimæ diebus*]

[5] c. 12, 13, &c.

[6] c. 20.

[7 *abstinentia Quadragesimæ*]

[8] c. 23.

[9] c. 24.

[1] Bingh. bk. 21. ch. 1.]

St. Paulinus and St. Therasia, (supr. bk. 19. ch. 57,) in accordance with 1 Cor. 7. 4. So write St. Austin and Pope Gregory the Great. Bingh. 7. 3. 3.

p The Patres, Abbates, Hegumeni, or Archimandrites, were at the head of the monasteries; under them Centenarii and Decani, presiding severally over a hundred and over ten brethren. The Decani brought each man's daily task to the *Œconomus*, or *steward of the house*, (to which office Theonas was promoted,) who himself gave a monthly account to the Abbot. Bingh. 7. 3. 11. The Bishops, too, had their Œconomi, (ibid. 2. 4. 6. Cf. 2. 16. 20. and 3. 12,) when the increase of their other duties rendered it necessary. He was always a Clerk, and elected with the consent of the Clergy.

q See infra, ch. 45. and Conc. Carth. 4. can. 82. Infr. ch. 33: "Standing "was the general observation of the "whole Church on the LORD'S Day "and the fifty days between Easter and "Pentecost, in memory of our SA- "VIOUR'S Resurrection. St. Irenæus "derives this custom from Apostolical "authority." [Beaven's St. Iren. ch. 15.] "The Council of Nicæa made a "Canon to bring all Churches to an "uniformity in this matter: 'Because "'there are some who kneel on the "'LORD'S Day and in the days of "'Pentecost, that all things may be "'uniformly performed in every parish "'or diocese, it seems good to the "'Holy Synod, that prayers be made "'to GOD standing.' All writers con- "cur for the antiquity and universality "of this practice." Bingham, bk. 13. 8. 3.

A. D. 395. in some countries, since neither of these make forty days, for if the Sabbath and Sunday, which are not fast-days, are left out, they are only thirty-six? Theonas replied: "These thirty-
[1] c. 25. "six days are the tithe[1] of the whole year, which contains "three hundred and sixty-five days; and the reason of the
[2] c. 27. "difference is, that they who fast but six[2] weeks, fast on
[3] c. 28. "Saturday[r]. However, the whole time has been called[3] "*Quadragesima*, on account of the forty days[4] of the fast of "Moses, Elias, and of our Blessed LORD Himself. The per-
[4] c. 29. "fect are not[4] by this law confined, nor their times of fasting
[5] c. 30. "kept within such narrow limits; the ancients[5] fasted all the "year; and this ordinance of Lent was introduced only for "the sake of the weak, that they might devote to GOD at "least the tithe of the year." We may here observe how fully Cassian, and those whose opinions he reports, were persuaded of the antiquity and usefulness of Lent. The Abbot Theonas
[6] Coll. 22. afterwards discoursed to them[6] *On Nocturnal Illusions;* and
[7] Coll. 23. on[7] that passage of St. Paul: *The good that I would I do not,*
[8] Rom.7.19. *but the evil which I would not that I do*[8]; shewing them, that the saints themselves are not free from sin, or perfect in this
[9] Coll. 23. c. 17, 18, &c. life[9].

[1] Coll. 24. c. 1. Cassian and Germanus having spent[1] some time in Egypt, were strongly tempted to return to their own country to their relations, who, being rich and pious, would not dissuade them from their good intentions, and would plentifully supply them with the necessaries of life. They were in hopes also of converting others by their example and instructions. Moreover, they imagined that near the lands of their forefathers they might find pleasant forests, and fertile and agreeable solitudes. They imparted their thoughts to the Abbot Abraham, who
[2] c. 2. thence took occasion to discourse to them *On Mortification*[2]:

r See infra, ch. 45. "If any Clerk "be found fasting on the LORD'S Day, "or any Sabbath, except the one only, "let him be deposed; if any layman, "let him be excommunicated." Can. Apost. 65. (56. 64. or 66.) The *one* Sabbath excepted is Holy Saturday or Easter Eve, which will make up the number *thirty-six* in the text. This canon was directed against the heretics who considered the Creation the work of an evil god, and so by fasting commemorated its completion. In the West, (except at Milan,) where this heresy did not prevail, at least to such a degree, the Sabbath (see Bingham, 2. 6. 4. and 13. 9. 3.) "became, from the third "century, the customary day for fasts, "and in the fourth century entirely took "the place of Wednesday." See Giesel. vol. 1. § 98. notes 2 and 11.

[4] Ash-Wednesday and the three following days were added to complete the forty by St. Gregory the Great in the seventh, or by Gregory II. in the eighth century. Bingham, 21. 1. 5.

"The weakness of your imaginations shews that you have A. D. 395.
"not yet renounced the world, and mortified your desires.
"We also might have possessed the same comforts; our re-
"lations would willingly have supported us; and had they
"failed us, the rich in this world would gladly have supplied
"all our necessities. We might have settled upon the banks
"of the Nile, and saved ourselves the trouble of going four
"miles for water. We might also in this country have met
"with pleasant solitudes, fruit-trees, and gardens; but we
"have chosen these barren and salt sands, these uncomfort-
"able and parched deserts. They[1] who aim at perfection, [1] c. 3, 4.
"should seek for places, where nothing may tempt them to
"leave their cells in order to work in the open air, which
"distracts and dissipates the mind by diversity of objects."
He insists[2] upon the necessity of labouring with our own [2] c. 11, 12, 13.
hands, to prevent our being dependant on others, or a burden to them.

VII. Cassian at Scetis.

Germanus and Cassian having spent seven years in Egypt, returned to their monastery at Bethlehem, where they were received with a kind welcome; and having obtained leave of their elders, returned to visit the famous desert of Scetis[3]. [3] Coll. 1. 1. Here they saw, among others, seven Monks of great reputation, Moses, Paphnutius, Daniel, Serapion, Theodore, Serenus, and Isaac. Moses had in his youth been near St. Anthony[4], [4] Coll. 2. 2. and when they begged some instruction of him[5], he con- [5] Coll. 1. 1. sented after much entreaty, being unwilling to speak of Christian perfection, except to persons who were not indifferent, but earnestly desirous of it, lest he should himself be guilty of vanity or indiscretion; at length yielding to their prayers and tears, he discoursed[6] to them *Of the End of a* [6] c. 5. *Monastic Life*, namely, to acquire purity of heart, in order to obtain eternal life. Next day he entertained them on the subject of *Discretion*[7], or rather the discerning of spirits[8]; [7] Coll. 2. c. 1. and of the Prudence which directs all the other virtues, the necessity of which he confirmed by many examples. [8] 1 Cor. 12. 10.]

They had likewise a conference[9] with the Abbot Paphnutius, [9] Coll. 3. c. 1. surnamed Bubalus, or the Buffalo, from his great love of solitude, which made him shun the society even of the other Anchorites. He was a Priest of the desert of Scetis, and at this time was above ninety years old. However, he would

A. D. 395. never quit the cell, in which he had begun to live when he was young, though above five miles distant from the church, to which he never failed going every Sabbath and Sunday[1], nor ever returned without carrying on his shoulders a large vessel filled with his provision of water for a week; nor would he in this extreme age, ever suffer the younger men to relieve him of his labour. He conversed with the two friends[2] on *The Three Sorts of Renunciations* requisite to a solitary, namely, of riches and all outward possessions, of our passions, and of our thoughts that we may entirely forget all temporal[3] things. The Abbot Daniel[3] was chiefly to be admired for his humility. Paphnutius had him ordained Deacon, preferring him to many of a more advanced age, and even afterwards had him raised to the Priesthood[t]. *Daniel however, would never perform the sacred offices of the Priesthood in his presence, and* continued, though a Priest, to serve him[4] in the station of a Deacon. Paphnutius designed him for his successor; but was disappointed, as Daniel died before him. Daniel conversed with the two[5] friends on the causes of spiritual barrenness[6], and on *The Struggle*[7] *between the Flesh and the Spirit*[8]. Serapion, who excelled in a discerning judgment, spoke of *The Eight Principal Vices*, the sources of all sins; gluttony, incontinence, avarice, anger, melancholy, listlessness[9], vanity, and pride[1].

[1] Coll. 3. c. 1.
[2] c. 6.
[3] Coll. 4. 1.
[4] Paphnutio *spiritales hostias offerente*]
[5] c. 2.
[6] sterilitas mentis]
[7] c. 7.
[8] Gal. 5. 19, 20.
[9] acedia, i.e. anxietas sive tædium cordis.]

There was a monastery[2] in Palestine near Thecue in the direction of the Dead sea and the deserts of Arabia, which had been long inhabited by Monks of great sanctity. They were slain in a sudden incursion of the Saracens. The Bishops of the country, with the people of Arabia, took away their bodies, and buried[u] them with certain relics of Martyrs. An immense number of people, drawn together from the two neighbouring towns, disputed so warmly about the relics, as to come to blows and swords; one of the towns founding its pretensions on the neighbourhood of their *dwelling*, the other on its being the place of their *birth*. The Church commemorates them as Martyrs on the twenty-eighth of May[3]. Cassian and some others, who were dis-

[1] Coll. 5. 2.
[2] Coll. 6. 1.
[3] Martyrol. Rom.

[t] That this is the meaning of Cassian, is shewn by Bingham, bk. 2. 3. 7.

[u] *Quorum corpora—veneratione præ-repta et inter reliquias Martyrum condita.*

tressed at this event, as though it were unworthy of the goodness of God, went to consult Theodore, who lived at Cellæ[1], between Nitria and Scetis. He upon this occasion conversed[2] with them on the nature of evil, and the benefit of sufferings[3]. Serenus[4], who was eminent for his angelic purity, spoke of *The Moving Faculty of the Soul*, and the power that the evil spirits have on it. He relates as an undoubted truth[5], that the Monks who first inhabited those deserts, were much more disturbed by evil spirits and attacked even in visible shapes, insomuch that they were forced to keep watch by turn in the communities; but that at that time the power of these spirits was sensibly diminished. This subject engaged the Abbot Serenus in another[6], concerning the nature of the evil spirits[7], their fall, their subordination, and employments. The Abbot Isaac conversed with them *On Prayer*[8].

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[1] Supr. ch. 5. note m.] [2] c. 2, &c. [3] *De Nece sanctorum.*] [4] Coll. 7. 1, 2. [5] Coll. 7. 23. [6] Coll. 8. c. 1, &c. [7] *De Principatibus et Potestatibus.*] [8] Coll. 9, 10.

VIII. Life of the Monks of Egypt.

Cassian, by staying among the Egyptian Monks, had an opportunity of being accurately acquainted with their manner of life; and it is from him maintained that we derive our information. He thus describes[9] their garments. They wore a linen tunic which reached no lower than their knees, with the sleeves hardly coming down so low as the elbow, that they might not be encumbered at their work. This garment was called *Colobium* or *Lebitonarium*[1]. They did not approve[x] of the hair shirt[2], as being something extraordinary, and in general they reprehended all ostentation. The tunic was large, and in order to tie it about them, they wore not only a girdle[3], but a scarf[4] also, or woollen band[5], which falling down on each side of the neck, went under the shoulders, and confining the two sides gave full liberty to their arms. They wore hoods or cowls[6], but small, being just large enough to cover their heads and necks, and they put them off neither night nor day. They usually walked bare-foot, but sometimes otherwise[7], to protect them against the cold in winter mornings, or the heat at noon-day; and they used the ordinary sort of shoe, called in Latin, *Caligæ*[8]. Over the tunic they wore a cape called *Mafors*[9], which covered their neck and

[9] Inst: l. c. 1. Supr. bk. 15. ch. 58. [1] *Lebito*, Regul. S. Pach. c. 2. [prout a Pall. relat. § 5.] [2] c. 3. [3] [4] c. 2. c. 6. [5] ἀναβολή, *rebrachiatorium*] [6] c. 4. [7] c. 10. [8] S. Hier. Præf. in Reg. S. Pach. [9] c. 7.

[x] Cilicinam vestem, *velut circumspectam a cunctis et notabilem*—et ad necessarii operis exercitium—inhabilem. The objection was not, therefore, against this act of mortification *in itself*. See infr. ch. 9.

A. D. 395. shoulders, and was made of flax like the tunic. Their outer-
[1] c. 8. most garment was the *Melotes*, or sheep-skin[1]. They walked
[2] c. 9. with a staff in their hand[2].

Their ordinary diet was bread and water; for after long experience and mature deliberation, they preferred this diet to pulse, herbs, or fruits, which others used to eat without bread. Their bread was a kind of biscuit, and they had a Roman pound, that is, twelve ounces a day, in two small
[3 Coll. 2. c. 19, 26.] loaves of six ounces each, called *Paximacium*[3], one eaten at the ninth hour, and the other in the evening. On days which were not fasts, as on Sundays, and at Easter-tide,
[4] Coll. 21. c. 23. their first meal was about noon[4], and sometimes they had it
[5] Coll. 2. c. 26. earlier[5] for the sake of their guests; but whether they ate once or oftener, they never exceeded the prescribed quantity.
[6] c. 20. It seemed at first a great deal[6], and the new Monks could scarce eat their twelve ounces of bread; but afterwards when they had nothing to live upon but bread every day, they
[7] c. 21. found this dry food to be little enough[7]. On certain days
[8] Coll. 8. c. 1. some delicacies were added. Cassian says[8], that the Abbot
[9 *muria*] Serenus treating them one Sunday, gave them a sauce[9] with
[1 salem frictum, olivas ternas, *fors.* sale frictas ol. tern. *i.e. three olives apiece fried with salt,*] a little oil and dried salt, three olives[1], a basket of dried vetches[y], of which they each took five grains, two small plums[z] and a fig apiece. The same abstinence was not enjoined to all[2], but regard was had to the age, sex, and strength of the person; neither[3] was fasting two or three
[2] Instit. 5. c. 5. days together or more, without eating any thing, approved,
[3] c. 9. but it was thought better to take some nourishment every day.

They assembled at prayers in the evening, and at night[a]; and each time repeated twelve Psalms, which number they
[4 Instit. 2. c. 4, 5.] believed[4] to have been taught their fathers by an Angel, who came and sung eleven Psalms in the midst of them, with a prayer after each; at last, adding the twelfth with *Hallelujah*,
[5 c. 6.] disappeared. To this[5] they added, for the sake[6] of those
[6 or, *from the wish to become*] who wished to become acquainted with the Scripture, two lessons, one from the Old, and the other from the New

[y] Cicer frictum, quod illi trogalia [a delicacy] vocant. Cf. Horat. Ars Poet. v. 249.

[z] Myxaria, *i.* e. pruna Damascenis minora. Not. ad Cass.

[a] That the Nocturns, or Night Prayers, were *after* sleep and in the very early morning, appears from Inst. 2. c. 12. fin. Vid. the Breviary.

Testament; except on [the Sabbath or] Saturday and Sunday, A. D. 395.
and at Easter-tide, when both lessons were out of the New
Testament, one from the Epistles or the Acts, and the other
from the Gospels. After each Psalm, they prayed[1] standing [1] c. 7.
with their hands extended; then threw themselves on their
faces, and presently rose up for fear of sleepiness, conforming
exactly to the motions of him who[2] presided at the prayers. [2 qui orationem *collecturus est.* See supra, ch. 3. note b. Bingh. 15. 1. 4.]
A profound silence[3] was observed by the assembly, how [3] c. 10.
numerous soever it might be; no voice was heard but that [4 qui *decantat,*]
of the Chaunter[4], who pronounced the Psalm, or of the [5 sacerdotis precem *concludentis.*]
Priest who said[5] the prayer. The Chaunter stood, the rest [6] c. 12.
were seated[6] on very low seats; for from their fasting and [7] c. 11.
constant labour they were unable to continue standing. If [8] Reg. S. Pachom. § 2.
the Psalms were long, they divided[7] them; not endeavouring [9] Cass. Instit. 2. c. 17.
to repeat much and rapidly, but to give their whole attention [1] Instit. 4. c. 13.
to them.

The signal for prayers was made by a horn[8]; and he whose [2] S. Hier. Præf. ad Regul. [2 psiathium]
office it was to awake the brethren for the night prayers, [3] Coll. 1. c. 23.
knew the hour exactly by the stars[9]; for in Egypt the sky is [4 embriniis]
always clear, so that they used neither hour-glass nor clock. [5] Instit. 3. c. 2.
The moveables[1] they had in their cells, besides their clothes, [6 sacræ *communionis* obtentu]
were only a mat[2] to sleep and sit upon, and a bundle[3] of [7] Inst. 2. c. 14.
large leaves of the plant *Papyrus*, which is common in Egypt, [8] c. 12.
and from which is derived the name of paper, because it was [9] Coll. 24. c. 4, 5.
also used for writing. This[4] bundle was their pillow by night [1] Inst. 10. c. 7, &c.
and seat by day, for which latter use also it was employed by [2] c. 23.
them in the church. Their mats, which they made themselves,
were of rushes or palm leaves. They did not assemble[5] to
pray together in the day-time, except on [the Sabbath, *i. e.*]
Saturday and on Sunday at the third hour, in order to receive
the Communion[6]; on other days they stayed in their cells,
working and in constant prayer[7]; for they knew that the
best way to fix their thoughts, and prevent distraction, was
to be always employed. They worked even in the night-time
when they watched[8]; and that their work might not inter-
rupt their prayers, they chose the most easy and sedentary
employments[9], such as the making of mats and baskets.
These Egyptian Monks, above all others, recommended[1]
labour as the only remedy against the listlessness of solitude,
and infinite other evils. They said[2] that the Monk who was

A. D. 395. employed in work, had but one bad spirit to tempt him, but he that was idle had numberless. They would not permit the Monks to receive any gift for their subsistence; on the contrary, they laboured so hard, that they even hospitably entertained such as came to visit them; and sent large sums in charity to the barren parts of Lybia, and even to the cities for the prisoners. They founded their practice[1], on the precepts and example of St. Paul, as well as on their own experience. However we are not without instances of benefactions bestowed even on the Monks of Egypt[2]; which gives us reason to believe that in cases of necessity, they dispensed with this rule of taking nothing [b].

[1] c. 7, 8, &c.

[2] Supr. bk. 17. ch. 4.

IX. Number of the monasteries in Egypt.

There were monasteries at this time in all parts of Egypt. The most ancient were in the lower Thebaïde, towards the northern extremity of the Red sea. Here was the mountain Colzuma, where St. Anthony died[3]; and the mountain of Pispiri, otherwise called the Outer Mountain, which also he had inhabited, and where the greater part of his disciples had their abode. Their number was reckoned to amount to five[4] thousand, who, after St. Anthony, were governed by St. Macarius[5], a different man from either the Egyptian or the Alexandrian[6]. St. Macarius was succeeded by St. Posthumius. There was a monastery on the other side of the Nile, near the city of Hermopolis, where it was supposed that the Holy Virgin and St. Joseph had carried the Child JESUS[7]; it is now called Matarea[8]. Here lived five hundred Monks, under the government of St. Apollos or Apollonius[9], who was imprisoned under the reign of Julian[1]. Their garments were all white, and extremely neat, and he advised them to receive the Communion every day. St. Isidore[2] also presided over a thousand Monks in the Thebaïde, who were strictly confined within their walls wells, gardens, and all things necessary. None entered there but for life. An old man attended at the gate, to give answers and entertain strangers. Dioscorus[3] the Priest governed about a hundred Monks in some part of the Thebaïde. Near Antinoopolis[4] there were about two thou-

[3] Supr. bk. 13. ch. 36. [A.D. 356.]

[4] Rosw. p. 233. [181. b. *quinquaginta*[c] *millia*]

[5] Supra, bk. 13. ch. 38.]

[6] Supra, bk. 16. ch. 35.

[7] Vit. Patr. 2. 7. Pall. Laus. c. 52.

[8] *Benesnaif.* Baudr.]

[9] ibid.

[1] Supr. bk. 15. ch. 33.

[2] Pall. Laus. c. 71. Vit. Pat. 2. 17.

[3] Vit. Pat. 2. 20. Pall. Laus. c. 68.

[4] c. 96.

[b] See Bingham, bk. 7. ch. 3. § 8.

[c] This number refers to the whole body, which assembled at times in one place, as appears from Præf. S. Hier. in Reg. S. Pachom. § 7.

sand Monks; some of whom were Hermits, who shut themselves up in caves. A. D. 395.

But the great wonder of the lower Thebaïde was the city of Oxyrynchus[1], so called in Greek from the name of a fish with a sharp head, which was worshipped by the Egyptians, and once had a famous temple in that city[2]. It was peopled both within and without the walls by Monks, who constituted the greater part of its inhabitants. The public buildings, and the temples of the idols, had been converted into monasteries, of which there were more in every part of the city than of private houses. The Monks lodged even on the gates and in the towers. There were twelve churches for the people to assemble in, besides the oratories in the monasteries. There was neither pagan nor heretic in all the city, though it was very populous; but all were Catholic Christians. However it was for a time divided by a schism. Its Bishop Theodore[3] having joined the party of George[d], the Arian Bishop of Alexandria, so far as to receive re-ordination, the Catholics of Oxyrynchus had another ordained their Bishop, named Heraclidas[4], whom Theodore persecuted for a long time, together with the Virgins and Monks of his communion. There were twenty thousand Virgins, and ten thousand Monks in this city; every quarter of the city day and night resounded with the praises of God. There were placed at the gate, by the magistrates [and citizens] persons to watch for any poor or strangers, and every one contended who should first receive and entertain them.

[1] Vit. Pat. 2. 5.

[2] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 812. D.

[3] Supr. bk. 13. ch. 33.

[4] Libell. Marcell. et Faust. p. 75, 76, &c. [ap. Sirmond. I. p. 251—255.]

In the upper Thebaïde was the monastery of Tabenna, founded by St. Pachomius, as has been related[5], in which were fourteen hundred Monks. On the other side of the Nile was that founded by his sister, containing four hundred Virgins. The successors of St. Pachomius were first[6], Petronius, then Orsiesius, and after him Theodore, who had entered the monastery at fourteen years[7] of age, and lived there a long time with St. Pachomius. He was a Priest[8], although St. Pachomius made it a general[9] rule not to have his Monks ordained, to prevent any jealousies among them. Many other monasteries were founded by St. Pachomius[1]. Seeing[2] that his brethren were too much straitened at

[5] Supr. bk. 15. ch. 58, 59. Pall. Laus. c. 38, 39.

[6] Supr. bk. 19. ch. 31.

[7] Vit. S. Pachom. c. 29, 30, &c. [Rosw. p. 95.]

[8] Gennad. Script. [§ 9. Ap. S. Hier. tom. 5.]

[9] Vit. S. Pachom. c. 24.

[1] Supr. bk. 15. ch. 60.

[2] Vit. S. Pach. ap. Surium. c. 43. [tom. 3. p. 275.]

[d] See supra, ch. 5. note 1.

A. D. 395. Tabenna by reason of their great number, he transplanted some of them to a town called Pibi. Some time after, when the second monastery had very much increased, there came to him an old man named Eponychus, superior of an ancient monastery called Chenoboscia, whose Monks lived in a state of great perfection. He pressed St. Pachomius to take this community under his direction, which he did, and sent him Monks from his own monastery. He granted the same favour to the brethren of another monastery, called Machons or Mochans; and they also observed his rule. There are letters[1] from St. Pachomius to Cornelius, his disciple, Abbot of Mochans; and to Syrus or Sur, Abbot of Chnum, who lived[2] to above a hundred and ten years of age. St. Pachomius founded another monastery near Panos[3], where there were three hundred Monks. Ammon or Ammonas[4] governed a monastery of three thousand Monks, of the Rule of Tabenna. But the largest monastery of this Rule was called in the Egyptian language Baum[5], though perhaps it was the same with Tabenna.

[1] Cod. Regul. p. 100—105. [99—110. Holsten.]
[2] S. Hier. Præf. [§ 9.]
[3] Supra, bk. 15. ch. 60. Vit. S. Pach. c. 39. [Rosw. p. 98.]
[4] Pall. Laus. c. 48. Vit. Pat. 2. c. 3.
[5] Ep. S. Pach. [ap. Holst. p. 112.]

In this place they assembled twice a year, at Easter, and in the month of Mesore, that is, of August; this last assembly was in order to grant pardon for offences, and to reconcile such as had any difference[6]. It was at this time also that the superiors and officers of the monasteries were elected. St. Jerome says, that there were fifty thousand who met together to celebrate Easter; which is the first instance we find of several monasteries united in one congregation, under the same Rule. One monastery contained thirty or forty houses, three or four of which made a tribe, who worked together or served, the same week. Each house consisted of about forty brethren of the same trade; for example, mat-makers, weavers, tailors, or fullers. Every house had cells where they lodged, three in a cell; but they all ate in one common refectory. Each house was marked with a letter of the alphabet[7], which the Monks wore on their cowls[8].

[6] Præf. S. Hier. [§ 8.]
[7] Vit. S. Pach. c. 22. [Rosw. p. 92.]
[8] Regul. c. 99.

In a city of the upper Thebaïde there was[9] a monastery of women, above a hundred[1] in number, who had the reputation of great sanctity. They drank no wine, eat no fruit, and often fasted two or three days together. They wore a garment of hair-cloth, reaching down to their feet; they

[9] Vit. Stæ. Euphras. [Rosw. p. 270.]
[1] cxxx *arithria*]

used no bath, nor so much as washed their feet. They worked as long as they were able; used no remedies for diseases, but received them as a great blessing; nor did they ever stir out of their enclosure. When Euphrasia, the widow of one Antigonus, a man of high rank, offered them[1] a yearly revenue of twenty or thirty pounds of gold, the Abbess refused it, and could accept only some oil for the lamps, and incense[2] for the Oratory. Euphrasia or Euphraxia, her daughter, was admitted here at seven years[3] of age, and became famous for her virtue and miracles. Near Antinous there were twelve[4] monasteries of women, one among the rest governed by the Abbess or Amma, Talida, who had led a monastic life eighty years. She had with her sixty young virgins, who had so great love for her that the monastery was never locked up, as others were; so inseparably were they united to her by affection, and her holy instructions. They went out[5] to church on Sundays, to receive the Communion; but one of them, named Taor, who was very beautiful, never stirred out at all, but stayed always in the monastery at work, clothed in rags.

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[1] ut oretis pro Antigone. See supr. bk. 19. ch. 41. note b.]

[2] thymiama]

[3] § 8.]

[4] Pall. Laus. c. 137.

[5] c. 138.

In Egypt properly so called, near Arsinoë, the Abbot Serapion[6] had the government of about ten thousand Monks; and there were five thousand in fifty monasteries in the desert of Nitria[7]. They had a church and eight Priests[8], of whom the eldest only officiated, the other seven not performing any of the sacred functions during his life. Near that place was the monastery of Cellæ, and the mountain of Pherme[9], inhabited by about five hundred Monks. Among these was Paul, who said three hundred prayers[1] a-day, counting them by so many little stones, which he had in his bosom, and dropping one at every prayer. Next to this was the monastery of Scetis, where lived the two Macarii[2], and St. Arsenius; and where Cassian abode some time. In the neighbourhood of Alexandria[3] were about two thousand Monks in different monasteries. At Canopus there were many monasteries, among the rest that of Metanœa[4]. At Pelusium also were some Monks, among whom was the famous St. Isidore, who lived at this time. This was the state of the monasteries of Egypt at the end of the fourth century. The number of all the Monks, as here set down, amounts to above 76,000, and

[6] Supr. bk. 14. ch. 31. ad fin. Pall. Laus. c. 76.

[7] Supr. bk. 16. ch. 36.

[8] Pall. c. 7.

[9] Pall. c. 23.

[1] ibid.

[2] Supr. bk. 16. ch. 37.

[3] Pall. c. 7.

[4] Supr. bk. 19. ch. 31. [Bingh. 7. 3. 15.]

A. D. 395. that of religious women to about 20,700; without reckoning those monasteries in which the number of inmates is not expressly mentioned. I omit several particular persons of great fame, an account of whose virtues may be seen in the writings of Evagrius, Palladius, and other collections of the lives of the Fathers.

X. The Destruction of Heresies.

The death of the Emperor Theodosius did not put a stop to the progress of religion; on the contrary, those that governed, imputing to his piety the defeat of Eugenius and other tyrants, endeavoured to follow his example[1]. They confirmed the laws which he had made in favour of religion, and added new ones. We have a law of Honorius for maintaining the privilege of churches, in 395[2]; seven[3] of Arcadius, six against heretics, one[4] against the pagans; part of them dated at Constantinople in 394, during the life of his father, who was at that time employed about his affairs in the West, and part after his death in 395; most of them directed to Rufinus, the Prætorian Præfect of the East, and, as is supposed, drawn up by his advice, as he then possessed the greatest authority. But being suspected of aspiring to the empire, he was slain[5] on the twenty-seventh of November, in the same year[6].

[1] Soz. 8. 1.

[2] Cod. Th. [16. Tit. 2.] l. 29. de Episc.

[3] Cod. Th. [16. Tit. 5.] l. 23, 25—29. de Hæret.

[4] Cod. Th. [16. Tit. 10.] l. 13. de Pagan.

[5] Gibbon, ch. 29.]

[6] Marcell. Chron. A.D. 395. [Roncall. p. 272.]

The pagans were converted, and the heretics returned to the Catholic Church[7], particularly the Eunomians and the other Arians; whose divisions among themselves had opened their eyes, and led them to conclude that truth could not be on their side. The Macedonians[8] had no Bishops at Constantinople, and were governed only by Presbyters since Eudoxius had taken away their churches; which contributed much to weaken their party. The Novatians were also disturbed by the schism of Sabbatius; but they supported themselves at Constantinople by the reputation of their Bishop Sisinnius[9]; a man of talent, and remarkable in his time for many quick and ingenious replies. He was much extolled for his learning and virtue, although his manner of life was soft and effeminate; he used the bath twice a-day, and was clothed in white; whereas religious persons used to wear black garments[e].

[7] Socr. 6. 1. Soz. 8. 1.

[8] Supr. bk. 19. ch. 35.

[9] See bk. 18. ch. 26.]

[e] "At Constantinople, in the time of "Chrysostom, the Clergy commonly "went in black, as the Novatians did "in white." Bingham, 6. 4. 18. See infra, ch. 33. Conc. Carth. 4. can. 45.

In Africa the divisions of the Donatists[1] still continued; they abused the laws made against heretics, to persecute one another. In[2] execution of the Council of Bagaia, held by the Primianists, the time by them granted to the Maximinianists to be reconciled to them having now expired two months, the Primianists presented a petition to the Proconsul of Carthage, against Felicianus of Musti, and Prætextatus of Assurita, both Maximinianists, on the second of March 395[3], to procure their expulsion from the churches; and this persecution lasted till the twenty-second of December of the year following, 396. The Primianists affirmed that they were Catholics, and for proof of it, produced their Council, where the Maximinianists were condemned, and demanded that they should be excluded from their churches[4], by virtue of the imperial laws against heretics. The judge, either by connivance[5] or ignorance, passed sentence in their favour; and the Maximinianists were in many places turned out by legal authority.

A. D. 395.

[1] Supr. bk. 19. ch. 54.

[2] S. Aug. 3. contr. Cresc. c. 56. [p. 466.]

[3] 3rd of Arc. 2nd of Honor. A. D. 394. Bened.]

[4] S. Aug. in Psalm. 57. § 15.

[5] al. *cohibens* pro *connivens*]

XI. St. Augustine preaches against the Agapæ.

St. Augustine continued in the Priest's office at Hippo, under the Bishop Valerius, and preached[f] with great success. The festival of St. Leontius[6], Bishop of Hippo, approaching, the people murmured, that they should not be permitted to keep it with the usual rejoicings[7], that is, to make their feasts in the church, which degenerated into drunkenness and debauchery. For the Council of Hippo[8], held in 393, had decreed, that the people should be hindered from keeping these feasts by all possible means. St. Augustine, who had advised this regulation, hearing that the people murmured, began, on Wednesday before the festival, to discourse on this subject, taking occasion from the Gospel[9] for the day, in which was this passage: *Give not*[1] *that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine.* He compared to dogs, such as quarrel with and bark at the commands of GOD; and to swine, those who wallow in unclean pleasures, and would commit in the church that which renders them unworthy of holy things.

[6] Ep. 29. ad Alyp. [scr. A. D. 395.]

[7] solemnitas, quam *Lætitiam* nominantes]

[8] Supr. bk. 19. ch. 41.

[9] Ep. 29. § 2.

[1] St. Matt. 7. 6.

[f] Preaching is a delegated privilege to the Priest, which he exercises only by permission of the Bishop, who has authority to withdraw his commission, if he thinks fit. Bingham, 2, 3, 4. See Heylyn's Life of Archbishop Laud. Introduct. § 10.

A. D. 395. As this discourse was made to a small[1] audience, [from
[1] § 3. whose report it was spread abroad,] and many spoke against
it, he made another[2] on the same subject to a larger congre-
[2] postea-quam dies *quadra-gesimæ* illuxisset] gation, when that part of the Gospel had been read, about
[3] St. Matt. 21. 12. driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple[3]. He read
it over again himself, and shewed how much more zealous
our LORD would have been in banishing from the temple
dissolute feasting, than a traffic, which was in itself innocent.
[4] § 4. He added[4], that the Jews, though they were still carnal,
made no feasts in that temple, where the Body and Blood of
our LORD was not yet offered; and that it was never related
that they became drunken under pretence of religion, but
[5] Exod. 32. 6. only at the festival of the making of an idol[5]. Whereupon he
read to them the whole passage out of Exodus; for he had
got ready beforehand the books and texts of Scripture. He
afterwards took St. Paul, and read those words where he
[6] 1 Cor. 5. 11. and 6. 9. reckons drunkenness among the greatest sins[6], and the works
[7] Galat. 5. 21. of the flesh[7], which exclude men from the kingdom of GOD.
Having read these passages over again, and many others, with
[8] § 7. great fervency[8], he returned the book[9], and bade the whole
[9] codicem] people pray, and resumed his discourse with all the vehe-
mence he could command; representing to them the common
danger, not of the people only, but of the priests, who are to
give an account of their souls to the Chief Shepherd: "I
[1] humili-tatem] "conjure you," says he, "by His humiliation[1], His sufferings,
"His crown of thorns, His cross, His blood: at least have
"pity on us, and consider the charity of the venerable
"Valerius, who hath not feared to impose upon me, for your
"sakes, the dangerous task of preaching to you the words of
"truth. He is glad that I am come hither, but not to see
"me die with you, or be a spectator of your death, but that
"we may strive together for eternal life. In short, I trust
"in Him who cannot lie, that if you despise all that I have
[2] Ps. 88. [89. Heb.] 31—33. "said to you, He will visit you with His scourges[2], and will
"not suffer you to be condemned with the world." He
spoke in so moving a manner, that he drew tears from his
hearers, and could not refrain from weeping himself.
[3] § 8. On the morrow[3], which was the feast-day[g], he understood

[g] Easter-day in A. D. 395, fell on the festival of the Annunciation of our Lady. Consequently this festival of St. Leontius was in February and in

that certain persons still murmured, and said: "What would "they have now? Were not they Christians who suffered "this custom?" St. Augustine, despairing of finding any thing of greater avail to move them, had resolved to read the words of Ezekiel[1]: *If the watchman warn the wicked of his way to turn from it, if he do not turn from his way, he shall die in his iniquity, but the watchman hath delivered his soul;* and then to shake his garments and withdraw. But before he got into the pulpit[2], they who had made these complaints, came to seek him. He received them kindly, and with a few words brought them to a right mind. When it was time to preach, he forbore reading what he had intended, as it was now no longer necessary; and he answered the objection, "Wherefore now?" by the retort, "At length now;" but to vindicate those who had borne with it so long, he explained to them the necessity that first introduced it. After the persecutions had ceased, the heathen, who were converted in crowds, were with difficulty brought to renounce the feasts made in honour of their idols. Regard was had to their weakness in this particular, and they were permitted to make some such rejoicings in honour of the Martyrs, till they were capable of joys purely spiritual. Thus we find that St. Gregory Thaumaturgus[3] acted, as St. Gregory of Nyssa relates[4 h]. "But now," added St. Augustine, "it is time for men who "dare not deny that they are Christians, to begin to live "according to the Will of CHRIST, and, now being Christians, "to reject what was only allowed that they might become "Christians." He afterwards[5] proposed to them the example of the Churches on the other side of the sea, that is, of Italy, where this custom was either never allowed, or had been abolished by pious Bishops[6]; among others, by St. Ambrose, as St. Augustine himself declares elsewhere[7]. The people objected the example of the Church of St. Peter's at the Vatican, where these feasts were observed every day; and

A. D. 395.

[1] Ezek. 33. 9.

[2] exhedram. Supra, bk. 19. ch. 14.]

[3] A.D.254. Supra, bk. 19. ch. 41. note b. p. 225.]

[4] Vit. S. Greg. Thaum. p. 1006. C. [Tom. 3. p.573,574.]

[5] § 10.

[6] Supra, ibid. and bk. 18. ch. 51.]

[7] Confess.6. c. 2.

Lent, (§ 3). This seems improbable, and by a slight alteration in the text, (viz. *Quadragesima* for *Quadragesimæ*, marg. supr.) it may be identified with another festival in honour of St. Leontius, about Ascension-day. (Vid. Serm. 262. al. 13. de Divers. tom. 5. p. 1069, habitum in Basilica ab eodem Leontio exstructa). Cf. Not. Bened. ad Ep. 29. § 8.

[h] Pope Gregory the Great gave (A. D. 601.) similar directions to Mellitus, afterwards Bishop of London, with a view to the conversion of the British. Lib. 11. Ep. 76. (al. 9. Ep. 71). See Spelman. Conc. 1. p. 89. Ep. 23.

A. D. 395. St. Paulinus[1] complains of the same abuse. St. Augustine replied: "I have heard that it has been often prohibited, but "the place is far from the Bishop's abode[2]; and in so large a "city there is a multitude of carnal persons, especially of "strangers, who resort daily thither." At that time, and long after, the Bishop of Rome lived at the palace of the Lateran[3], and the Vatican was without the city.

[1] S. Paul. [Poem. 26.] Natal. 9. sub fin. [v. 558, &c.]
[2] conversatione]
[3] Bk. 19. ch. 15. note r.]

St. Augustine, perceiving that all the people agreed to have this evil custom abolished, desired them to be present at the reading of lessons and singing of psalms at noon, which might be done instead of keeping their ordinary feasts. In the afternoon the congregation was still more numerous[4] than in the morning; lessons were read and psalms sung alternately, till the hour when the Bishop returned with his clergy, who obliged St. Augustine to speak again to the people. He was very unwilling, and wished this dangerous day at an end, but was forced to obey. He made a short discourse, to return thanks to GOD; and knowing that the heretics continued their usual feasts in their Basilicas, he failed not to enlarge on the contrast. Afterwards was performed the evening service, as was done every day; and the Bishop and his clergy having retired, a great many people stayed in the church, chanting prayers till night. St. Augustine wrote an account of this good success to his friend Alypius, Bishop of Thagaste.

[4] § 11.

XII. St. Austin, Bishop of Hippo.

St. Augustine taught both in public and private, opposing all the heresies, especially the Donatists and Manichees, either by his writings or extemporary[5] discourses[6]. The heretics as well as the Catholics pressed in crowds to hear him; and many brought writers in short-hand to preserve his dissertations. Every body spoke of him, and his reputation was spread into all parts, even to the Churches across the sea which greatly rejoiced at it. It was while he was Priest that he began to explain the Holy Scriptures. Thence we have the imperfect book upon Genesis[7], the two books upon the Sermon on the Mount[8], and the explanation of some propositions relating to the Epistle to the Romans[9]; for as he read this Epistle at Carthage, with his companions there, they had his answers to their questions taken down in writing. He explained also the Epistle to the Galatians[1],

[5] repentinis]
[6] Possid. Vit. c. 7.
[7] 1 Retract. c. 18.
[8] c. 19.
[9] c. 23.
[1] c. 24.

from the beginning to the end; and began to explain the Epistle to the Romans[1] in the same manner. He afterwards had a collection[2] made of his answers to various questions which he had treated since his return to Africa, which produced the Book of Eighty-three Questions. He wrote a book on the subject of Lying, with which he was dissatisfied, but could not hinder its being published. The Book against Adimantus[3], the Manichee, was also written at the same time. A. D. 395.

[1] c. 25.

[2] c. 26.

[3] Tom. 8. p. 111.]

The Bishop Valerius seeing his great reputation, began to fear that he might be taken from him to be advanced to some Bishopric[4]; which, indeed, had once happened, if he had not taken care to conceal him so closely, that he was not to be found by those that were in search of him. This redoubled the fears of Valerius; and finding himself disabled by age and infirmities, he wrote privately to the Bishop[5] of Carthage[6], earnestly desiring that St. Augustine might be ordained Bishop for the Church of Hippo, as his coadjutor[i] rather than his successor, and he obtained a favourable answer. Afterwards he entreated the Primate[k] of Numidia, who was Megalius[7], Bishop of Calama, to visit the Church of Hippo; whom, on his arrival, Valerius acquainted with his intentions, as well as the rest of the Bishops then present, and all the clergy and people of Hippo. Every one was agreeably surprised at this, and the people desired that it might be put in execution, expressing their zeal and earnestness by their acclamations. Megalius was the only person who scrupled to ordain him; having conceived some grudge against St. Augustine, on what account is not known, he wrote[8] that he had given a love-charm to a certain woman, with the consent of her husband, in order to gain her love; and this under pretence of a loaf of bread, which he had indeed sent as a eulogy and with no evil intention[9]. Megalius being pressed by the council to prove his assertion, and not being able to

[4] Possid. c. 8.

[5] primatem episcoporum]

[6] Infra, ch. 24.]

[7] Brevic. Collat. cum Donat. 3i diei. § 9.]

[8] Contr. Litt. Petil. 3. c. 16. [p. 307.]

[9] simpliciter et hilariter.]

[1] The fact of two Bishops in one city was extremely rare. It was unlawful, and allowed only in extraordinary cases, e. g. when by permitting it a schism could be healed, as at Antioch (supr. bk. 18. ch. 3), and in Africa (infra, bk. 22. ch. 29). When old age rendered any Bishop unable to perform his duties, the first example of which occurs A. D. 211, when Alexander became coadjutor to Narcissus at Jerusalem; so St. Gregory Nazianzen was his father's coadjutor, (supr. 18. ch. 3). See Bingham, 2. 13. 4. *Coepiscopus* was a name for such a coadjutor.

[k] See supra, bk. 18. ch. 25. note h.

A. D. 395. do it, asked pardon[1], and obtained it; and shewed himself so well satisfied of the innocence of St. Augustine, that he laid his hands on him.

[1] Contr. Crescon. 4. c. 64.

St. Augustine insisted[2], that he ought not to be ordained, contrary to the usage of the Church, during the life of his Bishop; but all assured him it was an usual thing, producing many instances both in the Churches of Africa and in those on the other side the sea: so that he was obliged to submit, and having no other excuse durst not persist in his refusal. He was accordingly ordained Bishop of Hippo, jointly[3] with Valerius, under the Consulship of Olybrius and Probinus, that is, in the year 395[4], in the month of December, a little before Christmas[5], having in November entered his forty-second year. He afterwards found that his ordination had been irregular, and that the Council of Nicæa had forbidden that a Bishop should be set over a Church which had another Bishop still living, but neither he nor Valerius were at that time acquainted with this rule[6]. It is to be found at the end of the eighth Canon of Nicæa[7], cursorily mentioned on occasion of the re-union with the Novatians. Thus it is possible, that St. Augustine and Valerius might have read this canon several times, without duly attending to these last words; as it happened to a learned Bishop[1] of our own time, who thought that this resolution of the Council of Nicæa was to be sought for in another place[8].

[2] Possid. c. 8.

[3] Ep. 31. al. 34. ad Paulin. § 4. [A.D. 396. incunt.]

[4] Prosper. Chron. an. 395. [Roncall. p. 641.]

[5] S. Aug. Serm. 339. al. 25. ex 50. Homil. c. 3. § 3. [tom. 5. p. 1309.] Vid. Not. Bened. ad Ep. 31.

[6] Ep. 213. al. 110. § 4.

[7] Conc. Nic. c. 8. Supr. bk. 11. ch. 22.

[8] M. God. vie de S. August. l. c. 33.

XIII. The Relics of St. Nazarius and St. Celsus.

St. Augustine writing to St. Paulinus[9], acquaints him with his promotion to the Episcopate[m]; and St. Paulinus sent[1] this welcome news to St. Augustine's old friend Romanianus, and at the same time a poem in elegiac verse[2] to his son Licentius, to exhort him not to leave so great a master, and to quit all worldly views. Soon after, St. Paulinus received[3] from St. Ambrose the relics of the holy Saints, Nazarius and Celsus, which he deposited in the church of St. Felix. St. Ambrose had found[4] their bodies in a garden without the city of Milan. Paulinus, his secretary, who was present, says[5]: "We saw in the sepul-

[9] S. Aug. Ep. 31.

[1] Ep. 7. al. 46. [ad Romanian. A. D. 396.]

[2] Ep. 8. al. 46.]

[3] Natal. 9. [v. 436. p. 638. scr. A. D. 402.]

[4] A. D. 386.]

[5] Vit. S. Ambr. § 32.

[1] Namely, Antoine Godeau, Bishop of Vence, died A. D. 1672.

[m] The wretched life of St. Augustine, while he was a Manichee, was of course no objection to his elevation to the Episcopate, because he had not then been purified by Baptism, (see bk. 18. ch. 5), "which, by its sanctification "cleansed from all crimes." Conc. Neocæs. c. 12. See Bingham, 4. 3. 10, 11.

" chre where the body of the martyr lay, his blood as fresh as A. D. 395.
" if it had been shed the same day; and his head, which had
" been cut off, so entire, with the hair and beard, that it
" looked as if it had been newly washed and interred: we
" also smelt an odour so fragrant, as to exceed the choicest
" perfumes." They gathered up[1] the blood with plaster[2] and linen; and this was the manner in which relics were transported: for they did not yet divide the bodies. Paulinus acknowledges, that he could not learn at what time Nazarius suffered martyrdom. His body was placed on a bier, and carried to the Basilica of the Apostles, near the Roman gate. St. Ambrose immediately returned to pray with his clergy in the same garden, where the body of St. Celsus lay. " We
" do not know," says Paulinus, " that he had ever prayed there
" before; but it was the sign that the body of a martyr was
" discovered, when the holy prelate went to pray at a place
" where he had not been before. We learned however from
" the keepers of this place, that their ancestors had left them
" injunctions never to leave it, so long as any of their family
" remained, for that great treasures were lodged there. The
" body of the martyr, St. Celsus, was also conveyed to the
" Basilica of the Apostles, whose relics had been deposited
" before[n] with great devotion. While St. Ambrose was
" preaching there on the subject, a certain person among the
" people, being troubled with an unclean spirit, began to cry
" out, that Ambrose tormented him: the holy Bishop turning
" towards him, said; ' Hold thy peace, thou evil spirit! it is
" ' not Ambrose that torments thee, but the faith of the
" ' Saints, and thy envy, in that thou seest men rise to the
" ' place, whence thou hast been cast down; Ambrose will
" ' not be puffed up.' At these words, the person possessed
" was silent, was thrown prostrate upon the ground, and
" made no more noise." It is pretended[3], that it has been since discovered that St. Nazarius and St. Celsus suffered in the persecution of Nero, and many churches have been honoured with their relics[o].

[1] S. Gaudent. Serm. 17. p. 90. tom. 9. Bibl. Patr. [ap. Patres Brix. Ecc. p. 339. Paullo post an. 397.]

[2] *gypso.* Vid. Aringhi Rom. Subterran. lib. 3. c. 22. p. 494. tom. 1.]

[3] Ennod. lib. 1. Carm. 18. [ap. Sirmond. Op. tom. 1. p. 1833. Ejusd. Ep. 14. lib. 2.]

[n] Some read, *pridie Apostolorum, i. e. where his Reliques were deposited on the Eve of St. Peter and St. Paul,* or the 28th of June.

[o] One consequence of the Revelation of the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection has been mentioned already (supra, bk. 18. ch. 2. note d), of another we have an instance in the chapter before us. It was believed that the bodies which had

A. D. 395. XIV. St. Gaudentius, Bishop of Brixia or Brescia.

St. Gaudentius[1] had a part of them, that is, of the blood gathered up with plaster, and was satisfied with having this

[1] S. Gaud. ubi supra.

been the temples of the HOLY GHOST, were not deserted by Him on the mere accident of death, and "it is this," says Pascal, "which renders the Reliques of "the Saints so worthy of veneration." (Pensées, ch. 11. § 12). It was also believed that the souls of the departed Saints were not altogether without interest in their bodies, which were to rise again. (Conc. Elib. A. D. 305. can. 34). This was the hallowing of a heathen notion. (Giesel. 1. § 97. note q). Hence prayer at their graves, and the other Church usages mentioned above. (Bk. 19. ch. 41. note b). In particular, "the Com- "munion with the Martyrs being as- "sociated with the presence of their "bodily remains, these were dug up "from the graves and preserved in the "churches, especially under the al- "tars." Ibid. § 97. Before, however, translations were practised, we find as early as the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, ("the Angel of the Church of Smyrna," Rev. 2. 8,) in A. D. 169, that the Christians gathered his Reliques (λείψανον), "more valuable than pre- "cious stones, more pure than tried "gold, and laid them up in a fitting "treasure house," that they might communicate over them. (Epist. Eccl. Smyrn. de Martyr. Polyc. Cotel. tom. 2, p. 202). The bodies of the Martyrs were buried; their blood, which was often found liquid in their graves, preserved on linen cloths or *gypsum*; and it was in this way that Reliques were sent to different Churches, for the bodies were not divided. (Vid. the text, and infr. ch. 22). By the Egyptians, indeed, the bodies of the Saints were sometimes embalmed and kept in their houses, but St. Anthony strongly condemned the practice. (Bingham, 23. 4. 8. Compare the case of Lucilla, who was an occasion of the Donatist schism. Optatus I. c. 40, quoted by Bingh. 2. 20. 14). The first instance of the translation of the bodies of Saints to the churches is given by St. Jerome, (Adv. Vigilant. script. A.D. 406. tom. 4. pars 2. p. 282,) who tells us that Constantius translated the bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy, (A. D. 359). Vigilantius, "with Eunomius, the author of this "heresy," (ibid. p. 284,) ridiculed (like the heathen, supr. bk. 19. ch. 31.) the respect paid to Reliques by the Catholics, whom they called *Cinerarii* and *Idololatræ*. (Ep. ejusd. 37. ad Ripar.) St. Jerome replied: "We worship (*co-* "*limus*) them not, we adore (*adoramus*) "them not, lest we serve the creature "rather than the Creator, Who is "Blessed for evermore. But we honour "(*honoramus*) the Reliques of the Mar- "tyrs, that Him, Whose Martyrs they "are, we may adore (*adoremus*)," according to St. Matt. 10. 40.

The bodies were placed especially under the altars, as we have seen above in the case of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius, (bk. 18. ch. 47. See, too, bk. 19. ch. 48.) Virtue was believed to proceed from the holy bodies, in accordance with St. Luke 8. 44. Acts 19. 12. (See supr. bk. 18. ch. 2. and 47. Infr. ch. 21.) Nor were the Old Testament Saints, since CHRIST "preached to the Spirits "in prison," (see Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Life of CHRIST, ad § 16,) neglected; Arcadius translated the bones of "Blessed "Samuel;" (S. Hier. adv. Vigil.) an action countenanced by 2 Kings 13. 21.

It became customary to complete the consecration of churches by depositing Reliques, (supra, bk. 18. ch. 47. note q.) This usage we find in Pope St. Gregory's direction to Mellitus, (supra, ch. 11. note h,) to deposit Reliques in the *fana* (supr. bk. 18. ch. 14. marg.) of the Britons, in order to convert them into churches.

St. Ambrose and St. Augustine (among many others) attest the reality of miracles wrought through Reliques, (bk. 18. ch. 47); while the latter also protests against the false Monks, who made a trade of pretended Reliques (infr. ch. 34). Abuses naturally arose, and these gave occasion to the Law of Theodosius, A. D. 386, forbidding the Exhumation or Sale of Martyrs, (supr. 19. ch. 48.)

Abuses, however, continued in the fifth and sixth centuries, and we consequently find the second Council of Saragoza requiring that Reliques should be subjected to the ordeal of fire. (A. D. 592. can. 2. Mans. tom. 10. p. 471.) Impostures, indeed, were numberless. See Glaber Radulphus 4. c. 3. A. D. 1045, quoted by Gieseler, vol. 2. § 36. Prohibitions were issued by Synod. Pictav. A. D. 1100. c. 12. Lateran. 11. (4. General.) A. D. 1215. c. 62. Conc. Burdegal. 3. A. D. 1255. c. 9. See Giesel. vol. 2. § 78.

testimony of their sufferings. He had some time before A. D. 395.
been ordained Bishop of Brescia by St. Ambrose, upon the death of St. Philastrius. He was elected in his absence, being gone to Jerusalem; and the people bound themselves by an oath to have no other Bishop; this obliged St. Ambrose, and the Bishops of the province, to write to him by the deputies that were sent by the people, requiring him to return upon pain of disobedience and excommunication, even by the Eastern Bishops. Upon this he returned, and though he pleaded his youth and incapacity, he was, notwithstanding his opposition, ordained Bishop. These particulars we learn from a sermon preached by himself at his ordination[1]. In another sermon[2] he says, that in his journey to Jerusalem, he went into Cappadocia, and, being at Cæsarea, found some women, who were sisters, devoted to the service of GOD, and who had the government of a monastery of holy Virgins. They were nieces to St. Basil, from whom they had formerly received some relics of the Forty Martyrs[p], which they gave to St. Gaudentius, protesting that they had always begged of GOD to leave this precious treasure to some person who would honour them as much as they had done. St. Gaudentius brought these relics into Italy, and placed them in his church[3].

[1] S. Gaud. Serm. 16. [p. 333.]
[2] Serm. 17. p. 90. D. [p. 340.]
[3] hodie proponimus percolendas. p. 341.]

We have seventeen of his sermons, of which the first ten were preached to the newly-baptized during Easter week; and St. Gaudentius afterwards committed them to writing, at the request of Benevolus, who was so weakened by a severe fit of sickness that he could not be present. This Benevolus is the same that was disgraced by the Empress Justina, for refusing to draw up an edict in favour of the Arians[4]. He had retired to Brescia, his native place, and was the greatest ornament of that Church[5]. In the second sermon which he made for the Neophytes, at their coming

[4] Supra, bk. 18. ch. 43.
[5] S. Gaud. Præf.

The words of respect refused by St. Jerome, with respect to Reliques, are used of them by Conc. Rom. A. D. 993. (Harduin. 6. p. 727. D.) in an *honorary and relative* sense, (see supra, bk. 19. ch. 31. note k.); and hence the Council of Trent, on the authority of Conc. Nicæn. II. c. 7. condemns those who deny *veneration and honour* to Holy Reliques, (Sess. 25. de Invoc. &c. A. D. 1563).

[p] Supra, bk. 10. ch. 22. These were forty Christian soldiers, who suffered martyrdom at Sebaste during the persecution of Licinius, about A. D. 320. There is an Oration by St. Basil to their honour. Hom. 19. in xl. Mart. tom. 2. p. 149.

A. D. 395. out of the fonts, St. Gaudentius explains to them the mysteries which he could not explain in presence of the Cate-
[1 p. 239.] chumens, and said[1] to them; "In the shadow of the legal "Passover not one but many lambs were sacrificed, in every "house one; for one alone could not be sufficient for all; "but in the Truth with which we are now enlightened, One "hath died for all; and is the Same Which in every house
[2mysterio] "of the Churches in the Sacrament[2] of bread and wine, "being immolated, refresheth; being believed on, giveth life; "being consecrated, sanctifieth them who consecrate. This "is the Flesh of the Lamb; this is His Blood." And afterwards; "The same Creator and Lord of nature, Who "bringeth bread out of the ground, maketh of bread again "[for He both can and hath promised,] His own Body: and "He Who of water made wine, maketh of wine His own "Blood."

[3 p. 253.] In these sermons he exhorts[3] the Neophytes to lead henceforth a truly Christian life, and to renounce idolatry in all
[4 suballigaturæ] its parts, its enchantments, amulets[4], auguries, lots, observation of dreams, and funeral festivities. "On the contrary,"
[5 Serm. 4. sub fin. [p. 254.]] says he[5], "be sober, take heed to assemble together at "church, give yourselves watchfully, with us, to prayer, "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. Be these the employ-
[6 Serm. 8. p. 59. D. [271-272.]] "ments of your leisure." He advises[6] *married persons to perfect continence, declaring however that it is permitted them to use the married state.* He recommends them to avoid drunkenness, and dissolute feastings accompanied with dancings and instruments of music. "Wretched are those "houses," says he, "that differ in nothing from theatres: let "the house of the Christian be free from any thing which is
[7 a choro diaboli] "found in the train[7] of the devil; let courtesy and hospitality "be practised in it, but let it be always sanctified by con-"stant prayer, psalms, and spiritual songs. Let the Word "of GOD, and the sign of CHRIST, be in your hearts, in your "mouths, on your forehead, at table, in the bath, in your "going out, and in your coming in, in joy and in sorrow." To these ten sermons at the time of Easter, St. Gaudentius
[8 Præfat. [p. 220.]] added four[8] on different subjects out of the Gospel, and a fifth on the Maccabees, which Benevolus had heard, but nevertheless requested of him.

A. D. 396.

XV. St. Ambrose saves certain condemned criminals.

The Emperor Honorius being Consul in the year 396, entertained the people at Milan with a public show of some African wild beasts. A criminal named Cresconius having taken sanctuary in the church, the people assembled in the amphitheatre obtained leave of Stilicho to force him out with a band of soldiers; for Stilicho had the sole authority during the minority of the Emperor. Cresconius fled[1], to the altar, and St. Ambrose and the Clergy who were present, gathered round to defend him; but the soldiers, who were numerous, and their officers, Arians, prevailed. They seized on Cresconius, and carried him off in triumph to the amphitheatre. Those who were in the church were much troubled; and St. Ambrose continued a long time weeping, and prostrate before the altar; but when the soldiers had returned, and made their report, two leopards that were let loose, leaped suddenly into the place where those who had triumphed over the Church were seated, and left them severely wounded. Stilicho was much moved at this, and repented of the violence he had done to the Church. He made satisfaction to St. Ambrose by penance for many days, and set Cresconius at liberty; but as he was guilty of very great crimes, he sent him into banishment, from which, however, he was soon after recalled.

[1] Paulin. Vit. S. Amb. § 34.

In the time of the Emperor Gratian, St. Ambrose had saved the life of another condemned person[2]. He was a pagan, who had held the greatest stations, and had spoken contemptuously of Gratian, saying, that he was unworthy of his father; and being accused of this, was condemned to die. As they were carrying him to execution, St. Ambrose[q] went to the palace, to petition for his pardon; but the enemies of the criminal had contrived to amuse the Emperor with the combats of beasts in his palace, so that none of those who attended at the gate would inform the Emperor of his being there, pretending that he came at an improper time. He therefore retired; but went unperceived to the door through which the beasts were brought in, and entered with those that led them; nor did he leave the Emperor till he had obtained pardon for the criminal.

[2] Soz. 7. 24.

[q] On the custom of Bishops interceding for criminals, see Bingham, bk. 2. ch. 8. § 1, 2, 3.

A. D. 396. St. Ambrose was no less zealous in securing any deposits committed in trust to the Church[1]; and he frequently opposed the royal orders for taking them away[2]. A certain person having procured a rescript from the Emperor to have something delivered to him, that had been deposited by a widow in the church of Pavia, the clergy at length forbore to make any farther resistance; the magistrates and officers charged with the execution of the rescript, insisted that the order was not to be opposed; and the Emperor's agent[r] pressed it. But the Bishop of Pavia, by the advice of St. Ambrose, so well secured[3] the entrance into the place where the thing was deposited, that they could not get it away, but were contented with an acknowledgment in writing[4] that it was in his hands, by virtue of which, and a new order from the Emperor, they returned again. The Bishop still refused; he caused the history of Heliodorus[5] to be read, who was so severely punished for attempting to take away what had been for sacred purposes deposited in the temple; and at last, with much difficulty, he brought the Emperor to a better mind.

[1] Offic. 2. c. 29. § 150
[2] fors. A. D. 386, at the time of the persecution by Justina. supr. 18. ch. 47.]
[3] obsedit conclavia]
[4] sub chirographo]
[5] 2 Macc. 3. 24, &c.

XVI. Remarkable decisions of St. Ambrose.

A Bishop named Marcellus, had a sister who was a widow, and a brother called Lætus[6]. Marcellus gave his sister some land that belonged to him, on condition, that at her death, she should leave it to the poor, and to the Church of which he was Bishop. Lætus disputed this grant, which occasioned a considerable law-suit between them. After the cause had been pending a long time, with great expense, and great animosities and reproaches on both sides, they desired it might be determined by St. Ambrose[7], and procured it to be referred to him by the Prætorian Præfect. St. Ambrose would not judge according to the strictness of the law, but as an arbitrator to accommodate the difference, and reconcile the parties. He accordingly brought them to this agreement; that Lætus[8] should have the land, on condition, that he paid his sister annually, during her life, a certain quantity of corn, wine, and oil, and that on her death, Lætus should be liable to no demand, either in behalf of the Bishop Marcellus or the Church. St. Ambrose affirmed that, by this

[6] Ep. S. Ambr. 82. al. 49. [ad Marcell.]
[7] § 2.
[8] § 8.

[r] See bk. 19. ch. 38. note z.

decision, all parties[1] had gained their cause: Lætus, because he was made master of the land; his sister, by being made sure of an income, without a law-suit, without trouble, or hazard of bad years; and Marcellus, because he had contented both his brother and sister, and because this expedient had been put in practice according to his own proposal. The Church only seemed to be the loser; but St. Ambrose maintained that the Church[2] was a sufficient gainer by the charity which was preserved, by the virtues of its Bishop, and the good example given by him on this occasion. A. D. 396.

[1] § 9.

[2] § 10.

There was a virgin at Verona named Indicia, whom Zeno Bishop of that city had consecrated to GOD, after a probation of several years[3]. She had lived at Rome with St. Marcellina[4], in the house of St. Ambrose, and had gained a great esteem for her virtue. At her return to Verona, she dwelt with her sister, who was married to one Maximus; always leading so retired a life, that some took offence because she did not return the visits of their wives[5]. A report was spread that Indicia had been delivered of a child, and had murdered it[6]. Maximus, her brother-in-law, applying to Syagrius, then Bishop of Verona, became the informer; and was so earnest with the Bishop, that he cited the witnesses to the church. Three women who were said to be the authors of this report did not appear, but only two men who said that they heard the story from these women; and who were themselves men of an ill character. However, upon this evidence, the Bishop Syagrius, without hearing Indicia's defence, or advising with his brethren the other Bishops, ordered that she should be examined by matrons.

[3] Ep. 5. al. 46. ad Syagr. [A.D. 380.] § 1.

[4] § 21.

[5] § 16.

[6] § 19.

She complained to St. Ambrose, and Maximus too came to Milan to support the sentence of Syagrius. St. Ambrose, to proceed regularly, required that some person should appear as accuser[7]; but Maximus would not declare himself to be so, though he acted as such in every respect. The three women[8] whom they pretended to be their chief witnesses, and whose names were Mercuria, Lea, and Theodyle, had disappeared, though they had been brought to Milan. The two men, named Renatus and Leontius, who had made their depositions on the report of these women, were examined by St. Ambrose, but did not agree[9] in their testimony. St. Am-

[7] § 4.

[8] § 20.

[9] § 19.

A. D. 396. brose convened the Bishops to decide the case. There was no accuser, nor sufficient evidence against Indicia; and be-
[1] § 21,22,23. sides, there were several witnesses[1] to her good fame, viz. her nurse, who was a trustworthy person and a free woman, St. Marcellina, sister to St. Ambrose, and the virgin Paterna, with whom she had lived at Milan, during the prosecution.

[2] § 24. The sentence of the Bishops[2] was, that Indicia had done nothing contrary to her profession; that Leontius and Renatus should be excommunicated, till they made satisfaction to the Church by penance; and that Maximus should not be admitted to communion unless he made amends for his error. St. Ambrose announced this judgment to Syagrius,
[3] Epist. 5. by a letter[3] in very strong and severe terms, representing to
[4] § 2. him his fault[4] in sentencing a virgin to be examined without any accuser or witnesses; telling him, that this of itself is a
[5] § 5, 6, &c. severe punishment to a virgin[5]; and besides, that the proof thereby is very uncertain, according to the opinion of the
[6] § 8. most learned physicians[6]; which he confirms by a late example. He seems inclined wholly to lay aside such indecent proofs. Syagrius excused himself, by alleging that unless he required this scrutiny certain persons had threatened to
[7] § 15. withdraw from his communion[7]. Upon which St. Ambrose reproaches him with weakness, in suffering private persons to give laws to Bishops, and to prescribe to them the forms of their judicial decisions.

XVII. Care of St. Ambrose for his Clergy. *It may be judged what care St. Ambrose took in the choice of his Clergy, by the instances which he himself relates.* One of his friends[8] was very assiduous in paying his respects
[8] Off. 1. c. 18. § 72. to him, in hopes of obtaining a position among the Clergy, but St. Ambrose would never admit him, for no other reason, but that there was some great impropriety in his carriage. Another, who was already one of the Clergy, having committed a fault, was interdicted for some time, and when he was restored, St. Ambrose forbade him to walk before him, because there was something particular in his gait that was offensive to him. For the holy Bishop was persuaded, that the irregular motions of the body proceeded from the irregularity of the mind. The event shewed that he was not mistaken in either of them; the first deserted the Faith in the time of the Arian persecution; and the other also, be-

cause he would not submit to the judgment of the Bishops in a case where his interest was concerned, renounced the Catholic religion. He relates these two instances in the treatise *On Offices* or *Duties*, which he composed for the instruction of his Clergy, in imitation of Cicero, and of the Greeks, whom Cicero followed in his book on the same subject[1]. St. Ambrose chose out the best of their morality, confirming it by the authority of the Scripture, and improving it by evangelical maxims. He forbids[2] the Clergy to meddle with business or traffic; wishing them to be contented with their small patrimony, or if they had none, with their salaries[3]. Some grew weary[4] of the service of the Church, by reason of the difficulties which they met with. "To what purpose," said they[5], "should we continue in the Clergy, expose our- "selves to ill usage, and undergo such labours, when we "might live on our own fortunes, or make them in some "other way?" To these he answers, that they are not made Clerks only to get their maintenance, but that they may merit[6] in the sight of GOD after this life. And this is the subject of one of his letters. A. D. 396.

[1 viz. Panetius and Hecato.]

[2 Offic. 1. c. 36. § 184.

[3 See Infra. Conc. Carth. 4. ch. 33.]

[4 Ep. 81. ad Cleric.

[5 § 2.

[6 Divinam sibi post mortem subsidium locet.]

There is another letter[7] to Constantius, then newly ordained a Bishop in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, who seems to have been chosen from among his Clergy, since he calls him his son[8]. This contains rules for his conduct, particularly for his instructions to the people. He commends to him the Church of Cornelii Forum[9], which is supposed to be Imola, which was vacant, and near him; begging him to visit it often, till a Bishop should be ordained; "for," says he, "my "employments in Lent, which now draws near, will not per- "mit me to go so far." There is a letter[1] also to another new Bishop[2], called Vigilius, who had applied for his advice. He recommends to him in particular, to exhort his people to do justice to their hired servants, to avoid usury, and to practise hospitality; but, above all, to prevent marriages with infidels.

[7 Ep. 2. al. 19.

[8 § 27.

[9 ibid.

[1 Ep. 19. al. 24. [A. D. 385.]

[2 fors. of Trent.]

Many of the disciples of St. Ambrose had the government of Churches, which they discharged with great holiness. In the first rank we may place St. Augustine; next, his friend Alypius, and St. Paulinus of Nola. Among his Clergy, Venerius and Felix are eminent, who had been his Deacons:

A. D. 396. Venerius was Bishop of Milan, and Felix of Bologna, and they
[1] Martyrol. Rom. 4to. Dec. et 4to. Maii. are both reckoned in the number of the saints[1]. Theodulus[2], who had been secretary to St. Ambrose, was Bishop of
[2] Paul. vit. § 35. Modena. St. Ambrose laid his hands upon St. Gaudentius of Brescia, as has been related, St. Felix of Comum, and St. Honoratus of Vercellæ. We see by his letters the esteem
[3] Ep. 3, 4. [al. 59, 60. A. D. 380.] which he had for St. Felix, and the strict friendship that there was between them[3].

XVIII. His letter to the Church of Vercellæ. The ordination of St. Honoratus was one of the last acts of St. Ambrose. After the death of Limenius, Bishop of Vercellæ, who had been present at the Council of Aquileia[4], the see remained long vacant, by reason of the divisions in the Church; and St. Ambrose was blamed, because, being Metropolitan, it was thought incumbent upon him to put a
[4] Supra bk. 18. ch. 10.
[5] Not. in Ep. 63. al. 25. stop to the disorders[5]. This led him to write a long letter[6] to them, which begins thus: "I am extremely afflicted that your
[6] Ep. 63. al. 25. [A.D. 396.] "Church has yet no Bishop, and that she only, of all the "Churches in Liguria, Æmilia, Venetia, and the neighbour-"ing provinces, should be without one, she from whom the "other Churches were wont to be supplied; and (which I feel "still a greater shame) that it is I who am blamed, whereas "your animosities are the only obstacle. For so long as "these divisions are among you, what can we decree, or what "choice can you make? Who will be able, seeing you so "much at variance, to accept an office, which can hardly be "supported in the greatest unanimity? Are these the in-"structions of that holy Confessor? Are you the children "of those, who preferred the holy Eusebius, a stranger, and "wholly unknown, before their own countrymen[s]?"

[7] § 2, 68, 69, 70, 71. He afterwards makes several digressions in praise[7] of St. Eusebius of Vercellæ. He exhorts them to beware of two
[8] § 7, 8, 9. apostate Monks, Sarmatio[8] and Barbatianus, who had lived some time in the monastery at Milan; but being unable to bear the regularity, the silence, the fasts, and confinement; and not having profited by the charitable advice of St. Ambrose, they left it, and when they would have returned, were refused admittance. Being exasperated at this refusal, they

[s] It was usually the custom to choose the Bishop from the Clergy of the Church over which he was to preside. See Bingham, bk. 2. ch. 10. § 2, 3. and infra, ch. 24.

spread a pernicious doctrine, much like that of Jovinian[1], namely, that abstinence and fasting, virginity and continence, were of no value. St. Ambrose treats them as Epicureans, and fully confutes them, by authorities and examples from Scripture. He afterwards admonishes the faithful of Vercellæ[2] to lay aside all malice and slander[2], the spirit of division[3], and desire of revenge[4]; to bear with one another, and not to be puffed up on account of riches[5]; but to exercise hospitality and charity, and the reciprocal duties of husband[6] and wife, of mothers and children, masters and slaves. He shews them what ought to be the qualifications of a Bishop, particularly in the Church of Vercellæ[7], where the monastic and clerical life were joined together[t], [for the first time in the West, by the holy Eusebius.] St. Ambrose was obliged to go[8] in person to Vercellæ, a few months before his death, to reconcile their differences; and by his care, they chose Honoratus for their Bishop, a man of great merit, whom the Church reckons among the saints[9].

A. D. 396.

[1 Supr. bk. 19. ch. 19, 42.]

[2] § 43.

[3] § 52.

[4] § 83.

[5] § 86.

[6] § 107, &c.

[7] § 66.

[8] Vit. S. Gaudent. Novariens. ap. Bolland. Feb. 3. [Vid. Jan. 22. tom. 1. p. 419, 420.]

[9] Martyrol. R. 28. Oct.

XIX. Reputation of St. Ambrose.

The reputation of St. Ambrose had reached the most distant countries, and had some years before drawn to Milan two Persians of the greatest authority and wisdom in that nation, who came furnished with many questions, to make trial of his wisdom[1]. They discoursed with him by the help of an interpreter, from the first hour of the day to the third of the night; that is, from six in the morning till nine at night, and departed full of admiration. To shew that the only design of their journey was to have a personal knowledge of St. Ambrose, the next day, as soon as they had taken leave of the Emperor, they went to Rome, to see the power and grandeur of Probus, the Præfect[u], and then returned home. Count Arbogastes[2] being at table with some of the Kings of the Franks, with whom he was treating about a peace, was asked by them if he knew St. Ambrose: "I do,"

[1] Paulin. Vit. § 25.

[2] Ibid. § 30.

[t] "It happened sometimes that a "Bishop and all his Clergy chose an "ascetic way of living. St. Ambrose "seems to say that Eusebius Vercel- "lensis was the first that brought in "this way of living into the Western "Church. For before his time the "Monastic life was not known in cities, "but he taught his Clergy to live in "the city after the rules of Monks in "the wilderness. Which must be un- "derstood chiefly, I conceive, of their "austerities and renouncing their pro- "perty, and having all things in com- "mon." So St. Augustine, supr. bk. 19. ch. 38. See Bingh. bk. 7. c. 2. § 8.

[u] See supr. bk. 19. ch. 60. text to note a.

A. D. 396. said he, "and am one of his friends, and frequently eat with "him." "This then is the reason, Count," replied the Frank king, "that you are victorious; you are the friend of a man, "who says to the sun, 'Stand thou still,' and it standeth." Paulinus says he learned these particulars from a young man who was cupbearer to Count Arbogastes at this entertainment. A little before the death of St. Ambrose[1], a queen of the Marcomanni, named Fritigil, having heard of his fame from a certain Christian that came from Italy, believed in CHRIST, and sent ambassadors with presents for the Church of Milan, entreating St. Ambrose to instruct her by writing, in what she was to believe. He sent her an excellent letter in form of a catechism, in which he likewise exhorts her to persuade her husband to observe the peace with the Romans. The Queen having received this letter, prevailed with the King to surrender himself and his people to the Romans, and went herself to Milan; but, to her sorrow, did not find St. Ambrose alive. The letter which he wrote to this Queen is not extant.

[1] Ibid. § 36.

XX. Miracles of St. Ambrose.

One of the slaves of Count Stilicho, having been dispossessed of an evil spirit[x] that tormented him, dwelt[y] in the Basilica Ambrosiana; and his master, who was attached to him, commended him to St. Ambrose. It was discovered that he had counterfeited grants for the office of a Tribune, so that some persons were arrested for going to exercise that office, by virtue of these letters. Stilicho, at the request of St. Ambrose, set at liberty those who had been thus imposed on, but he did not punish his slave, and only complained of him to the holy Bishop. This man having quitted the Basilica, St. Ambrose gave orders to have him searched for, and brought to him. Having examined and convicted him of the crime, he said, "He must be delivered *unto Satan for the "destruction of the flesh*[2], that none hereafter may dare to "attempt the like." At the same instant, and even before the holy Bishop had done speaking, the unclean spirit seized on him, and began to tear him; "at which," says Paulinus, "we were all much terrified;" and he adds, "We saw in those

[2] 1 Cor. 5. 5.

[x] See Bingham, bk. 3. ch. 4. § 6, 7. and Conc. Carth. 4. can. 91. infr. ch. 33.

[y] For the nature of the early Basilicas, see supra, bk. 18. ch. 21. note d.

" days many dispossessed at his command, and by the laying A. D. 396.
" on of his hands."

Nicentius[1], formerly a tribune and notary, had such pains [1] Ibid. § 44.
in his feet, that he was hardly ever able to go abroad. Once when he drew near the Altar to receive the Holy Sacrament, St. Ambrose by chance trod upon his foot, at which he cried out; but he said to him, " Go, henceforth thou shalt be " healed." And accordingly at the time of this saintly Bishop's death, he declared with tears, that he had never felt any pain from that day.

A few days[2] before St. Ambrose was confined to his bed, [2] Ibid. § 42.
as he was dictating the explanation of the forty-third[3] Psalm, [3] Ps. 44. Heb.]
Paulinus, who wrote for him, beheld, on a sudden, a flame in the shape of a small shield, which covered his head, and by degrees entered into his mouth. His countenance became white as the snow, and then returned to its usual appearance. " I was so terrified," adds Paulinus, " that I remained with- " out motion, and could not write what he dictated till the " vision was over. He was then repeating a passage of Scrip- " ture, which I well remember; and on that day he left off " both writing and dictating; he could not finish the Psalm " he was explaining. I immediately related what I had seen " to the deacon Castus, under whose government I was; and " he shewed me from the Acts of the Apostles, that I had " seen the HOLY GHOST descend upon the holy Bishop." We have this exposition of St. Ambrose upon the forty-third Psalm, which does in fact end at the twenty-third verse; and nothing is said on the two last. He must already have found himself unwell; for Paulinus[4] assures us, that when he was [4] § 38.
in health, he never spared himself the trouble of writing his books with his own hand. And St. Ambrose[5] himself says, that [5] Ep. 47. al. 65. ad Sab.
he did not always dictate, especially in the night-time, that he might not incommode any one, might consider better what he wrote, and make his style more correct.

Paulinus adds, " He took great care of all the Churches[6]. [6] Paul. § 38.
" He was constant at prayer day and night; he slept little, " and fasted every day, except on the Sabbath and Sunday " [and the festivals of the most celebrated martyrs], on " which days only, he dined." At Milan, it was not the custom to fast on Saturdays, even in Lent; when, however, he

A. D. 396. was at Rome, or in any other place, where it was usual to fast on the Sabbath, he did the same as the rest; making it a rule to observe in this respect the custom of the place where he happened to be[1]. He sometimes entertained the greatest men of the empire, the Consuls and the Præfects[2], who considered it an honour, as we see in the case of Arbogastes[3] and Vincentius, Præfect of Gaul. But he never went out to eat with any one, though invited, all the while he was at Milan. It was also a maxim[4] with him, never to be concerned in any marriage, nor to procure a place at court for any person, lest he should make himself answerable for the consequences.

[1] S. Aug. Ep. 36. al. 86. ad Casul. in fin.
[2] Sulp. Sev. Dial. l. c. 17.[25. tom. 1. p. 94.]
[3] Paul. Vit. § 30.
[4] Possid. Vit. S. Aug. c. 27. [p. 276. A.]

XXI. Death of St. Ambrose. [A.D. 397.]

After having ordained a Bishop of Pavia, he was taken ill, and was confined to his bed a long time; on which Count Stilicho said, that the death of so great a man threatened Italy with ruin. He therefore sent[5] for some of the most considerable persons of Milan, whom he knew to be most beloved by the holy Bishop, and obliged them, partly by entreaties and partly by menaces, to go and press him to beg of GOD to prolong his life. As they stood about his bed, and entreated him with tears to comply with their request, he answered: "I have not lived with you so as to be ashamed "to live, neither am I afraid to die, for we have a good "Master." He lay[6] in a gallery[7], at the end of which were four deacons, Castus, Polemius, Venerius, and Felix, discoursing together who *should succeed him in the Bishopric.* They spoke so low, *that they could hardly* hear each other. They named Simplician, and St. Ambrose, though at that distance, approving their choice, as if he had been present at their conversation, cried out three times, "An old man, but "a good one." They were so alarmed at hearing him speak thus, that they fled out of the place. Simplician did in fact succeed him, and after him Venerius. Once as St. Ambrose was praying (in the same place) he beheld[8] the LORD JESUS coming towards him and smiling upon him. This he told Bassianus[9], Bishop of Lodi, who was praying with him, and by whom Paulinus says he was himself informed. St. Ambrose died a few days after. He continued in prayer from the eleventh hour of the day, that is, from five in the afternoon till the time that he expired, which was soon after midnight. He prayed with his hands extended in form of a cross, moving

[5] Paul. Vit. § 44.
[6] § 46.
[7] porticus]
[8] c. 47.
[9] Supr. bk. 18. ch. 10.]

his lips, but what he said could not be collected. Honoratus A. D. 397.
Bishop of Vercellæ, having lain down to take a little rest in an upper part of the house, heard a voice calling him three times by name, and saying, "Rise quickly, he is ready to "depart." He went down, and gave the Saint the Body of the LORD, which having received and swallowed, he gave up the ghost[1]. This happened on the night before Holy Saturday, the fourth of April[2], A. D. 397, in the Consulship of Cæsarius and Atticus[3]. St. Ambrose was at least fifty-seven years old, and had been Bishop twenty-two years and four months.

[1 bonum Viaticum secum ferens.]
[2 Martyrol. Rom.
[3 Pagi. an. 397. § 6.

At the same hour[4], which was before day-break, his body was borne to the Great Church, where it remained the following night, which was Easter-eve. Many children who were baptized that night, saw him as they came out of the fonts; some said he was seated on his episcopal throne in the church; others, that he was walking, and pointed with their finger to shew him to their parents, but they [because *they* had not cleansed eyes] could not see him. Many, however, asserted that they had seen a star over his body. On Easter Sunday, as soon as it was light, after the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, they took up his body to carry it to the Basilica Ambrosiana, where it was interred. Here a number of unholy spirits expressed their rage by dreadful cries; and many such cries to his glory were heard, in different provinces, and for many years. The people threw their handkerchiefs[5] that they might touch his body; for there was at his funeral an immense number of all ages, sexes, and conditions, not only of Christians, but also of Jews and Pagans, but the newly baptized shone pre-eminently, and took precedence of all. On the same day that he died, he appeared in the East to certain holy persons, praying with them, and laying his hands upon them. This was known, some time after, at Milan, by a letter directed to him as though alive, and dated on the day of his death[6]. It was received by Simplician his successor, and preserved with great care. St. Ambrose appeared also[7] at Florence to some, whom he had promised to visit often, at their earnest desire. He was frequently seen praying before the altar of the Ambrosian Basilica, which he had built in that city. Paulinus

[4 Paul. § 48.
[5 oraria vel semicinctia]
[6 § 49.
[7 § 50.

A. D. 397. relates this on the testimony of St. Zenobius, Bishop of Florence, in the Life of St. Ambrose which he wrote some years after, at the desire of St. Augustine[1], either from what he knew himself as an eye-witness, or had heard from the mouth of St. Marcellina, St. Ambrose's sister, or from other persons of undoubted credit.

[1] § 1, 56.

XXII. The Martyrs of Anaunia.

St. Simplician had not been long Bishop, before he received a letter[2] from Vigilius, Bishop of Trent, containing an account of the martyrdom of three Ecclesiastics, whom the barbarians of the neighbouring mountains had put to death, namely, Sisinnius a Deacon, Martyrius a Reader, and Alexander, a door-keeper. Sisinnius[3] was a Greek or Cappadocian, of a noble family, and of great age. He was the first that preached the Gospel to these barbarians, and notwithstanding his poverty, built a church among them at his own expense. Martyrius[4] having quitted his military profession, and the society of his relations, received baptism, and was afterwards ordained Reader, and from him first, these barbarians heard sung the praises of GOD. He was continually intent on spiritual works, and worn with fasting. Alexander was his brother. They all three observed continence. The place where Sisinnius preached the Gospel, was called Anagnia or Anaunia, twenty-five stades, or three miles from Trent, in the defiles of the mountains. They long endured the insults of the barbarians, and at length suffered martyrdom on the following occasion. The Pagans, at the latter end of May, made their profane processions[5] about their lands, pretending to purify them and obtain the blessing of their gods upon their seed. They wore chaplets, sang hymns, and led in procession the victims they intended to sacrifice. When they attempted also to force one of the newly converted Christians to furnish victims, they were opposed by Sisinnius, who was dangerously wounded. The next morning as soon as it was day, the barbarians, armed with clubs, hatchets, and the like instruments, came on a sudden to the church, where they found certain Clerks[6] chaunting the morning hymn: they pillaged and polluted every place, profaned the Holy Mysteries, and pulled down the church. The Deacon Sisinnius was confined to his bed, in consequence of his wounds; they pressed him again to consent to their sacrifices, struck him

[2] Ap. Ruinart. Acta Mart. Sincer. p. 684. [609.]

[3] p. 690. [614.].

[4] p. 609.]

[5] Vid. Baron. Annal. A. D. 400. tom. 5. p. 101.

[6] Levitis]

on the head with the trumpet, which they sounded in their profane ceremonies, and killed him with their hatchets. Martyrius was with him, dressing his wounds, and giving him a draught of water to refresh him, as he was drawing towards his departure. He retreated to a garden adjoining the church, and was discovered by a maid to whom the garden belonged. The barbarians having taken him, wounded him in the head, and pierced him with staves sharpened at the end; as they were leading him to the idol, he expired. The Pagans sought diligently for Alexander, who was well known, having always kept the door of the church. They took him in his house, and tied him between the bodies of the other two Martyrs. They fastened a bell to the neck of St. Sisinnius, like that which is hung on the neck of beasts; and as they insulted the body upbraided CHRIST with not avenging him. Alexander was tied alive by the feet between the two dead bodies; and in this manner they dragged him over rugged ways to the temple of Saturn, where they raised a large pile with the timber of the church they had pulled down. There they burnt the two bodies before him, bidding him sacrifice, if he would escape being cast into the fire. He refused with constancy and he suffered. A great number of Christians were present at the sight; but the Pagans were satisfied with reviling them. These three Saints suffered martyrdom on Friday[1] the twenty-ninth of May, and consequently A.D. 397, in which year the Dominical or Sunday letter is D. A. D. 397. [1 p. 615.]

The murderers of the Martyrs were taken; and they would have been brought to justice, had not the Christians petitioned the Emperor for their pardon, who readily granted it[2], that he might not dishonour the Martyrs' death. Their relics were brought to Milan, and it is probably with them that St. Vigilius sent the letter to St. Simplician which is now extant. At the same time there was at Milan a blind man[3], who came from the coast of Dalmatia, and recovered his sight by touching the chest in which the relics were laid. He affirmed, that in the night he had seen, in a vision, a vessel draw near the shore in which was a number of persons clad in white; that, as they landed, he enquired of one of them who they were; and was told, that they were Ambrose and his com-

[2] S. Aug. Ep. 139. al. 158. ad Marcel. § 2. [tom. 2. p. 420.]

[3] Paulin. § 52.

A. D. 397. pany. Upon hearing this name, he besought the Saint to restore his sight. The Saint answered; "Go to Milan, and "meet my brethren," mentioning the day on which they were to arrive, "and thou shalt recover thy sight." Then, though he had never been at Milan, he went straight thither by the direct road.

St. Vigilius of Trent wrote also some time after a letter[1] to St. John Chrysostom, then Bishop of Constantinople, on the subject of these Martyrs, to accompany the relics which Count James carried into the East. St. Vigilius[2] was himself martyred by these barbarians, who stoned him on the sixth of the calends of July, in the Consulship of Stilicho. It is supposed, that this was his first Consulship, and consequently that it happened A.D. 400, on the 26th of June. St. Gaudentius of Brixia also received relics of these Martyrs of Anaunia, as he testifies in a sermon[3] preached on the feast of the Forty Martyrs[4]. Besides these Forty, he reckons ten other Martyrs whose relics were preserved in his Church; namely, those of St. John Baptist, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Luke, St. Gervasius, St. Protasius, St. Nazarius, St. Sisinnius, St. Martyrius, and St. Alexander, the last of whom were martyred, he says, not long before, at a place called the Altar of Agathinus[5].

[1] Bolland. 29. Mai. et Ruinart. p. 686 [610, 611.]
[2] Usuard. Martyr. [Jun. 26.] Fortunat. l. Carm. c. 2.
[3] Homil. 17. [p. 336, &c. Die Dedicationis Basilicæ Concilii Sanctorum.]
[4] Supra, ch. 14. note p.]
[5] omittitur in Edit. noviss. et leg. *in Anaunia.*]

XXIII. Labours of St. Austin.

St. Simplician being Bishop of Milan, wrote an affectionate letter to St. Augustine, acquainting him that he had read his books, urging him to go on writing, and proposing different questions from the Scripture. St. Augustine answered him in two[6] books which he sent, submitting them to his censure[7], for he always respected him as his master[8]. This was the first[9] work that he composed after his promotion to his Bishopric. He wrote about the same time his book on[1] *the Christian Contest,* in a plain and simple style, for such as were not well acquainted with the Latin language. He speaks there of the manner of warring against the devil, by warring against our passions, and he refutes the Manichees. This also he does more openly in his[2] book *Against the Epistle of Manes,* which they called the *Epistle of the Foundation,* and which contained all the essentials of their doctrine. He argues only against the first part, of which he cites the text, and only makes notes upon the rest, intending a fuller

[6] Tom. 6. [p. 81, &c.]
[7] Ep. 37. de divers. quæst. ad Simplician.
[8] Supra, bk. 18. ch. 51.]
[9] Retract. 2. c. 1.
[1] Ibid. c. 3.
[2] Retract. 2. c. 2. Contr. Ep. Fund. tom. 8. [p. 151. A. D. 397.]

answer when he was at leisure[1]. He shews the motives[2] which engaged him to adhere to the Catholic Church; viz. general consent; the authority, begun by miracles, nourished by hope, increased by charity, and confirmed by antiquity; the succession in the see of St. Peter; the name of *Catholic*, so well established, that if a stranger should ask, "Where is "the Catholic Church," no heretic would dare shew him his own church or house. A. D. 397. [1 p. 182.] [2 c. 4.]

The authority of St. Augustine being increased by the dignity of the Episcopate, he applied himself to preaching with greater ardour, not only in his own church, but wherever he was desired[3]. The Donatists, among others, were careful to report his discourses to their Bishops, and to bring their answers to him; to which he replied with mildness and patience, labouring day and night to convince them of their errors. He even wrote letters to some of these Bishops, or to some of the laity of distinction, to shew them his reasons for his faith, and to exhort them to undeceive themselves, or at least to enter into a conference with him. But they, mistrusting their cause, would not so much as return an answer, but uttered against him whatever their rage could suggest; they cried out in public and in private, that he was an impostor, and a wolf that must be destroyed; and that whoever should deliver their flock from him, would obtain remission for all their sins. [3 Possid. Vit. c. 9.]

Proculeianus, the Donatist Bishop of Hippo, being one day[4] in a house with Evodius, a friend of St. Augustine, said he was desirous to have a conference with him in the presence of ten[5] persons of probity on either side. This Evodius joyfully told St. Augustine, who was no less pleased, and wrote a letter to Proculeianus full of meekness and charity; desiring him to keep his word as to the conference, and allowing him the choice[6] of the witnesses; but demanding, that what should pass in the conference might be set down in writing. He likewise offered to confer with him privately, or by means of writing, which should be afterwards read to the people. "In short," said he, "I willingly embrace whatever "you shall appoint, and will answer for the venerable Vale- "rius, who is at present absent." Proculeianus did not accept the conference, pretending[7] that St. Augustine ought to go to [4 S. Aug. Ep. 33. al. 147. § 2. [tom. 2. p. 62.]] [5 Ep. 34. § 5.] [6 Ep. 33. § 4.] [7 Ep. 34. al. 168. ad Euseb. § 5.]

A. D. 397. Constantinople[1] or to Milevis, where the Donatists were about to hold a Council. St. Augustine replied, that this proposal was ridiculous. "I am concerned," said he, "only with the "Church of Hippo; I have nothing to do with any but Pro- "culeianus; if he find himself too weak, let him obtain the "assistance of any one of his colleagues that he thinks fit. "We do not treat of the ecclesiastical affairs in other cities, "any further than the Bishops, our brethren, give us licence [a § 6.] "or commission; neither[a] do I see what a man, who has "taken upon him the title of Bishop so many years, has to "fear from a novice like me. If it be, that I am skilled in "human literature, this has nothing to do with our question. "In fine, here is my colleague Samsucius, Bishop of Turris, "who has not applied himself to such studies; I will beg him "to take my place, and am confident that the LORD will "assist him in combating for the truth."

[1 *Constantinam*, also called Cirta, the civil metropolis of Numidia.]

XXIV. Third Council of Carthage. [3 Conc. tom. 2. p. 1167. [Mans. 3. p. 875.] [4 Secretario] [5 fors. omit. V^io] [6 fors. Sept^r. I.]

St. Augustine about the same time was present at the Council of Carthage, which is reckoned the third held in that city, and the first under the Bishop Aurelius[3]. There were present forty-four Bishops, assembled in the Council chamber[4] of the Basilica of [Perpetua[z], called] Restituta[a] [from having been recovered by the Catholics from the Donatists], under the Consulship of Cæsarius and Atticus on the fifth[5] of the calends of September, that is, the twenty-eighth of August[6], 397. We have fifty Canons, bearing the name of this Council; some of which are supposed to have been added by following ones: but the discipline is not on that account less holy. The first[7] imports, that "all the African Bishops shall be directed by the "Church of Carthage as to the day on which Easter is to be "celebrated[b]:" and another[8] Canon adds, that those who should be deputed annually to the Council, should carry this direction in writing to their respective provinces. Lest

[7 can. 1.]

[8 can. 41.]

[z] St. Perpetua was martyred with St. Felicitas, A. D. 202, at Carthage. For authorities on the controversy touching their *Acta*, see Giesel. vol. I. § 57. note 9. St. Perpetua is commemorated in our English calendar, March 7.

[a] Concerning the names of churches, see Bingham, 8. 9. § 9. See too, supra, bk. 18. ch. 4. note g. 19. ch. 15. note r. ch. 29. note g. and ch. 51.

[b] "The appointment of Easter Sun- "day was, for the most part, left to the "Patriarch of Alexandria; yet not al- "ways, especially in the West, and "thus Easter was observed on different "days in different provinces. The time "for this festival was announced at the "Epiphany." Giesel. vol. I. § 98. The history of the differences on this subject, may be found in Bingham, bk. 20. 5. § 4. See too, bk. 2. 16. § 21.

ecclesiastical affairs should be too long neglected, to the A. D. 397.
prejudice of the people, it was ordained[1], that the general [1] can. 2.
Council of Africa shall be convened every year: and that all
the provinces that had principal sees[2], shall send to it three [2 primas]
deputies from their particular Councils. The number was not
to be greater, lest they should be burdensome to their hosts,
that is, the Bishops who exercised hospitality towards their
brethren[3]. The province of Tripolis was to send but one [3 Bing. 5. 1. § 1.]
deputy, because it had so few Bishops, being but five[4] alto- [4 can. 39.
gether.

As to ordinations it is said[5], "That no Clerk shall be or- [5 can. 22.
"dained, who has not been examined by the Bishop, or had
"the testimony of the people." "That none[6] shall be ordained [6 can. 4.
"Deacon under the age of twenty-five years[7]." "That the [7 Bing. 2. 20. 20.]
"decrees[8] of the Councils shall be read to the Bishops or [8 can. 3.
"Clerks before they are ordained, that none may plead
"ignorance of them." "That[9] they who in their infancy [9 can. 48.
"have been baptized by the Donatists, may after their con-
"version be admitted[1] to administer at the Holy Altar." [1 Bing. 4. 3. 12.]
The Bishops said that on this point they would consult their
brethren[2], Siricius and Simplician, the Pope and the Bishop [2 [fratres et consacerdotes nostros]
of Milan, the two chief Bishops on this side the sea. Trans-
lations[3] are forbidden, as well as reordinations and rebaptiza- [3 can. 38.
tions. Upon complaint made of the encroachment of a [Supr. bk. 18. ch. 3. f.]
Bishop named Cresconius, who had quitted his Church to
usurp another, the Council ordains [in the same Canon],
"That after a charitable admonition, the governor of the
"province shall be applied to, that he may be ejected by the
"secular power, according to the decrees of the Emperors."
In order to restrain the usurpation of two Bishops of Numidia,
who had ordained a Bishop, it was proposed[4] that ordinations [4 can. 39.
of Bishops might not be performed by less than twelve [Bing. 2. 16. 12.]
Bishops. To this Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, said, "That
"the ancient form should be observed, according to which
"three[c] are sufficient. It is said, that there are but five
"Bishops in Tripolis, and two of these may be otherwise un-
"avoidably employed; and out of any number it is difficult
"for twelve to be present. Should the advantage of the

[c] See Bingham, bk. 2. 11. § 4. The Chorepiscopi (supr. bk. 18. ch. 25. note h.) might be ordained by one Bishop. Ibid. 14. 5.

A. D. 397. "Church be neglected on this account? In this church "where you are assembled, we ordain almost every Sunday; "Can I often bring together ten or twelve Bishops? but to "get two to assist me is easy." It may be observed, from this great number of Bishops ordained at Carthage, that they were not always ordained in their sees[1]. Aurelius adds[2]: "If "any opposition arise in the election of a Bishop, then three "must not be sufficient to acquit the person to be ordained, "one or two more must be added to the number; and the "matter must be publicly determined at the place itself, for "which he is to be ordained, before the Bishops proceed to "ordination." All the Bishops agreed to this opinion.

[1 See Bingh. bk. 2. 11. § 7.]
[2 can. 40.]

[3 can. 20.] The encroachments[3] of the Bishops on each other's dioceses [4 can. 21, 44.] are prohibited. None may usurp the people of another, none[4] may retain or promote another's Clerks to higher orders without his permission; readers, singers of psalms, and doorkeepers being included under that title. Upon which Aurelius said[5]: "It sometimes happens, that Churches which "want Bishops or Priests, demand them of me. To act ac- "cording to rule, I apply to the Bishop, and give him notice "that his Clerk is demanded by such a Church. None have "opposed hitherto; but in case this should happen, what do "you think best to be done, if a Bishop should refuse, "after I have made a demand in the presence of two or "three of our brethren? For you know that the care of all "the Churches lies upon me." Numidius and Epigonius testified, that the see of Carthage always had a right to ordain Bishops for any place that required them, choosing them out of what Church it pleased, after one requisition to the Bishop, and that Aurelius had been very sparing in the use of this privilege. A Bishop named Posthumianus said; "If "a man have but one Priest, must he be taken from him?" Aurelius answered; "If he is wanted for the Episcopal office "he ought to be granted; for it is easier to find Priests than "Bishops."

[5 can. 45. Vid. Gr. can. 55. [Mans. p. 748.]]

[6 can. 36.] "A Priest[6] shall not consecrate any virgins without an "order from the Bishop, and shall by no means make the [7 Supr. bk. 19. ch. 22. note f.] "Holy Chrism[7]." "Readers[8] are not to salute the people[d]." "Such places[9] as have never had any Bishop, are not to re-

[8 can. 4.]
[9 can. 42.]

[d] i. e. by way of benediction, "The LORD be with you," &c.

A. D. 397.

"ceive them without the consent of the ancient Bishop of "the diocese;" "and the new Bishop[1] ought not to make any "encroachment on the diocese, which remains to the Mother "Church." It appears by the text of these Canons[2], that when new Bishopries[3] were to be erected, application was made to the Bishop of Carthage. "Those Bishops who, having "by unjustifiable[4] ways gained the affections of the people, "attempt to make a party, refuse to come to the Council, "and treat their brethren with contempt, shall be ejected even "from their own Churches, by the secular power." "The "Bishop of the principal[5] see shall[6] not be styled Prince of "the Priests, nor Chief Priest[7], nor be distinguished by any "such title, but only by that of Bishop of the principal see." This Canon is not in order to retrench the power, but only the ambitious titles of the principal Bishops; and hence perhaps is derived the name of Primate, assumed by the first Bishops in each province of Africa[8].

[1] can. 46. Vid. Gr. can. 56.

[2] can. 42.

[3] Bingh. bk. 2. 12. § 3.]

[4] can. 43.

[5] primæ]

[6] can. 26.

[7] principes Sacerdotum; summus Sacerdos]

[8] Bingh. 2. 2. § 6, 8. and 2. 16. § 5.]

As to the ecclesiastical judgments; "Whoever accuses a "Bishop[9] must bring his cause before the Primate of the "province; and the person accused is not to be suspended "from the Communion, unless upon a citation from the Pri-"mate, he refuses to appear within a month from the day of "receiving his letters. If he have a lawful excuse, he shall "be allowed another month; after which he shall not be ad-"mitted to communion, till he has cleared himself. If he "do not come to the general[1] yearly Council, he shall be "esteemed self-condemned; and as long as he continues "under the sentence of excommunication, he shall not com-"municate even with his own people. If the accuser any "time absent himself while the cause is pending, he shall be "excommunicated, and the accused Bishop restored. The "accuser shall not be admitted, unless he be a person of "unblameable character[2]." "The same form[3] shall be ob-"served, and the same respite granted in the trial of a Priest "or Deacon; but they shall be judged by their own Bishop, "assisted by those of his neighbourhood. When a Priest is "accused, the Bishop shall call five to his assistance, and two "when a Deacon[4]. Other persons he shall judge by himself." "A Bishop, a Priest, or other Clerk[5], who being prosecuted in "the Church, has recourse to secular judges, if it be in a

XXV. On ecclesiastical judgments.

[9] can. 7.

[1] universale anniversarium]

[2] Supr. bk. 18. ch. 8.]

[3] can. 8.

[4] Bingh. 2. 3. § 9.]

[5] can. 9.

A. D. 397. "criminal cause, shall be deposed, though he may have been
"acquitted; if in a civil cause he shall forfeit what may have
"been awarded to him, if he will remain among the Clergy,
"for the affront he has offered the Church, by shewing mis-
[1] can. 10. "trust in her judgment." "If the sentence[1] of an ecclesi-
"astical judge have been, upon an appeal, reversed by supe-
"rior ecclesiastical judges, he shall not be called in question,
"unless he be convicted of enmity or partiality. There is no
"appeal from judges chosen by consent of the parties."

[2] can. 23. "Bishops[2] are forbidden to go beyond sea without the
[3] Bingh. bk. 2. 4. § 5.] "leave and formal letter[3] of the Bishop of the first see of
"every province; who is likewise to direct letters from the
[4] can. 37. "Council to the Bishops across the sea." "Clerks[4] are not
"to make a stay in any city but that of their residence;
"unless for reasons approved by the Bishop, or the Priests of
[5] can. 15. "the place." "Bishops, Priests, and other Clerks[5], may not
"be contractors, nor men of business; nor gain a livelihood
[6] can. 16. "by any mean traffic;" nor "receive[6] in payment more than
[7] can. 13. "they have lent." "They are not[7] to bestow, by donation
"or testament, any thing to those who are not Catholic
"Christians, although they may be their own relations.
[8] can. 49. "They[8] who, possessing nothing at the time of their ordina-
"tion, do afterwards acquire estates in their own name, shall
[9 Dominicarum] "be reputed usurpers of the sacred[9] treasure, if they refuse
"to give them to the Church: but if they become possessed
"of any property by gift or inheritance, they may dispose of
[1] can. 11. "it as they like." "The children of Bishops or Clerks[1], are
[2 sæcularia] "not to be concerned in exhibiting any profane[2] shows, or
"even be present at them, from which also the rest of the
[3] can. 12. "laity are excluded. They are not to marry[3] with pagans,
[4] can. 14. "heretics, or schismatics." "Their fathers[4], whether Bishops
[5 per emancipationem,] "or Clerks, ought not to leave them to themselves[5], till they
"are well assured of their morals." "None are to be or-
[6] can. 18. "dained Bishops[6], Priests, or Deacons, till they have brought
"over all their family to be Catholic Christians."

XXVI. Other Canons. "No strange[7] woman[8] ought to live with any Clerk[9]; only
"his mother, grandmother, aunts, sisters, or nieces, or those
[7 extraneæ] "of their family who lived with them before their ordination;
[8] can. 17. "and the wives of their sons who have married since, or of
[9 Supr. bk. 18. ch. 35. k.] "their slaves." "Readers, when they come to marriageable

"years[1], shall be obliged[2] to marry, or profess continence." A. D. 397.
"Clerks[3], and such as profess continence, shall not visit [1 *ad ann.* 21. Hard.]
"virgins or widows[4], unless by order of the Bishop or Priest, [2 can. 19.]
"and in the company of such as the same shall appoint to [3 can. 25.]
"be present. Bishops or Priests themselves shall not visit [4 [Bingh. 6. 2. § 12.]
"such, but in the presence of Clerks, or some other grave
"Christians." "Clerks[5] shall not enter houses of public en- [5 can. 27.
"tertainment[6] to eat or drink, unless in cases of necessity on [6 tabernas]
"a journey[7]." "Virgins[8] shall not be consecrated till the [7 Bingh. 6. 4. § 14.]
"age of twenty-five years[9]." "Such as shall have lost [8 can. 4.
"their parents shall be placed by the Bishop in a monastery [9 Supra, bk. 19. ch.
"of virgins, or under the care of some grave women." We 22. note g.]
see here two sorts of virgins; one, living in communities; and [1 can. 33.
the other, in private houses.

"Sick persons[2], who cannot answer for themselves, shall [2 can. 34.
"be baptized upon the testimony of those that attend them."
"The Bishop[3] shall regulate the time of penance." "The [3 can. 31.
"Priest[4] shall not absolve the penitent without the direction [4 can. 32.
"of the Bishop, or in his absence, only in cases of necessity.
"For notorious sins, absolution shall be given by the im-
"position of hands before the *Apsis*[e]," that is, the Sanctuary.
"Neither[5] Baptism[6] nor Penance[7] shall be refused to those [5 can. 35.
"that belong to the theatre, nor to apostates converted." [6 *gratia*] [7 *reconciliatio*]
"The Catechumens[8] shall not, even on the most solemn days [8 can. 5.
"of Easter, receive any other [sacrament] than the usual Vid. Albaspin. [p.
"salt[f];" for salt was frequently given to the Catechumens 438, &c.]
during the time of their preparation for Baptism, with a view to
the reception of the Eucharist. "The Eucharist[9] shall not be [9 can. 6.
"administered to dead bodies[1]." "Nothing[2] shall be offered [1 Supr. bk. 19. ch.
"for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our SAVIOUR, 41. note b.]
"but what He hath ordained[3], that is, bread, and wine mixed [2 can. 24.
"with water[g]." "The Sacrament[4] of the Altar shall be cele- [3 Can. Apost. 3.]
[4 can. 29, 48. ad fin.

[e] Du Cange has observed out of St. Paulinus of Nola, that the porches and gates into the church are sometimes called Apsides, from the manner of their structure, which was arch-work, for *apsis* denotes any thing that is framed in the figure of an arch or a convex, as the heavens; and therefore he thinks this Canon to be understood of this place, *before the apsis*, i. e. before the porch or doors of the church. Bingham, 8. 4. § 1. See also § 9.

[f] "That which the Catechumens re-
"ceive, though it be not the Body of
"CHRIST, is yet an holy thing, because
"it is a Sacrament." S. Aug. ap. Bingh. 10. 2. § 16. This sacrament was not any part of the oblations, out of which anciently the Eucharist itself was taken, but only a little taste of salt. See supra, bk. 18. ch. 48. note t.

[g] The following passages from Hey-

A. D. 397. "brated fasting, except on the anniversary of the Supper of "the LORD[1]: and when a funeral is solemnized after dining, "there shall be prayers only." "Feasting[2] in the churches "shall be hindered[3] as much as possible." "At the Altar[4] "prayer shall be always addressed to the Father; and who- "ever shall copy out prayers from any source, may not make "use of them before they have communicated them to per- "sons of the best information." At the end of this[5] Council there is a catalogue of the Holy Scriptures, exactly agreeing with that which is in use with us at this day[h].

[1] Supra, bk. 19. ch. 2. note a.]
[2] can. 30.
[3] Bingh. 8. 10. § 1. 8. 11. § 12. Vid. supr. c. 11.]
[4] can. 23.
[5] can. 47.

XXVII. St. Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople. [A.D.398.]

Nectarius[6], Bishop of Constantinople, died soon after this Council of Carthage. He had governed this Church sixteen years, and died on the fifth of the calends of October, in the Consulship of Cæsarius and Atticus, that is, on the twenty-seventh of September, A. D. 397. Some time was spent in deliberating upon the choice of a successor; several were proposed, and some Priests offered themselves, crowding at the gate of the palace, offering presents, and even falling on their knees before the people, who were so scandalized at it, that they earnestly besought the Emperor to look for some person worthy the sacerdotal office[7]. The eunuch, Eutropius, who governed the Emperor Arcadius, had been acquainted with the merit of St. John Chrysostom, in a journey which he had made into the East in the Emperor's service, and his reputation was great throughout the empire; he was therefore elected Bishop of Constantinople by the unanimous consent of the people and Clergy, and with the approbation of the Emperor. But it was so notorious how well he was

[6] Soc. 6. 2. Soz. 8. 2.
[7] Pall. Dial. de Vit. S. Chrys. p. 42. [ap. S. Chrys. Bened. tom. 13. p. 17.]

lyn's Life of Abp. Laud, are interesting in reference to this point. When Prince Charles went to Spain A.D. 1622, "that "there might appear a face of the "Church of England in the outward "forms of worship also, his Majesty "was pleased, by the advice of the "Bishops then about him (of which "Laud was one) to give the said Chap- "lains, Maw and Wren, these instruc- "tions following:" seven instructions follow, of which the fourth is in these words; "That the Communion be cele- "brated in due form, with an oblation "of every Communicant, and admixing "Water with the Wine: the Commu- "nion to be as often used as it shall "please the Prince to set down; smooth "wafers [customarily used in Hooker's "time, Eccl. Pol. bk. 4. ch. 6, 10, 11.] "to be used for the Bread."

[h] In this Catalogue are found the following books as *Canonical*: Five Books of Solomon (Ecclesiasticus being reckoned among them), Tobit, Judith, and the two Books of Maccabees. (See supra, bk. 19. ch. 26. note x). The Apocrypha is not included in the Canon by St. Cyril or the Council of Laodicea. By this Council the word *Canonical* is according to Bingham (bk. 14. ch. 3. § 16), "taken in a large sense, for such "books as were in the rule, or canon, "or catalogue of books authorized to be "read in the Church."

beloved[1] at Antioch, where he had officiated as Priest for twelve years, and how ready the people of that city were to raise commotions, that Eutropius caused the Emperor to write to Asterius, Count of the East, with orders to send him away without noise. The Count having received the Emperor's letter, desired John to meet him, on pretence of some business, at a church[2] near the Roman gate. Here taking him into his chariot, he drove with speed to a place called Bagras, where he placed him in the hands of an eunuch and an officer sent to conduct him to Constantinople. A. D. 398.

[1] Supra, bk. 19. ch. 7.

[2] τὰ μαρτύρια]

That his ordination might be performed with the greater solemnity, the Emperor had called a Council, and sent to Theophilus of Alexandria to be present, as being the Bishop of the first see in his empire. Theophilus wished to have the Priest Isidore[3] made Bishop of Constantinople, who had a long time led a monastic life in the desert of Scetis, and was then governor of the Hospital at Alexandria. Besides his great merit, it was said, that Theophilus had great obligations to him, on account of his dexterous conduct in an affair of a very delicate nature. It is reported, that in the war of the tyrant Maximus, Theophilus had entrusted Isidore with letters and presents for the two competitors, viz. the Emperor Theodosius and Maximus, bidding him go to Rome, and await the event of the war, and to present the letters and gifts to the conqueror; and that Isidore executed his commission, but being discovered, was obliged to escape to Alexandria. These are the means, it is said, by which he gained the confidence of Theophilus. When St. John Chrysostom came to Constantinople, Theophilus, who had the art of finding out the tempers of men by their physiognomy, was surprised at the undauntedness and resolution that appeared in his looks, and therefore was the more unwilling to consent to his ordination; but at length he was induced to agree to it. Eutropius shewed him several memorials, presented to the Bishops against him; and told him, that he must either make his defence against these accusations, or submit to the wish of the other Bishops. Upon this he yielded, and ordained John, who was thus constituted[4] Bishop of Constantinople, on the twenty-sixth of February, under the fourth Consulship of Honorius with Eutychianus, that is, A.D. 398.

[3] Supra, bk. 16. ch. 36.

[4] χειροτονηθεὶς ἐνθρονίζεται]

A. D. 398. In his first sermon, which is lost, he spoke of the combat of David with Goliath, and promised a discourse against the Anomœans, which he performed in the second, which begins thus[1]: "I have spoken to you but one day, and have already "as much affection for you, as if I had been brought up "among you; nor does this arise from my charity, but from "your merit. Who would not admire your fervent zeal, "your love without dissimulation, your affection for your "teachers, and your unity among yourselves? All this "would move even a heart of stone. It is for this, that I "love you no less than the Church wherein I was born; this "Church is her sister; you prove the relationship by your "actions. If she is the elder, this is the more zealous for "the Faith. The congregation there is more numerous, and "the auditory more famous, but this sheweth more patience "and courage; wolves surround the flock on every side, "which, however, decreases not; it is you that resist the "storm and flame of heresy." Although the Anomœans and other Arians were, indeed, afraid to assemble publicly at Constantinople, the country was still full of them; to say nothing of the Marcionites[1], the Manichees, and the Valentinians[2], whom he attacks in the same discourse.

[1] Homil. contra Anom. Gr. tom. 6. p. 434. Lat. tom. 1. [Bened. tom. 1. p. 541.]

[2] Supr. bk. 19. ch. 14. note k.]

XXVIII. Laws in favour of the Church.

The obstinacy of the heretics of Constantinople may be judged of, by the great number of laws made to suppress them. Besides those in the preceding years, there are three in the year 396, one in 397, and one in 398, partly against heretics in general, and partly against the Eunomians and Apollinarians in particular[3]. The last is the most severe. It ordains: "That the Eunomian and Montanist Clerks be

[3] Cod. Th. [16. tit. 5.] l. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34. de Hæret. [supr. bk. 18. 6. note r.]

[1] Marcion was the son of a Bishop of Sinope, and studied at Rome (A.D. 140—150), under the Syrian Cerdo. He formed a Gnostic system of his own. He received the Gospel of St. Luke and ten of St. Paul's Epistles, which however it seems that he altered to suit his purposes. He supposed three principles, a Good Deity, a Just Deity and matter (Hyle). To rescue men from the wrath of the Just Deity, CHRIST was, according to his theory, sent by the Good Deity, and all who obeyed Him obtained this deliverance. Among these were Cain and the Sodomites, who believed on Christ, when He descended into hell, while Abraham, Enoch, &c. remained subject to the Just Deity, in the state of death. He required of his perfect followers an ascetic life and abstinence from wedlock on the *false* principles of Gnosticism (see supr. 18. 9. note p. 19. 22. note h). The scandalous practice of Clerks living with the *συνείσακτοι* (supra, 19. 22. note g; condemned infr. ch. 33. Conc. Carth. 4. can. 46), had its origin among the Gnostics and with Marcion probably in particular. In his *Antitheses*, he contrasted Judaism and Christianity. Giesel. vol. 1. § 45, 71. Beaven's St. Irenæus, ch. 21. § 4.

"driven out of every city;" and forbids them even to assemble in the country, under the penalty of confiscation of the house, and extreme punishment on the keeper[1] of it. It likewise orders their books to be burned, and forbids any person to keep them, on pain of capital punishment. This law is dated on the fourth of March, and ascribed to Eutropius by the historian Philostorgius[2], who was an Eunomian heretic; which gives us reason to suppose that it was procured by the power of this eunuch, to give the greater authority to St. Chrysostom, at his entrance upon the Bishopric. A. D. 398.

[1] procurator]

[2] Philost. 11. ch. 5.

There were laws[3] likewise made in the West, under the Emperor Honorius, in favour of the Church. The two first were general laws for preserving the privileges of the Church; one made soon after the death of Theodosius, in the year 395; the other, in 397. There was a third more particular, on the twenty-fifth of April, 398, to restrain the violences committed against churches. It ordains, That if any, attacking the Catholic churches, shall offer any injury to the Priest, the Ministers, the service, or the holy place; the government shall be informed of the fact, by letters from the magistrates[4] and stationary soldiers[k], specifying the names of the offenders; or if the violence be committed by a multitude, of such as they shall be able to find out, that some at least may be known, who may discover their accomplices: that the governor of the province shall punish capitally, such as shall be convicted, without staying for a complaint from the Bishop; "the sacredness of whose function leaves him only the glory "of pardoning." These are the terms of this law. It shall not only be lawful, but commendable for any person to prosecute as public crimes, any heinous injuries done to Priests and Ministers. If the rebellious multitude defend themselves by arms and strong positions, so that the officers cannot apprehend them, the governors of the provinces of Africa shall demand assistance of the Count who has the command of the forces.

[3] Cod. Th. [16. tit. 2.] l. 29, 30, 31. de Episc.

[4] *veluti duumvirorum.* Gothof.]

By this we see that this law was made with a particular reference to Africa; and it is with reason supposed, that it

XXIX. War of Gildo.

[k] *Apparitores, quos Stationarios appellant;* the Stationarii were appointed in various places and stations to inform against obnoxious persons. Vid. Gothof. ad legem 1am. lib. 6. tit. 29. de Curiosis.

A. D. 398. was occasioned by the outrages committed by the Donatists, which, in this year 398, grew to a greater height, by reason of the war with Gildo. Nubel[1], one of the most powerful of the petty kings of the Moors, left, among others, three sons, Firmus, Gildo, and Masceezel, who lived under the protection of the Romans. Firmus[2] revolted in the time of Valentinian the First, and was defeated by Theodosius, the father of the Emperor of the same name. Gildo remaining faithful to the Romans, was raised by the Emperor Theodosius to the dignity of a Count, with the command of the troops in Africa; but he too revolted after the death of the Emperor Theodosius. On this his brother Masceezel[3] deserted him, and returned to Italy, leaving in Africa his two sons, whom Gildo, their uncle, put to death. He was sent back to make war upon his brother; and going in his way to the Isle of Capraria, took thence some Monks, whom he entreated to go with him, to assist him with their prayers. It is supposed that these Monks were Eustasius and Andrew, whom St. Augustine mentions, and that their journey was the occasion of his writing to their Abbot Eudoxius and his Monks[4]. He exhorts them not to be so fond of ease, as to refuse to serve the Church, if she should stand in need of their labour. Masceezel carried these Monks into Africa, fasting and praying with them day and night, having learned under Theodosius the power of such arms. He had no more than five thousand men against seventy thousand; and despairing of the safety of his army, and even of his own life, he would have decamped, and retreated into a narrow pass, had not St. Ambrose[5] appeared to him in the night, and striking the ground three times with his staff, said to him, "Here, here, here." From this he understood that the Saint promised him victory three days after, in that place. Here, therefore, he stayed; and on the third day, after having spent the night in prayers, he marched against the enemy, who surrounded him. He offered peace to the first that advanced, but seeing a standard-bearer who opposed it, and encouraged the rest to battle, he struck him with his sword on the arm, so as to force him to lower the ensign which he carried. The troops at a distance believing that the first ranks had yielded, strove who should be the first to surrender to Masceezel; and the barbarians,

[1] Amm. Marcell. lib. 29. c. 5. [10, &c.]

[2] Supr. bk. 19. ch. 53. note n.]

[3] Oros. 7. 36. Marcellin. Chron. an. 398. [Roncall. p. 273, 274.]

[4] S. Aug. Ep. 48. al. 81. [tom. 2. p. 113.]

[5] Paulin. Vit. S. Amb. § 51.

of whom Gildo had great numbers in his army, being deserted by the regular forces, were dispersed in flight. Gildo himself fled, and got on board a vessel; but being brought back into Africa, strangled himself a few days after. An end was put to this war, within the first three months[1] of the year 398. Gildo was a pagan, but his wife a Christian and virtuous woman; he had a sister who dedicated her virginity to GOD. His daughter Salvina, who was married to Nebridius, nephew to the Empress, was also a religious woman, as appears by a letter[2] written to her by St. Jerome, concerning the conduct which she ought to observe in her widowhood. A. D. 398.

[1] Pagi. an. 398. § 7, 8, 9, &c. [14—16.]

[2] S. Hier. Ep. 9. [85. p. 663.]

The Donatists took advantage of this war, to continue their outrages with the greater impunity. Optatus[3], Bishop of Thamugada in the province of Carthage[4], signalized himself among others; and was so much attached to Gildo's party, that he was called Optatus the Gildonian[5]. He was attended, wherever he went, with a troop of soldiers, with whom he committed numberless crimes throughout Africa, for ten[6] years together. He oppressed[7] widows, ruined orphans, parted men and their wives, and exposed the goods of the innocent to sale. He made war against the Catholic Church, both by sea and land[8], to the uttermost, and became so terrible, even to the Donatists themselves, that those of Musti and Assurita compelled[9] their Bishops, Felicianus and Pretextatus[1], to renounce the schism of Maximian, and return to the communion of Primian, and obliged the Primianists to receive them, although they had condemned them by name at their Council of Bagaia. At length Optatus, being accused[2] as an accomplice of Gildo, died in prison in this year 398. But the Donatists did not separate[3] from his communion, always acknowledging him for a Bishop; and after his death, gave him the title of a Martyr[4].

[3] S. Aug. 1. contr. Gaud. c. 38. § 52. [tom. 9. p. 664.]

[4] Numidia, Bingh. bk. 9. Append.]

[5] Contr. Ep. Parm. 2. c. 2. § 4. c. 4. § 8.

[6] A. D. 388—398.]

[7] Contr. Lit. Petil. 2. § 53.]

[8] c. 83. [§ 184.]

[9] Ep. 53. al. 165. § 6.

[1] Contr. Crescon. 3. § 17, 69. et 4. c. 25. § 32.

[2] Cont. Lit. Petil. c. 92. § 209.

[3] c. 23. § 54.

[4] Ep. 76. al. 171. § 3.

XXX. St. Augustine's conference with Glorius.

St. Augustine still continued his endeavours to reunite the Donatists to the Catholic Church, and made no scruple to confer with or write to them, not indeed letters of communion[5], which they would not have received, but ordinary letters, as to pagans, and without taking the title of Bishop. One day when he happened to be at Tubursica, with Glorius, Eleusius, and some other Donatists, discoursing of their reunion[6], they produced the Acts, in which it was recorded,

[5] Ep. 43. al. 162. § 1. [A. D. 397 or 398.]

[6] c. 2. § 3.

A. D. 398. that Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage, was condemned together with those who ordained him, by about seventy Bishops[1]; and the case of Felix of Aptunga was treated in a very invidious manner[2]. After they had read all this, St. Augustine said: "We also have Ecclesiastical Acts[3], in which Secundus "of Tigisi, then Primate of Numidia, left to the judgment "of GOD, the Bishops who were present and who confessed "themselves *Traditors*, whose names now occur among "Cæcilian's judges, with Secundus at their head." He then relates, how, after the schismatical ordination of Majorinus, the Donatists demanded ecclesiastical judges from the Emperor Constantine[4]; how Cæcilian, being present, was absolved[5], by the sentence of Melchiades, Bishop of Rome [and his colleagues], and afterwards by the Council of Arles[6], and by the Emperor himself[7], to whom they had appealed; and how Felix of Aptunga was justified by the Proconsul. St. Augustine had the Acts brought which proved all these facts, and had them read before them through a whole day. In the forenoon they read what related to Secundus of Tigisi, and Felix of Aptunga; and in the afternoon the justification of Cæcilian: but they had not time[8] to read the Acts[9] of the condemnation of Silvanus of Cirtha[1].

[1 A. D. 311.]

[2 Supr. bk. 19. ch. 53. note l.

[3 Of the Council of Cirta, A.D. 305.]

[4 *arbitro medio*]

[5 A. D. 313.]

[6 A. D. 314.]

[7 At Milan, A.D. 316.]

[8 § 17.

[9 A. D. 320.]

[1 Supr. bk. 10. ch. 23.

St. Augustine, on his return home, wrote them a letter, enlarging upon all these proofs. He dwells on the injustice[2] of Secundus of Tigisi, who, under pretence of maintaining unity, had left to the judgment of GOD the *Traditors* who were present and were convicted by their own confession; while he had condemned Cæcilian, though absent and innocent, with whom all the rest of the Church were in communion. On the contrary, he says: "Cæcilian might have "cared little for the number of his enemies, seeing himself "united by letters of communion to the Roman Church, in "which the primacy[3] of the Apostolic see hath ever flourished, and to the other countries, whence Africa itself hath "received the Gospel. Complaint[4] ought to have been made "to [our brethren and colleagues] the Bishops beyond the sea, "of the contumacy of the persons accused; and if they had "persisted, it should have been declared by circular[5] letters, "that they might have been cut off from the communion of "all the Churches in the world. Then we might have safely

[2 §. 7.

[3 *principatus* supr. bk. 18. ch. 47. and 18. ch. 16. note d.]

[4 § 8.

[5 *tractatoria*]

"ordained another Bishop of Carthage. But Secundus and A. D. 398.
"his accomplices were anxious to hide[1] the crime of which [1] § 10.
"they knew themselves guilty, (viz. of delivering up the
"Scriptures,) by falsely accusing others; they did not even
"venture to specify[2] in their acts the crimes laid to their [2] § 12.
"charge."

He extols[3] the wisdom of the Council of Rome, and of the [3] § 14.
Pope Melchiades; and adds: "Will it be said, that he ought
"not to usurp the cognizance of an affair which had been
"decided by seventy Bishops of Africa, with the Primate at
"their head? He did not; the Emperor, at your desire,
"sent Bishops to judge the case in conjunction with him."
And afterwards: "Let us suppose[4] that these Bishops at [4] § 19.
"Rome were not good judges, there still remains a General
"Council of the Whole Church[5], where the matter might [5 *plenarium Ecclesiæ Univ. Conc.*]
"have been debated with the judges themselves; and if they
"had been convicted of passing an unjust sentence, their
"judgment might have been reversed."

St. Augustine going another time[6] to Tubursica, made a visit XXXI. Conference with Fortunius.
to the Donatist Bishop Fortunius, a mild and reasonable old
man. St. Augustine had a number of people with him, and [6] Ep. 44. al. 163. [A. D. 397 or 398.]
it being noised abroad that he was there, a great crowd of
people came together; the greater part, out of mere curiosity,
as if to see a show, and they made so much noise, that the
conference was not very orderly. St. Augustine often de-
manded, that notes of the conference might be taken in
writing[7]; and it was with great difficulty, that some of those [7 Bingh. 3. 13. § 5.]
who were with him, were allowed to do it; but then the
tumult was so great, that they were unable to go on. St. Au-
gustine wrote afterwards the substance of it to Glorius and
others, desiring them to communicate his letter to Fortunius.

They began[8] with the question concerning the Church; [8] § 3.
and Fortunius having asserted, that he was in communion
with all the world, St. Augustine said: "Can you give me
"letters of communion, such as we call *formal*[9], for any [9 *formatæ*, Bingh. 2. 4. § 5.]
"place that I shall name to you? For my part, I am ready
"to give such letters to all the Churches that are taken
"notice of in the writings of the Apostles, as subsisting at [1] § 4.
"that time." Fortunius afterwards[1] proceeded to the pre- [2] Supr. bk. 12. ch. 48.
tended persecution of Macarius[2]; and maintained, that the [bk. 19. ch. 53. note m.]

A. D. 398. true Christians were they that suffered persecution, citing the passage of the Gospel. But St. Augustine observed to him, that the words are, *They which are persecuted for right-*
[1] St. Matt. 5. 10. *eousness' sake*[1]; and that he must first prove the justice of their cause, and of their separation not only from the pre-
[2] § 5. tended *Traditors* of Africa, but from all[2] the Churches in the world.

[3] § 6. Upon this[3] Fortunius produced a book, in which he pretended to shew, that the Council of Sardica had given letters to certain African Bishops of the communion of Donatus. St. Alypius whispered to St. Augustine: "We have heard it "reported that the Arians wished to draw the Donatists in "Africa to their side." St. Augustine took the book, and considering the decrees of the Council, found that St. Athanasius and Pope Julius were condemned in it, by which it appeared that it was an Arian Council. It was, without doubt, that
[4] Supr. bk. 12. ch. 40. of Philippopolis[4], which assumed the name of the Council of Sardica[1]. St. Augustine desired permission to take the book with him, to examine, when he had more leisure, the circumstances of the dates; or at least to mark it, to prevent any alteration; but he was refused both. At length they agreed, that neither side ought to reproach the other with the violences committed by evil men; and that they ought to exa-
[5] § 12. mine the question of the schism. St. Augustine[5] exhorted Fortunius to help him in putting an end to this controversy: Fortunius courteously answered: "You are the only persons "that have desired it, the rest of your party refuse to have it "examined." "I will produce," replied St. Augustine, "at "least ten of our brethren, who shall enter upon this exa-"mination with as much good will and sincerity and in-"tegrity as you have found in us." Fortunius promised to provide as many on his side; and thus they parted.

St. Augustine wrote the whole account of this matter to

[1] On the death of Constantine (A.D. 337, the year after the death of Arius), the Eusebians or Arians after the acquittal of St. Athanasius at Rome (A.D. 341) endeavoured while they condemned St. Athanasius, to allay the suspicions of the Western Church by a creed framed out of a number suggested at the Council of the Dedication (viz. of the Church called *Dominicum Aureum*) at Antioch (A.D. 341). Through Constans the wishes of the Roman Council were met by convoking a General Council at Sardica (A.D. 347), from which, in consequence of the admission of St. Athanasius to it, seventy-six Eusebian Bishops seceded to Philippopolis and there confirmed the Council of the Dedication.

Glorius and others, and conjured[1] them to put Fortunius in mind of his promise[2]. He says[3], that to avoid a crowd, he is of opinion, that they should meet in some small village, where there is no church of either communion; that the Holy Scripture[4] should be carried thither, and whatever documents they might have occasion to produce on either side; "to the end," he adds, "that meeting with no interruption, "and laying aside all other business, we may employ as "many days on this affair as possible; and that each having "recourse to GOD by prayer in his own house, we may, by "grace, determine a matter of so great importance. Let "me know your opinion, and that of Fortunius, on these "particulars." About the same time he wrote[5] to Honoratus, another Donatist Bishop, who had invited him to treat of this question by writing. He accepts the proposal, and desires Honoratus to answer him, on the article concerning the Church; how, namely, it can be confined[6] to a part of Africa, contrary to the promise of its being spread throughout the world, so manifestly fulfilled by the preaching of the Gospel.

A. D. 398.

[1 Obtestor per DOMINI Sanguinem]

[2] § 13.

[3] § 14.

[4 *Codices Canonicos*]

[5] Ep. 49. al. 161.

[6] § 3.

Peace being restored to Africa, by the death of Gildo, the national[7] synod assembled at Carthage, on the eighth of November of the same year 398, in the consulship of Honorius and Eutychianus. Aurelius presided with Donatianus[8], and Talabricus Primate of Numidia. St. Augustine was present, and there were in all two hundred and fourteen Bishops. This Council is reckoned the fourth of Carthage, and is the second held under Aurelius. There were made a hundred and four Canons, the greatest part concerning Ordination, and the duties of Bishops and Clerks. The first[9] sets down the examination[1] necessary, before the ordination of a Bishop; first as to his morals, and next as to his faith; and it is pretty nearly the same as that which begins the ceremony of the consecration of a Bishop at this time[2]. The examination concerning faith has regard chiefly to the heresies prevalent in those days, and particularly in Africa. Then follows the form of ordination, and first of a Bishop.

XXXII. Fourth Council of Carthage.

[7] Conc. 2. p. 1196. [Mans. 3. p. 949.]

[8 *Donatianus Talabricensis primæ sedis*]

[9] can. 1.

[1] Bingh. 4. 3. § 2, &c.]

[2] Pontifical. Rom. [p. 61, &c.]

"Two Bishops[3] are to hold on his head, and on his "shoulders[4], the Book of the Gospels; one to pronounce the "blessing, and all the other Bishops present to touch his

[3] can. 2.

[4] cervicem, *al.* verticem].

A. D. 398. "head with their hands[m]." "As to the Priest[1], while the
[1] can. 3. "Bishop blesses him, and holds his hand on his head, all
"the other Priests also, who are present, are to lay their
[2] can. 4. "hands on his head[n]." "For the consecration of a Deacon[2],
"only the Bishop lays his hand on his head; because he is
"not consecrated for the Priesthood, but for the Ministry[o]."
[3] can. 5. "The Bishop is not to lay his hands on the Subdeacon[3], but
[Bingh. 3. 1. § 1. and 2. § 2.] "to give him with his hands an empty paten, and an empty
"chalice; and from the Archdeacon he is to receive the
[4 urceolum,] "cruet[4], with the water and the napkin." "The Acolyte[5] is
[5] can. 6. "to be instructed in his office by the Bishop; but he re-
[Bingh. 3. 3.] "ceives from the Archdeacon the candlestick[6] with the
[6 ceroferarium] "taper; and the empty flagon[7] for furnishing[8] the wine of
[7 urceolum] "the Eucharist of the Blood of CHRIST." "The Exorcist[9]
[8 ad suggerendum] "is to receive from the Bishop the book of exorcisms[p]."
[9] can. 7. "When the Bishop ordains a Reader[q] he is to inform
[1] can. 8. "the people of his faith, his morals, and his fitness[2], and
[2 ingenium] "he afterwards is to give him the book in the presence of
"the people." "The Archdeacon is to inform the door-
[3] can. 9. [ostiarius] "keeper[3] of his duty; and then, at his desire, the Bishop is
"to give him the keys of the church from off the Altar[r]."
At each of the four[s] inferior ordinations, the Council of Carthage makes the Bishop repeat the same words as are used at this time.

[m] See Bingh. 2. 11. § 8. A form of the Consecration Prayer is given from the Apost. Const. § 9.

[n] Here appears the part which the Presbytery took in ordination. The gift is conveyed *by* (διὰ τῆς ἐπιθ.) the putting on of the Bishop's hands (2 Tim. 1. 6), *with* (μετὰ ἐπιθ.) the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. (1 Tim. 4. 14.) See Bingh. 2. 3. § 5. and 19. § 10, 17.

[o] And so we find a Canon of the Council of Arles (A.D. 314. Mans. 3. p. 473. can. 15.) forbidding the Deacons to offer the Holy Sacrifice. Cf. Bingh. 2. 20. §. 2.

[p] "When an Exorcist is ordained, "he shall receive at the hands of the "Bishop a book, wherein the forms of "exorcising are written, the Bishop "saying, 'Take this and commit it to "'memory and have thou power to lay "'hands on the possessed and Cate-"'chumen.'" These forms were prayers made out of sentences from Holy Scripture, Bingh. 3. 4. § 4, 5. and 10. 2. § 8. Pontif. Rom. p. 9. ad fin.

[q] The words of this ordination are, on putting the Bible in his hands, "Take "this and be Reader of the word of "GOD, about to have part with those "who minister GOD's word if thou "fulfil thy office faithfully and pro-"fitably." Bingh. 3. 5. § 3. Pontif. Rom. p. 8.

[r] With the words, "So do as about "to give account to GOD for these "things that are opened by these "keys." Bingh. 3. 7. § 3. and 13. § 2. Pontif. Rom. p. 6.

[s] No words are given for the ordination of the Subdeacon. Fleury may refer to the ordination of the Chaunter. For the controversy as to whether these inferior orders are of Apostolical origin, see Bingh. 3. 1. § 1.

"The Psalmist[1] or Chaunter[t] may receive his office from A. D. 398.
"the Priest alone." "The Virgin[2] ought to be presented to [1] can. 10.
"the Bishop to be consecrated in the habit of her pro- [2] can. 11. [sanctimonialis Virgo]
"fession." "The Widows[3], appointed to assist at the bap- [3] can. 12.
"tism of women, ought to be qualified to instruct the igno-
"rant how they are to answer at baptism, and what manner
"of life they are to lead afterwards[u]." "The husband and
"wife[4] who have received the blessing from the Priest, ought [4] can. 13.
"out of reverence for the blessing, to observe continence that
"night."

The Council afterwards gives rules for the conduct of Bishops and Clerks. "The Bishop is[5] to have his humble [5] can. 14.
"dwelling near the church," "his furniture[6] ordinary, and [6] can. 15.
"his table mean; he ought to maintain the dignity of his
"character, by his faith and good life[7]." "He[8] shall not [7 vitæ meritis]
"read any pagan books, nor yet those of heretics but in case [8] can. 16. [Bingh. 6. 3. § 4.]
"of necessity." "He shall not[9] burden himself with the
"execution of wills;" nor "with the care[1] of domestic [9] can. 18. [Ib. 6. 4. § 10.]
"affairs;" nor "shall he go to law[2] for any thing relating [1] can. 20.
"to temporal affairs." "He shall not[3] take upon himself [2] can. 19.
"the care of widows, orphans, and strangers, he shall leave [3] can. 17.
"these to the Archpriest [or Archdeacon[x]]," and "shall em-
"ploy himself entirely[4] in reading, praying, and preaching." [4] can. 20.
"He shall not ordain[5] any Clerks without the advice of his [5] can. 22. [Bingh. 4. 2. § 11.]
"Clergy, and the consent of the people." "He shall not
"try any cause or pass sentence[6] but in the presence of [6] can. 23.
"his Clergy; otherwise his judgment shall be void." "He
"shall admonish[7] such as are at variance, to make up their [7] can. 26.
"differences, rather than bring them to a trial." In trials, enquiry was to be made into the morals and faith of the parties.
"The Bishop shall make use[8] of the wealth of the Church as [8] can. 31.
"a trustee, and not as a proprietor," and "any alienation[9] [Bingh. 2. 4. § 6.]
"that he shall make, without the consent and subscription [9] can. 32.

[t] The Singer (called too *Confessor*) is ordained with these words: "See "that what thou chauntest with thy "mouth, thou believe with thine heart; "and what thou believest with thine "heart, approve thou by thy deeds." Pontif. 139. Pars 3. See Bingh. 3. 7. § 2, 4.

[u] These widows were the Deaconesses; for an account of them and the discontinuance of the office, see Bingh. 2. 22. § 1, 7—9, 13, 14. and 3. 10. § 3.

[x] The Archdeacon was at first a Deacon, but afterwards was a Priest, and then took precedence of the Archpresbyters, who came to be a kind of rural deans. See supra, bk. 19. ch. 15. note p. and Bingh. 2. 19. § 18. and 21. § 4—8.

A. D. 398. "of the Clerks, shall be void." "The seat of the Bishop[1]
[1] can. 35. "shall be raised higher than the rest in the church; but in
[ibid. 2. 9. § 7. and 19. § 5.] "the house he shall recognise the Priests as his colleagues,"
[2] can. 34. and "he shall not suffer[2] them to stand while he sits,
[Ibid. 2. 3. § 5.] "wherever they may be." "The Bishops or Priests of
[3] can. 33. "another Church[3], shall every where retain their rank, and
"be invited to preach, and to consecrate the oblation."
[4] can. 24. "He that shall[4] leave the place[5], while the Bishop[6] is
[5 auditorio] "preaching, shall be excommunicated." "The Bishop[7]
[6 sacerdote] "ought not to hinder any person, whether pagan, heretic,
[7] can. 84. "or Jew, from coming into the church to hear the Word
[8 usque ad missam catechumenorum.] "of GOD, till the dismissal of the Catechumens[8]." "The
"Bishop shall[9] not absent himself from the Council, without
[9] can. 21. "some weighty reason; and in such case shall send a deputy."
[1] can. 25. "The Council shall[1] reconcile the Bishops, if any difference
[2] can. 29. "shall arise among them." "The[2] Council shall deter-
"mine any accusation brought by a Bishop either against a
"Clerk, or a layman." "If ecclesiastical judges give sen-
[3] can. 30. "tence[3] in the absence of the party, their sentence shall be
"null, and they shall give an account to the Council." "An
[4] can. 28. "unjust judgment[4] given by a Bishop shall be reviewed by
[5] can. 27. "the Council." "Translations[5] are probibited; unless, for
"the good of the Church, by the authority of a Council, in
"the case of a Bishop; and in the case of a Priest, or other
"Clerk, by the authority of the Bishop."

XXXIII. Continuation of the Canons of Carthage. "Priests[6] who have the government of parishes, shall obtain
"the Chrism[7] from their respective Bishops, before Easter,
"either in person, or by their Sacristan[8]." "The Deacon[9]
[4 Supr. 19. 22. f.] "is the Minister of the Priest, as well as of the Bishop."
[7] can. 36. "He shall[1] not sit down, but by the Priest's order." "He
[8 qui Sacrarium tenet] "shall not speak[2] in the assembly of the Priests, unless he is
"asked a question." "When the Priest is present he shall
[9] can. 37, [Bingh. 2. 20. § 2.] "not distribute[3] to the people the Eucharist of the Body of
[1] can. 39. "CHRIST, unless by his order and in case of necessity[4]." "He
[Ibid. § 21.] "shall[5] wear the *Albe* during the Oblation, or the lessons."
[2] can. 40. This is the first time that I find any mention made of habits
[3 eroget. ib. § 7.] appointed for the service of the Altar. "Clerks[6] are not to
[4] can. 38. "suffer their hair or beards to grow long." This was the
[5] can. 41. [Bingh. 13. 8. § 2.] custom of the Romans in those times. "Their profession[7]
[6] can. 44.
[7] can. 45. "ought to appear from their outward appearance[8]; nor
[8 Bingh. 6. 4. § 15—18.]

A. D. 398.

"should they be curious in their dress or shoes." "They "are not[1] to walk up and down the streets[2]," nor "market "places[3], nor go to fairs, unless it be to buy, on pain of "being deposed." "Any Clerk[4] that is absent from vigils, "unless by reason of sickness, shall lose his salary." "All "Clerks that are able to work, shall learn trades, and earn "their living, that is, sufficient food and raiment, either by "trades or tillage, however skilled they may be in the Word "of GOD, without prejudice to their office." Such Clerks[5] as are envious, informers, flatterers, slanderers, quarrellers, swearers, jesters, or loose in their conversation and discourse[6]; such as sing at table, or break the fasts, without necessity, are condemned. "The Bishop is to reconcile[7] the differences "between Clerks, or to give information to the Council." "Ordination may not[8] be granted to seditious and revenge- "ful persons, to usurers," nor "to any under penance[9], how- "ever blameless they may be in other respects." "Such "Clerks[1] as in the midst of temptations continue diligent in "their duty, are to be advanced to a higher order;" and "those that are negligent[2], shall be deposed." "Whoever, "Clerk or layman, communicates[3] or prays with an excom- "municated person, shall be excommunicated." "Priests "shall grant penance[4] to such as ask for it;" but "such "penitents[5] as are careless and remiss, shall not be so soon "restored." "If a sick man desire penance[6], and, before "the Priest comes, he lose his speech or reason, he shall re- "ceive penance on the testimony of those who have heard "him. If he is thought to be at the point of death, let ab- "solution be given him by laying on of hands, and let the "Eucharist be put[7] into his mouth. If he recovers, he shall "perform penance for as long time as the Priest shall think "fit." "Should sick penitents recover[8], they are not to "consider themselves absolved because they have received "the viaticum[9], till the imposition of hands." "Those who "having[1] duly observed the laws of penance happen to die "in a journey or otherwise, without assistance, shall not be "excluded from ecclesiastical burial, nor from having their "memory commended in the prayers and oblations." "Peni- "tents[2] are obliged to genuflection, even on the days of "relaxation," as at Easter. "They who are to be bap-

[1] can. 47.
[2] per plateas et anfronas] [3] can. 48.
[4] can. 51, [ibid. § 13. 52, 53.]
[5] can. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63.
[6] Bingh. 6. 2. § 10.]
[7] can. 59.
[8] can. 67. [ib. § 6. and 4. 3.
[9] can. 68. § 8.]
[Infra, ch. 48.]
[1] can. 42.
[2] can. 50.
[3] can. 73.
[4] can. 74.
[5] can. 75.
[6] can. 76.
[7] infundatur]
[8] can. 77, 78.
[9] Supr. 19. ch. 52. marg.]
[1] can. 79, 81.
[2] can. 82. [Bingh. bk. 18. 2. § 9. and 13. 8. § 3.]

A. D. 398. "tized [1], shall give in their names, and shall be prepared by
[1] can. 85. "a long abstinence from wine and flesh, and frequent im-
[2] can. 86. "position of hands." "Neophytes [2] shall refrain for some
"time from banquetings and shows, and shall observe con-
[3] can. 88. "tinence." "He who on a day of solemnity [3] shall go to
"public shows, instead of being present at the church-service,
[4] can. 89. "shall be excommunicated;" and in like manner, "whoever [4]
"is addicted to auguries, enchantments, and Jewish super-
"stitions."

[5] can. 91. [Bingh. 3. 4. § 6.] "The [5] energumens or possessed shall be employed in
"sweeping the pavement of the church;" "they shall con-
[6] can. 92. "stantly [6] attend there, and shall receive their daily subsist-
[7] can. 43. "ence from the hands of the exorcists." "Care [7] shall be
"taken of such Christians as suffer for the Catholic Faith;
"and the Deacons shall provide a subsistence for them."
This Canon, together with the forty-second and the fiftieth,
[8] can. 95. relate apparently to the persecution of the Donatists. "They [8]
"who withhold from the Church the oblations of the dead,
"or bring them unwillingly, shall be excommunicated, as
[9] can. 93, 94. "murderers of the poor." "The offerings [9] of such as are at
"variance, or of these that oppress the poor, shall not be re-
[1] can. 83. "ceived." "A special respect [1] shall be paid to the aged and
[2] can. 98. "poor of the Church." "A layman [2] shall not teach in the
[3] can. 99. "presence of Clerks, unless by their order." "A woman [3], how
"great soever her knowledge and holiness, shall not teach
[4] can. 100. "men in the congregation;" nor "presume [4] to baptize."
But this to be understood with an exception, in case of ne-
[5] can. 97. cessity. "A Bishop [5] shall examine the man who is to have
"the government of religious women;" "they are not under
[6] can. 102. "pretence of their subsistence [6], to live familiarly with the
[7] can. 46. "Clerks [7]." "Widows [8] who are maintained by the Church,
[8] can. 103. "ought to spend their whole time in devotion." "If after
[9] can. 104. "devoting themselves to the LORD [9], they marry, or even after
"suffering violence, they shall be excommunicated." These
are the Canons of the fourth Council of Carthage, which are
highly esteemed by the ancients, and of which the greatest
part are observed to this day.

XXXIV. Manual labour. The employment of labouring with our own hands, recommended to the Clergy in this Council, was still more earnestly recommended to the Monks; and we have a treatise of St.

Augustine, written not long after, the occasion of which he thus relates. "When monasteries[1] began to be settled in "Carthage, some people, in obedience to the command of "the Apostle, maintained themselves by their own labour; "others chose to live by the offerings of religious people, "without working, pretending that by so doing they observed "more strictly the precept of the Gospel, where it is said: "*Behold the fowls of the air, and the lilies of the field*[2]. The "secular laity took part in this dispute, so that it began "to disturb the peace of the Church. Whereupon the Vene- "rable Aurelius bade me write on this subject, which I ac- "cordingly did." He[3] thoroughly examines those words of St. Paul[4], *If any will not work, neither let him eat.* For the slothful Monks[5] explained them to mean spiritual works; saying, that they instructed, exhorted, and comforted secular people. St. Augustine shews, that the precept of the Apostle is to be understood of bodily labour, but of such labour as does not engross the mind, nor divert it from spiritual things, and that St. Paul[6] has as positively commanded the servants of GOD to labour, as he has their brethren to supply their necessities. He confesses that the Ministers[7] of the Altar have a right to be maintained by the people; but the Monks, against whom he writes, had no such right. He observes[8], that the greatest part of these indolent Monks had, while they remained in the world, led a poor and laborious life, being slaves, freed men, peasants, and handicraftsmen; adding, however, that it would be a great sin not to admit these men of mean condition to the profession of a monastic life, since they often become great saints. But he requires likewise, that they who have been rich[9] should likewise labour according to their strength.

A. D. 398.

[1] Retract. 2. 21.

[2] St. Matt. 6. 26, 28.

[3] St. Aug. de Op. Monach. c. 1. § 2, 3, &c. [tom. 6. p. 476.]

[4] 2 Thess. 3. 10.

[5] c. 1. § 1, &c. 15. [Bingh. 7. 3. § 10. supr. p. 286. ch. 8.]

[6] § 16.

[7] c. 21.

[8] c. 22.

[9] c. 25. § 33.

He complains[1] that the glory of a monastic life was obscured by a great number of hypocrites dispersed in all parts, in the habit of Monks; who strolled about the provinces, without being sent to, or staying in, any place. "Some," he says, "get money by the relics of Martyrs, if indeed they "are not counterfeits. Some make broad their phylacteries "and enlarge the borders of their garments; others pretend "they are going to their relations living in this or that "country; all of them beg, all exact, either the supplies of

[1] c. 28. § 36.

A. D. 398. "their gainful poverty, or the reward of a pretended sanctity; "and when their ill deeds are discovered, the title of Monk "which they bear, serves only to disgrace so holy a pro-
[1] c. 31, &c. "fession." Finally[1], he censures their fondness for wearing
[2] Supra, bk. 19. ch. 25.] their hair long[y], which, with the rest of their conduct,
[3] can. 44. [vid. not. Sever. Bin. Mans. tom. 3. p. 962. B.] gives us reason to think, that these persons were a sort of Massalians[2]. The Canon[3] of the Council of Carthage, which prohibits the Clergy's wearing long hair, may also refer to this particular.

XXXV. The Arbitrations of the Bishops.

In this treatise[4] St. Augustine takes the LORD JESUS CHRIST to witness, that for his own choice, he would much rather use as much bodily labour at certain hours every day, as is enjoined
[4] c. 29. § 37. in well regulated monasteries, and be at liberty the rest of his time, to read, pray, and treat of the Holy Scripture, than be encumbered with so many secular affairs, of which he was
[5] Vid. in Ps. 118. Serm. 24. § 3. [tom. 4. p. 1340.] [Bingh. 2. 7. § 1.] obliged to take cognizance. He frequently complains[5] of this weight of business, in which charity engaged him in order to follow the precept of the Apostle, which forbids Christians to go to law before pagan judges; and Possidius[6]
[6] Possid. in his life speaks of it in this manner: "At the desire of "Christians, or men of any sect whatsoever, he would hear "causes with patience and attention; sometimes till the "usual hour of eating, sometimes the whole day fasting, "observing their dispositions, and how far each advanced or "decreased in faith and good works; and when he had op-"portunity, he instructed them in the law of GOD, and gave "them advice, requiring nothing of them, but Christian "obedience. He sometimes wrote letters, when desired, on "secular causes; but he looked upon all this as a drudgery, "which took him off from his better employments." We find a law of Honorius, dated at Milan, the twenty-seventh of July, 398, which confirms the arbitrations of the Bishops,
[7] Cod. Justin. 1. Tit. 4.] l. 7. de Episc. audient. in these words[7]: "They who agree to have their cause tried "before the Bishop, shall not be hindered; but they shall "receive his judgment as that of an arbitrator chosen by "consent, and only in civil matters; this shall not be to the

[y] Long hair was always thought an indecency in men and savouring of secular vanity, and therefore they polled every Monk at his admission, to distinguish him from the seculars; but they never shaved any, for fear they should look too like the Priests of Isis [Supr. 19. ch. 57]. This then was the ancient tonsure in opposition to both these extremes. Bingh. 7. 3. § 6.

"prejudice of those, who prefer not to appear upon such a "citation[1]." A. D. 398. [1 Bingh. 2. 7. § 3.]

XXXVI. Laws against sanctuary. [Bingh. 8. 11.]

Another law published the same day in the East, on the sixth of the calends of August, in the Consulship of Honorius and Eutychianus, that is, on the twenty-seventh of July, A. D. 398, checks the abuses arising from the intercession of Clerks and Monks[z], in order to protect persons charged with debts or crimes. The terms of this law[2] are as follows: "No Clerk or Monk, even of those called Cœnobites[3], shall "be permitted to reclaim, or forcibly to detain, a condemned "criminal." And afterwards: "Neither shall any withhold "or defend the guilty, when he is being conveyed, after his "appeal, to the place of execution; and if the temerity of "the Clerks or Monks shall render it necessary to use open "force, rather than to proceed judicially, let it be notified to "us, that we may speedily inflict a severe punishment. "Furthermore, the Bishops shall be called to account, if they "know that the Monks have been guilty, within their "diocese, of any irregularities contrary to this law, and have "neglected to correct them." As the Bishops sometimes ordained those who had been thus protected from imprisonment for crimes or debts, the law adds: "That they ought rather "to choose from among the Monks, such Clerks as they "wanted[4]." It is by the same law[5] ordained, that "if a "slave, a debtor, or one charged with any public commission, "in short, any person under a liability to give an account of "any public or private transaction, take sanctuary in the "church, and is ordained Clerk, or is defended by the Clerks "in any manner whatsoever, so that they do not, at the first "summons, restore him to his former condition; if he be a "Decurion, or in any public office, the judges shall see that "he be reduced even forcibly to his former condition; nor "shall he be allowed the privilege of the law, which permitted "Decurions to become Clerks on giving up their patrimonies[6]. "Moreover, those who take charge of the affairs of the "church, and are called Œconomi[7], shall be obliged, without

[2 Cod. Th. 9. Tit. 40. l. 16. et Cod. Justin. l. Tit. 4. l. 6.]

[3 *Synoditas*, Cod. Justin. ib.]

[4 Cf. Cod. Th. 16. Tit. 2.] l. 32. de Episc.

[5 Cod. Th. 9. Tit. 45.] l. 3. de his qui ad Eccles. conf.

[6 Supr. bk. 19. ch. 14. note m.]

[7 Supra, ch. 6. note p.]

[z] The Monks would intercede with the judges for criminals in special cases, and commonly with prevalency, the magistracy expressing a particular reverence to them on such occasions. This grew into abuse and they would come in troops—per drungos—and by force deliver criminals after sentence was passed upon them. Bingh. 7. 3. § 21. Vid. supr. bk. 19. ch. 24.

A. D. 398. "delay, to make restitution of any debt, public or private, "for which those persons stood bound, whom the Clerks have "refused to produce."

[1] Vid. Gothofr. [ad hanc leg. not. *a*.]
[2] Soc. 6. 5.

It is supposed[1], that all these decrees belong to the same law, though divided under different heads in the Theodosian Code, and this law is attributed to Eutropius[2], who governed the Empire, in the name of Arcadius. It is even said that Eutropius made it, to gratify his private enmity against Timasius[3], a celebrated general, whose condemnation he procured, by which he was banished to the desert of Oäsis[4], where he ended his life. Timasius's wife, Pentadia, had taken sanctuary in a church, and Eutropius procured this law, which not only forbids these sanctuaries for the future, but ordains, that they who had already taken refuge, should be forced out. This law seems to have been the occasion of calling the Council of Carthage[5], held on the 27th of April, 399, where two Bishops, Epigonius and Vincentius, took upon them a deputation to the Emperor, to obtain from him a law to prohibit the forcing from the church those who had taken sanctuary there for certain crimes.

[3] Soz. 8. 7.
[4] A. D. 396.]
[5] Conc. tom. 2. p. 1642. [Mans. 4. p. 482. C.]

XXXVII. Fall of Eutropius.

Eutropius himself was obliged to violate this law within six months after. His power had risen to the highest pitch. He had the dignity of a Patrician, and had caused himself to be declared Consul in the East, in the year 399, with Theodore in the West; though we have no instance, either before or since, of an Eunuch's being Consul. His riches were immense, and daily increased by confiscations, and the sale of all sorts of employments. Gaïnas, a Goth, general of the forces, could not bear with him, and privately stirred up Tribigildus[6], a relation of his, to ravage Phrygia, and the neighbouring provinces. The Emperor Arcadius, who was betrayed by Gaïnas, was obliged, in order to make peace with Tribigildus, to give up[7] Eutropius, as the cause of all the calamities of the Empire. It is even said, that he had affronted the Empress Eudoxia, so far as to threaten to force her from the palace[8]; and that she, by going to the Emperor in tears, had obliged him to come to a resolution in this matter.

[6] Soz. 8. 7.
[7] Zozim. lib. 5. [c. 17, 18.] p. 793.
[8] Philost. 11. 6.

In this extremity Eutropius fled to the church to save his life; and St. Chrysostom generously opposed those who at-

tempted to force him away. He likewise took occasion, from the great concourse of people whom this sight had drawn together, to discourse to them on this subject[1]. He first, by this example, sets forth the vanity of human affairs, and the uncertainty of an exalted state. "Where now," he says, addressing himself to Eutropius, "are your cup-bearers? your "attendants who made way for you[2] in the streets, and who "flattered you? They are fled, they have renounced your "friendship, they seek their own safety by your ruin. We "do not act thus; the Church[3], to whom you have offered "violence, opens her bosom to receive you; and the theatres, "which you have supported at so vast an expense, which "have so often been the cause of your indignation against "us, have betrayed you. I say not this to insult over him "that is fallen, but to strengthen those that yet stand." He adds further, speaking of Eutropius: "Yesterday, when they "came from the palace to force him hence, he ran to the "sacred vessels[4], pale as death, trembling all over, with "chattering teeth and stammering tongue[5]." Then recommending him to their compassion, he adds[6]: "You will say, "'He hath shut the doors of this sanctuary by divers laws;' "but experience hath taught him what mischief he hath "done; he himself is the first that hath broken the law, and "his disgrace is become a warning to all. The Altar now "appears more terrible, for it holdeth the lion chained; like "the image of our Prince, treading under foot the vanquished "and captive barbarians." He goes on: "Have I soothed "your passion? Have I assuaged your anger? Have I ex-"tinguished your cruelty? Have I raised your compassion? "Yes, your looks, these torrents of tears declare it. Come "then, let us throw ourselves at the feet of the Emperor; "or rather, let us beseech the GOD of mercy, to inspire his "heart with pity, that he may grant us the favour we ask in "full. He is already changed; as soon as he heard that "Eutropius had fled for refuge to this holy place, he "harangued at length his court and troops, who strove to "exasperate him against the criminal, and were clamorous "for his death. The Emperor shed tears, and made mention "of the Holy Table, whither he had fled for safety, and thus "did he appease their rage. After this, what mercy can you

A. D. 399.

[1] Orat. in Eutrop. A. tom. 8. 67. F. tom. 4. p. 481. [tom. 3. p. 381. Bened.]

[2] οἱ σοβοῦντες.]

[3] p. 382. A.]

[4] *mox βῆμα sive ara appellantur.* Bened. Bingh. 8. 6.]

[5] p. 383. A.]

[6] ibid. D.]

A. D. 399. "deserve, if you retain yours? How will you approach the "Mysteries, and say the Prayer in which we entreat for- "giveness even as we forgive? Let us rather pray to the "GOD of mercy to deliver this unhappy man from death, and "grant him time to put away his crimes;" St. Chrysostom refers here to Holy Baptism, for Eutropius was a pagan.

This discourse had the desired effect; and St. Chrysostom saved the life of Eutropius[1], but not without difficulty, and some blows. The people came to the church in arms, drew their swords, and brought the holy Bishop to the palace, where he was charged with the discourse which he[2] had made as with a crime, and threatened with death. He was unmoved, nor would he deliver up Eutropius, thus proving, as he says, the invincible power of the Church, founded upon the Rock[3]: the Church, he adds, which consists not in a building, walls, and roofs; but in its morality[4] and laws. These are the security of those that take sanctuary there; not the strength of its gates and buildings, but the reverence which men have for religion, and the sanctity of its ministers. However, Eutropius was apprehended, but through his own fault; for he went without the enclosure of the church. He was condemned to live in exile in the island of Cyprus; all his wealth was confiscated, and he was degraded from his honours and titles; insomuch that his name was erased out of the *Fasti*, and Theodore only was reckoned Consul for that year, who was a Christian, a man of worth and learning, and commended by St. Augustine[5] and Claudian[6] the Poet. The condemnation of Eutropius is dated the 16th of the calends of February, at Constantinople, in the Consulship of Theodorus; that is, on the seventeenth of January, 399[7]. But through Gaïnas, who could not suffer him to live, he was sent from Cyprus to Chalcedon[8]; where he was again tried, and beheaded.

[1] De promiss. DEI ap. Prosp. P. 3. c. 38. [tom. 2. p. 129.]
[2] S. Chrys. Serm. in Ps. 44. A. tom. 5. p. 100. [tom. 3. p. 386.]
[3] St. Matt. 16. 18.
[4] οὐ τόπον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τρόπον.]
[5] S. Aug. de Ord. l. c. 11. Retract. l. 2.
[6] Claud. de Cons. Theod. [Poem. 16. 17.]
[7] Cod. Th. [9. Tit. 40.] 17. de Pœn.
[8] Zosim. 5. [c. 18]. p. 794. Philost. 11. 6.

XXXVIII. St. Chrysostom reforms his clergy.

There were some that censured St. Chrysostom's discourse upon Eutropius; on the pretence[9], that he had insulted him in his calamity; but the true cause of that reproach was the dislike which they had conceived against the holy Bishop. He had not governed the Church of Constantinople a full year, before his ardent zeal had procured him many enemies, both at court and among his Clergy. He chiefly

[9] Soc. 6. 5. Soz. 8. 7.

attacked[1] those ecclesiastics, who, under pretence of charity, lived[2] with virgins, whom they treated as adopted sisters; who were called *sub-introductæ* or *sorores agapetæ*[3], that is, beloved sisters[4]. The pretence was, to assist solitary virgins destitute of friends or relations; to take care of their affairs, if rich; and to maintain them charitably, if poor; and to perform such offices for them, as they could not with propriety perform themselves; especially in countries where it is not usual for women to appear in public. And on the other side, the Clerks pretended, that they committed to these virgins the care of their household affairs, and such trivial employments as are more suitable to women, that they might themselves have more leisure for the functions of their ministry. Moreover, they affirmed, that in this familiarity, they used no forbidden liberty, nor transgressed their vow of continence[5]. St. Chrysostom, on the contrary, insisted, that this mode of life was worse than open intercourse with impure women. "These last," says he, "are pagans, who "invite those that are willing to be corrupted; the former "are Christians, who tempt even the saints to wickedness."

A. D. 399.

[1] Pall. Vit. p. 45. [18.]

[2] ἀδελφοσύναι]

[3] Supr. bk. 8. ch. 4. and 11. ch. 17.

[4] S. Hieron. Ep. 22. [18. p. 33.] c. 5. [ad Eustoch. de custod. Virgin.]

[5] See Gieseler. vol. 1. § 71. Supr. Conc. Carth. 3. can. 17. et 4. can. 46. vid. Bingh. 6. 2. § 13.]

We have two discourses[6] of his upon this subject, which seem to belong to this time. In the first he inveighs against the men who entertained these pretended sisters; and in the other, against the virgins who were thus entertained. He supposes what they affirmed; that there was no real criminal correspondence between them; still he condemns the habit, as giving occasion of scandal, which consideration ought not to be neglected, when there are good grounds for it, and when the thing which gives the occasion, is not necessary and good in itself. He confutes the pretences of those shameful unions, and shews the evils that attend them; viz. the continual danger of falling into what is criminal, the effeminacy of manners contracted by such intercourse, and were there nothing else, the inducement to be fond of seeing and talking with each other, a temptation more likely to exist between persons of different sexes. In the treatise addressed to the virgins, he observes[7] how often their modesty is exposed, and insists that all the evil proceeds from their imagining chastity to consist in abstaining from grosser crime, and not also in renouncing the ornaments of dress,

[6] A. tom. 6. p. 214, 230. [tom. 1. p. 228, 248.]

[7] p. 231. l. 35.

A. D. 399. and other things of this world. By these discourses, St. Chrysostom drew[1] upon him the ill-will of such of the Clergy as had habituated themselves to this abuse. He afterwards attacked their avarice; then their manner of life, admonishing them to be content with their salaries[2], and not to run about to rich men's tables, and become flatterers and parasites. He would have the Priests[3] plentifully supplied with all things necessary, lest their labour should sink their spirits, and the trifling cares of the world should take them off from their spiritual employments, but he wished[4] to have them contented with food and raiment, and not be solicitous about worldly riches.

[1] Pall. Vit. p. 45. [p. 18. E.]

[2] p. 46. [19. A.]

[3] Hom. 15. in 1 Tim. ad v. 18. [tom. 11. p. 636. B.]

[4] Hom. 21. in 1 Cor. 9. 7. [tom. 10. p. 190.]

XXXIX. St. Chrysostom's care of the poor.

He afterwards[5] examined the accounts[6] of the Œconomus or steward[7], and retrenched the unnecessary expenses of the Church. He found no small profusion in the private expenditure of the Bishop, and applied what was superfluous to the hospital for the sick[8]. As the necessities of the poor increased, he built several hospitals, the superintendency of which he committed to two pious Priests; and placed there, for the service of the sick, physicians, cooks, and other officers, chosen from such as were unmarried. He recommends[9] to the faithful of Constantinople to have, every one, a domestic hospital, that is, in each house, a small chamber for the poor. He proceeded further, and proposed to them to imitate the first Christians of Jerusalem, and put their wealth into a common stock. "How much money," says[1] he, "do "you think might be raised, if all the faithful would sell their "possessions? It might amount to a million pounds[2] of gold, "or rather to two or three millions; for there are in this city "at least a hundred thousand Christians, the rest are Jews "and pagans; and I do not think that there are above fifty "thousand poor. How easy would it be to maintain them! "and the expense would be still less, were they obliged to "live in common. Even those who are not Christians, will "contribute[3]. And who would continue a pagan[4] after this? "I do not think there would be one remaining; they would "be all brought over. If we proceed, I hope, by GOD'S "blessing, that this will be the case; only trust me, and let "us do things in order." He afterwards sent for[5] the widows, to discover whether any were not discreet in their conduct;

[5] Pall. p. 46. [19.]

[6] βρέβια]

[7] Supr. ch. 6. note p.]

[8] νοσοκομεῖον]

[9] Hom. 45. in Acta. Mor. [tom. 9. p. 343. B, C.]

[1] Hom. 11. ibid. p. 93. C.]

[2] λιτρῶν χρυσίου]

[3] E.]

[4] p. 94. B.]

[5] Pall. p. 47. [19. C.]

and finding some not free from the love of evil pleasures, he admonished them to give themselves to fasting; to abstain from the bath, and from excess in apparel, or else to marry speedily, that they might not be a reproach to religion. "For," says[1] he, "being freed from the care of a husband, "and unrestrained by that of GOD, they become idle, tatlers, "and busy bodies." A. D. 399.

[1] Hom. 15. in 1 Tim. 5. 14. [tom. 11. p. 634. E.]

XL. His instructions to the people.

He exhorted the people[2] to be constant at the church service of the night[3], that is, the men who had not leisure in the day-time; for as to women, he would have them stay at home, and only come to church in the day-time. "It is "necessary," says[4] he, "to remember GOD at all times; but "especially when the mind is at rest, that is, in the night-"season; for by day we are interrupted by other affairs." And in another place[5]: "It was not intended that we "should spend the whole night in sleep and inactivity. This "appears by the practice of handicraftsmen, drivers[6], and "merchants; so also by those of the Church, who rise at "midnight. Do you rise likewise, and behold the beautiful "order of the stars, that profound silence, that universal "repose. The soul is then more pure, more free, and more "elevated; darkness and silence excite compunction[7]; and "all men being stretched upon their beds, as in their graves, "represent the end of the world[8]. I speak both to men and "women; bend your knees, sigh and pray; if you have chil-"dren, wake them also; and let your house be like a church "in the night-season. If they have not strength to bear "watching, let them say a prayer or two, in order to accustom "them to rise, and then lie down again[9]." These exhortations gave offence to the slothful[1] among the Clerks, who were wont to spend the whole night in sleep.

[2] Pall. p. 47. [19.]

[3] τοῖς νυκτερίναις λειτουργίαις]

[4] Hom. 13. in Ep. ad Hebr. Mor. [tom. 10. p. 128.]

[5] Hom. 26. in Act. Mor. [p. 212. D.]

[6] ὀνηλάταις]

[7] κατάνυξιν]

[8] p. 213.]

[9] ibid. D.]

[1] Pall. p. 19. D.]

St. John Chrysostom laboured also to abate the pride of the rich[2], and to teach them humility and moderation. "What "reason have you," said[3] he, "to set so great a value on your-"selves, and to think you do us a favour, when you come to "this place, to hear what conduces to your salvation? Is it "your wealth? Your robes of silk? Know ye not, that they "are spun by worms, and wrought by the hands of bar-"barians? that they are worn by abandoned women, robbers, "the sacrilegious, and by others of character most infamous?

[2] Pall. p. 47. [ibid.]

[3] Hom. 71. τί τοῦτο; ὅσον προῖῶσιν. in inscript. altar. Act. 17. tom. 6. p. 723. Sav.

A. D. 399. "Descend from this haughtiness; reflect upon the vileness of "your nature; what are ye but earth, dust, ashes, and vapour? "You have, indeed, many men under your command, but "yourselves are slaves to your own passions. You resemble "the man who suffers himself to be beaten by his servants "at home, and boasts of his power abroad."

[1] Pall. p. 48. [19. E.] His exhortations had so good an effect[1], that the whole city of Constantinople daily made a visible progress in piety. Even those who had been passionately fond of the horse-race, and the other public shows, forsook the circus and the theatre, and came in crowds to the church. We find also very powerful discourses delivered at Constantinople against these abuses[2]. It was in this city that he expounded, among others, the Epistles to the Ephesians, to the Colossians, and to the Hebrews, and the Acts of the Apostles. He preached[3] three times a-week; and sometimes seven days successively. The crowd was so great[4] at his sermons, that, to place himself where he might be heard, he was obliged to quit his usual station, and sit in the middle of the church, in the reader's desk[a]. Some came to hear him out of curiosity; but many became converts, as well pagans as heretics.

[2] A. tom. 5. Serm. 29. Intrate in ang. p. 171. [tom. 1. p. 790.]

[3] Hom. 24. 42. Mor. in Acta. [p. 199, 323.]

[4] Hom. 44. in Acta. Mor. [p. 335. D.]

[4] Soz. 8. 5.

[5] Ibid. A certain person[5] of the sect of the Macedonians, being converted by his instructions, wished also to persuade his wife to be reconciled to the Catholic Church. A long time he pressed her without effect, being withheld by custom, and the conversation of other women. At last, when he threatened separation, she promised to comply, and came to church. ["At the time," says Sozomen, "of the Mysteries, (the initiated[6] "understand me"),] she took the Eucharist, and held down her head, as if to pray; and then substituted for the Eucharist a piece of bread, which one of her maids, who was in the secret, gave her. As soon as she conveyed the bread to her mouth, she felt that it had become a stone between her teeth. Terrified at the miracle, she ran to the Bishop, confessed the whole matter, and shewed him the stone, which was of an extraordinary colour and substance, and shewed plainly the impression of her teeth. She asked forgiveness with tears, and

[6] Bingh. I. 4. § 2.

[a] ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν. See Socr. 6. 5. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος. Βῆμα is generally used of the altar-steps (supr. ch. 37. marg. See Vales. Not.), from which it was more usual to preach. Bingh. 8. 3. § 4.

lived after that time in perfect harmony with her husband. A. D. 399.
The miraculous stone was laid up in the treasury of the Church of Constantinople, and was to be seen there in the time of Sozomen, who relates this story.

XLI. Care of St. Chrysostom for other Churches.

St. John Chrysostom did not confine his anxious care to his own Church of Constantinople, but extended[1] it to all the rest. He reformed the Churches of the six provinces of Thrace, the eleven provinces of Asia, and the eleven of Pontus; in all twenty-eight[b]. From the beginning of his Episcopate, he endeavoured to reconcile the Bishops of the East, with those of Egypt and the West, from which they had been divided on account of Paulinus. He entreated Theophilus of Alexandria to lend his assistance for this purpose, and to reconcile the Pope and Bishop Flavian, the latter of whom he always regarded as his master and spiritual father. Theophilus consenting to this, Acacius, Bishop of Berrhœa, and the Priest Isidore of Alexandria, were chosen to go to Rome. Having finished their negotiation with success, they came back to Egypt, whence Acacius returned to Syria, bringing Flavian and his adherents letters of pacification[2] from the Bishops of Egypt and the West. Thus was communion established between these Churches.

[1] Soz. 8. 3.

[2 εἰρηναῖα]

St. Chrysostom applied himself likewise to the conversion of the Scythians[3]. He found some at Constantinople, who were Arians; and in order to reclaim them, he appointed for them Priests, Deacons, and Readers, to officiate in their own tongue. He assigned them a particular church, to which he sometimes went himself, and discoursed to them by an interpreter. Thus many were converted. Hearing[4] that some of those Scythians called Nomades, that is, herdsmen[5] who wandered from place to place, had encamped near the Danube, and desired to be instructed in religion, he sought out some apostolical men, whom he sent to them, and who laboured with great success. Knowing that there were certain Marcionites within the territory of Cyrus, he wrote to the Bishop, exhorting him to rid the country of them;

[3] Theod. 5. 30.

[4] c. 31.

[5] S. Chrys. Hom. 15. in 2. ad Cor. tom. 10. p. 547. A.]

[b] The dioceses of Asia were under the Exarch of Ephesus; those of Pontus, under the Exarch of Cappadocia. Custom had subjected these two Exarchates to the Patriarch of Constantinople before the Council of Chalcedon. See supra, bk. 18. ch. 7. note y. Cf. Bingh. 2. 17. § 10, 15.

A. D. 399. and offering him the assistance of the imperial laws. He supported with his interest the Deacon Mark, who had been sent by St. Porphyrius[1], Bishop of Gaza, to obtain the Emperor's protection against the pagans; and he procured the demolition of the temples in Phœnicia. For this work he deputed[2] certain zealous Monks, whom he collected and sent, authorized by rescripts of the Emperor, from whom, however, they did not demand any thing to defray the expenses of their mission; being abundantly supplied by the piety of certain wealthy and religious women.

[1] Vit. S. Porph. ap. Sur. 26 Feb. [tom. 1. p. 1091.]

[2] Theod. 5. 29.

XLII. Laws against Idolatry.

We have, in fact, a law[3] of Arcadius, of the third of the ides of July, in the Consulship of Theodorus, that is, of the 13th of July, A. D. 399, requiring the demolition of the temples in the country, but without noise and tumult, and as it is directed to Eutychianus, Prætorian Præfect of the East, it is with reason supposed, that it relates to Phœnicia. Another law[4] of the same year, dated the second of October, forbids the indecent sights and sports, called[5] *Majuma*, which were chiefly in use in the same country. Honorius, too, or rather Stilicho in his name, enacted some laws against the pagans. There are three dated in this year; one[6] on the 29th of January, directed to the governors of Spain, and of the five provinces of Gaul; which, while it prohibits sacrifices, forbids also the removal of the ornaments from public works, that is, the statues in the baths, streets, public squares, and the like. The second[7] law of Honorius is of the twentieth of August, which, while it still confirms the prohibition of sacrifices, and other pagan superstitions, permits assemblies, shows, and solemn festivals. It is addressed to the Proconsul of Africa, as is also the third, dated much about the same time, which forbids the demolition of temples, but enforces the prohibition of sacrifices, and commands the removal of idols. Probably it was published on account of what happened at Carthage on the nineteenth of March in the same year; when the Counts Gaudentius and Jovius destroyed[8] the temples of the false gods, and broke down the idols, thus proving the falsehood of a pretended heathen oracle, that the Christian religion should not last above 365 years. For reckoning only from the preaching of the Gospel, the 365 years were complete in A.D. 398, according to St. Augustine's computation,

[3] Cod. Th. [16. Tit. 10.] 17. de pagan. et ibi Gothofr.

[4] Cod. Th. [15. Tit. 6.] 2. de Mai. et ibi Gothofr.

[5] from the town *Majuma*]

[6] Cod. Th. [16. Tit. 10.] 15. de pagan.

[7] Ibid. 18.

[8] S. Aug. de Civit. 18. cap. ult. [tom. 7. p. 537.]

who observes, that many were converted, when they perceived the falsehood of their oracle. A. D. 399.

The most famous temple at Carthage, was that of the goddess Cœlestis, supposed to be the same with Cybele[1]. It was not destroyed at this time, but having been shut up for many years, was overgrown with grass and brambles; and the pagans reported, that it was guarded by dragons and asps. The Christians desired that it might be turned into a church, to which Aurelius the Bishop consented, and placed there his Episcopal chair[2]. This was done at the solemnity of Easter. The temple was opened and cleansed without any accident, and these words were found engraved on the front: *Dedicated by Aurelius, the Pontiff.* This was some pagan Pontiff, but the coincidence in the name, seemed to the people to be a presage of the truth. The pagans gave out an oracle of the goddess Cœlestis, which promised the restoration of her worship in that temple; but, on the contrary, it was ruined about twenty years after, and made a burying-place. About the same time sixty Christians suffered martyrdom, for having pulled down and broken in pieces an idol of Hercules, being massacred by the pagans of the colony of Suffecta. This we learn from a letter which St. Augustine wrote[3] to the Elders of that colony, reproaching them with their cruelty, and contempt of the laws. The Church commemorates these Martyrs on the 30th of August.

[1] De promiss. 3. c. 38. ap. Prosp. [tom. 2. p. 129.]

[2] Bingh. 8. 2. § 4. Supr. bk. 19. ch. 29. note g.]

[3] Ep. 50. al. 267. [tom. 2. p. 116.]

We have a Council of Africa[4], the date of which, most to be depended on, is the 438th year of the Spanish æra, on the sixth of the calends of June, that is, on the twenty-seventh of May, A. D. 400[5]. Aurelius presided, and with him sixty-two[6] Bishops subscribed the Canons, which were fifteen in number, and of which the last ordained[7], that the Emperor should be addressed, to abolish the remains of idolatry, even in the groves and trees. The citation of Clerks[8] to give evidence in courts of justice, is prohibited. It was said[9], that a Clerk, of what rank soever, condemned by the sentence of the Bishops, ought not to be defended, either by the Church which he had governed, or by any other person whatever; i. e. as it is elsewhere[1] explained, the Council proposed that the Emperors should be applied to to make this law. Accordingly we find[2] a law made by Honorius, dated the fourth of

XLIII. Fifth Council of Carthage.

[4] Conc. tom. 2. p. 1215. [Mans. 3. p. 967.]

[5] Schelstr. Diss. 3. c. 9. [p. 226. See L'Art de Verif. les dates. tom. 1. p. xl.]

[6] Qu. Seventy-two.]

[7] can. 15.

[8] can. 1. [Bingh. 5. 2. § 1.]

[9] can. 2.

[1] Dion. Exig. § 62. [p. 152.]

[2] Cod. Th. [16. Tit. 2.] l. 35. de Episcop.

A. D. 400. February, in the same year 400, which confirms the deposition of Bishops by Councils, enjoining the deposed Bishop not to remain within a hundred miles of the city which he had governed; and forbidding any person whatsoever, to solicit the Emperor for his restoration.

[1] can. 4. [Bingh. 5. 6. § 7.] The Council forbids[1] Bishops to alienate the estates of the Church, without the authority of the Primate of the province and the Council; or to reside in any part of the diocese, but in

[2] can. 5. [ibid. 6. 4. § 7.] the cathedral church[2]. The *Intercessor*[3], that is, the person who takes care of a church during a vacancy, otherwise called

[3] Bingh. 2. 15. and 2. 11. § 1. 16. § 20. 4. 2. § 7. 14.] the Visitor, was required to procure a Bishop within the year; otherwise, after the expiration of the year, another *Intercessor* shall be put in his place[4]. All Bishops were obliged[5] to be present at the Council, or in case of a just excuse, to send it in writing; and it was decreed that the Primate of each province, should distribute his Bishops into two or three bodies, that they might attend the Council by turns, for there were a great number of Bishops in each province.

[4] can. 8.

[5] can. 10.

[6] can. 11. None[6] were to lay violent hands on Priests or Deacons who had been guilty of any crime, to put them under penance, as though they were laymen. This was an abuse practised

[7] Optat. lib. 1. [p. 28.] by the Donatists[7]. An excommunicated Clerk[8] shall not be heard in his own justification, after the year is expired.

[8] can. 12. The Bishop[9] who shall have ordained as Clerk or as Superior of his monastery a Monk belonging to another Bishop, shall be reduced to the communion of his own church; and such Monk shall be neither Clerk nor Su-

[9] can. 13.

[1] Ep. 60. al. 76. ad Aurel. Ep. 64. al. 235. ad Quintian. perior. St. Augustine[1] mentions this Canon in two of his letters, where he says, that the deserters of monasteries ought not to be ordained Clerks, but the fittest persons among the Monks.

[2] can. 6. [Bingh. 12. 5. § 3.] It was decreed[2] that those children of whose baptism there were no certain proofs, should be baptized without scruple;

[3] can. 14. and that altars[3], dedicated to the memory of Martyrs, without good grounds, or upon pretended revelations, should be removed. Easter-day was to be announced by letters in form[4].

[4] formatæ] can. 7.

[5] can. 3. The law[5] relating to continence is confirmed in respect to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. These are the regulations[6] of

[6] See Bingh. 3. 11. § 2.] this Council, which is reckoned the fifth of Carthage, and the third under Aurelius.

St. Augustine[1] still continued his labours for the Church, and about the same year 400 composed a great number of books; among the rest a small treatise on the Belief of Things Invisible[2], which seems to have been a sermon, and therefore is not mentioned in his Retractations; but he sent it long after[3] to Count Darius[4], as one of his works. He there opposes the heathens, who derided the Christian religion, because it required the belief of things invisible. He at first proves that we cannot, without overthrowing the foundations of civil society, forbear giving our assent to things, which neither our bodily eyes externally[5], nor those of our thought internally, can discern[6]. He afterwards shews that our faith is grounded on sensible proofs[7]; viz. the prophecies, which we read and we see fulfilled, especially the calling of the Gentiles, and the establishment of the Church throughout the world, which was the more apparent at that time, as it had more recently happened. The things before our eyes incline us to believe the things past and the promises of the future, contained in the same books[8]. These books are in the hands of the Jews, our enemies, a people preserved on purpose to be our evidence[9]. And though there were no prophecies, the mere conversion of the world[1], (which has forsaken its former superstitions to adore a crucified Man, preached by illiterate persons, whose successors had no defence but their sufferings), is of itself a sufficient demonstration that Christianity is the work of GOD.

A. D. 400.

XLIV. Writings of St. Augustine.

[1] Retract. 2. c. 4.

[2] *De fide rerum quæ non videntur*] tom. 6. p. 141.

[3] A.D. 427.]

[4] Ep. 231. § 14. [7. tom. 2. p. 842.]

[5] § 1.]

[6] § 2.]

[7] § 5.]

[8] § 8.]

[9] § 9.]

[1] c. 7. § 10.]

St. Augustine about the same time composed the treatise *On Catechizing*[2], at the desire of Deogratias, a Deacon of Carthage, to whom that office was committed[3]. He shews him in what manner he ought to perform it, and the substance of what he was to say to the Catechumens, who were not Christian children but adult pagans, who had become converts. St. Augustine had begun some years before the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*[4], which was meant to shew more at large, in what manner the Holy Scripture was to be understood and explained; but he did not finish this till about five and twenty years after.

[2] *De Catechiz. rudib.* tom. 6. p. 263.]

[3] Bingh. 3. 10. § 1.]

[4] Retr. 2. c. 4. [tom. 1. p. 43.]

About this time, that is, about the year 400, he began his great work on the TRINITY[5], which he dictated by a little at a time, and did not finish till more than fifteen years after.

[5] Ibid. c. 15.

A. D. 400. He left it off, to write without interruption the four books
[1] Ibid. c. 16. *On the Agreement of the Evangelists*[1]; the first of which is taken up in confuting those, who, under pretence of honouring JESUS CHRIST as a man of great wisdom, discredited the Gospels, because He had not written them Himself, as though His disciples had made additions to His doctrine, by ascribing divinity to Him, and by affirming that He had prohibited the adoration of other gods. This book is an excellent work against the pagans. He proves the superiority of the GOD of the Jews, by the completion of the prophecies concerning the conversion of all nations, and the ruin of
[2] Supra, ch. 42. idolatry, which was accomplished by the last[2] laws of the Emperors. The three other books reconcile in detail the seeming contradictions of the Evangelists. To the same time
[3] Retr. 2. c. 12. are to be referred the *Questions*[3] *on the two Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke,* and the *Annotations*[4] *upon Job.* About the
[4] Ibid. c. 13.] same time also, St. Augustine wrote the thirteen books of his
[5] Ibid. c. 6. *Confessions*[5], for his own and others' edification. The ten first are the History of his Life; the three last are Meditations on the allegorical Sense of the first Part of Genesis, which he some time after expounded according to the literal meaning, in his twelve *Books on Genesis according to the*
[6] Ibid. c. 24. *Letter*[6]. The main design of these books was to provide answers to the calumnies of the Manichees, and they contain more questions than solutions; they were not completed till fourteen years after. He more openly confutes the tenets of
[7] Ibid. c. 7. the Manichees[7] in the thirty-three books against Faustus, the same Manichæan Bishop with whom he had been acquainted while a young man, and with whose instructions
[8] Supr. bk. 18. ch. 50. he had been so dissatisfied[8]. He was an African of Milevis[9], and when accused to the Proconsul, with some other Manichees, instead of suffering death, which he had incurred by the laws, he was, at the desire of the Christians, only
[9] Lib. 1. contr. Faust. § 1. [tom. 8.]
[1] Lib. 5. c. 8. banished to an island[1], whence he was recalled soon after. He wrote a book against the Catholic faith, which St. Augustine, at the desire of the faithful, undertook to refute in detail, setting down first the text of Faustus, and then his own answers; for which reason these books are very unequal in their length, varying according as those of Faustus furnished him with more or less matter. This work is,

chiefly, a defence of the Old Testament against the Manichees. A. D. 400.

Although the heresy of Jovinian had been condemned at Rome, where it had first appeared, there were still some who disputed about it in secret, insisting chiefly that they could not answer Jovinian in favour of virginity, without censuring marriage. This reproach principally regarded St. Jerome. In order to overthrow this reasoning, St. Augustine wrote the book *On the Goodness of a Wedded Life*[1], shewing[2] that marriage is good, not as being a lesser evil, but as a real good; and that there are three[3] principal blessings annexed to it; Children, reciprocal Fidelity, and the "Sacrament" or Mystery, which renders it indissoluble. As Jovinian drew his most seducing argument from this question[4] to the virgins, Whether they were more perfect than Sarah or Hannah? he maintained that the holy persons who lived in a married state in the Old Testament, were at least as perfect as those who professed continence under the New; because they had the same virtue in the disposition of their heart, and perfect obedience, which was better than continence. It was expected[5] that St. Augustine would also write on Holy Virginity; this he soon performed, and he shews the excellency of this gift of GOD, and with what humility it ought to be preserved. These two treatises are referred to the year 401:

[1 Retr. 2. c. 22.] [2 tom. 6. p. 319.] [3 c. 24.] [4 Retr. ibid. De Bono Conj. c. 22.] [5 Retr. 2. c. 23. Vid. tom. 6. p. 341.]

XLV. Letters to Januarius.

The *Answers to the Questions of Januarius*[6], which are placed among the letters[7] of St. Augustine, are also of the same date[8]. These questions all relate to the different usages of the Churches. He lays it down as a fundamental maxim, that our LORD JESUS CHRIST gave to His new people but few Sacraments, and very easy to be observed, as Baptism, the Communication of His Body and Blood, and whatever else[9] is recommended in the writings of the New Testament. "As "to those which are not written, but handed down by tradi- "tion," he says, "if they are observed all over[1] the world, "we are to understand that they are retained as having been "recommended and ordained by the Apostles or the plenary "Councils, whose authority is most wholesome in the Church, "as the celebration of the Passion, the Resurrection, the As- "cension of the LORD and the Coming of the HOLY GHOST

[6 Retr. 2. c. 26.] [7 Ep. 54. [8 A. D. 400.] [9 *Si quid aliud in Scr. canonicis commendatur*] [1 Vid. Lib. 4. de Baptism. c. 24. [§ 31. tom. 9. p. 140.]

A. D. 400. "from Heaven, by yearly solemnity. With respect to the different observances in different places, as to fast on Saturday "or not; to receive the Communion every day, or only on certain days; to offer every day, or on Saturday and Sunday, or "on Sunday only; every one is at liberty as to these matters, "and no better direction can be given to a discreet Christian, [1 Cf. bk. 18. ch. 51.] "than to conform[1] to the practice of the Church where he "happens to be. For whatever is not contrary to faith or [2 bonos mores] "holiness[2], ought to be esteemed indifferent, and observed for [3 c. 3. § 4.] "their sakes among whom we live." He approves[3] of those who did not communicate every day out of respect, and of those who daily communicate from different motives of respect; provided they do not communicate at such seasons [4 antistes] as they are enjoined penance by the Pastor[4], and therefore ought not to approach the altar. But he approves still more of him who should exhort them to remain in concord, notwithstanding their different practice. He shews in this letter different usages of the Churches. In some places it was [5 c. 4.] not the custom to fast on Thursdays[5] in Lent, in some the oblation was made twice on Holy Thursday, in the morning, and in the evening after supper. Except on this day, the custom of receiving the Eucharist fasting, was then universal throughout the Church[c]. It was contrary to custom to bathe themselves on Fast-days, but it was usual to bathe on Holy Thursday, which practice St. Augustine derives from those who were to be baptized, and therefore prepared themselves for the Sacrament by a suitable outward cleansing.

[6 Ep. 55. al. 119.] In the second[6] letter to Januarius, St. Augustine gives the reason why a certain day after the new moon, and a particular day in the week, was observed at Easter rather than at Christmas. It was because Easter-day is not merely a commemoration, but has a sacramental signification of the mysteries thereon [7 Gal. 4. 10, 11.] accomplished. St. Paul[7] forbids the observance of days and seasons in two ways; either as the Jews, who were subject to the ceremonies of the old law; or as the heathen, who believed that there were lucky and unlucky days, which had an

[c] See supr. ch. 26. On this Thursday the sacrifice was offered in the evening to commemorate more exactly the institution of the Eucharist, and it was not thought necessary to communicate fasting. Some, however, thought otherwise, and it was for *their* sakes that the oblation was also made in the morning, and so, twice on this day.

influence on the ordinary actions of life[1]. But he does not forbid us to make use of the divisions of time, for the prudent conduct of our life. A. D. 400. [1 c. 7.]

All the Churches[2] observed the fast of forty days before Easter, that is, Lent, and the fifty days of rejoicing to Pentecost, during which there is no fast, Hallelujah is sung, and prayer is offered standing[3]. I know not, says St. Augustine, whether standing in prayer on those days, and on all Sundays, is observed every where. There are places where Hallelujah is sung at other seasons; but it is sung every where at Easter. The octave[4] of the Neophytes is distinguished from the rest; the washing of feet[5] was practised in imitation of our LORD. Some would not admit it lest it should be looked upon as part of Baptism, and others had laid it aside for the same reason. There was no fixed rule for the singing of Hymns and Psalms[6], and the Churches of Africa paid comparatively less attention to it. St. Augustine is of opinion, that all the time in ecclesiastical congregations, which is not spent in reading, teaching, and praying, should be employed in singing. [2 § 32.] [3 Supra, ch. 6.] [4 Bingh. 20.5. § 12.] [5 § 33.] [6 § 34.]

In fine, he lays it down as a rule that we should observe and imitate whatever may lead us to a better life, unless the weakness of some renders it dangerous. "I cannot approve," he adds, "the new practices which have been introduced "almost with as much solemnity as Sacraments; though I "dare not censure them too freely, lest I give offence to any "one. But I am sensibly afflicted, that so many wholesome "precepts of the sacred books should be neglected, and that "all our religion should be so made to consist of merely "human precepts, that if any one do but touch the ground "with his foot bare within the octave of his Baptism, it is "held a greater crime than if he had drunk to excess. There-"fore as to all those customs which are not contained in "the Scripture, ordained by Councils, or confirmed by the "general custom of the Church, and for which scarce any "(if any) reason can be found, I am of opinion that they "ought without the least scruple to be laid aside. For al-"though it cannot be shewn wherein they are contrary to the "faith, it is sufficient that they load religion, which GOD in "His mercy intended to make free, with burdensome prac-

A. D. 400. "tices; so that the condition of the Jews is more tolerable, "since at least they are subject to the law of God, and not "to the ordinances of men. But the Church being sur- "rounded with much chaff and tares, tolerates many things, "without however approving or conniving at what is contrary "to faith and holiness[1]." St. Augustine condemns[2] in particular the common practice of divining by the Gospel, and of men managing their temporal affairs according to the words found at the first opening of the book.

[1 bonam vitam]
[2] § 37. p. 143. Vid. Baluz. not. ad 3. Capitular. an. 789. c. 4. tom. 2. p. 1038.

XLVI. Books against Parmenian.

In the mean time St. Augustine continued to oppose the Donatists. Parmenian who had succeeded Donatus[3], as their Bishop at Carthage, and whom St. Optatus had opposed in his time, had left behind him a letter to Tichonius, which St. Augustine undertook to refute. Tichonius[4] was a Donatist, a man of ability, learning, and eloquence, who had laboured much in the study of the Holy Scripture, and had written various works; among others, an *Exposition of the Revelations,* and *Rules for the Understanding of the Scriptures,* which are still extant, and which St. Augustine[5] commends, provided they be judiciously applied. This Tichonius by studying the Scriptures, confessed that the Church was to be spread throughout the world, and that no sin could hinder the fulfilment of God's promises. He began to maintain[6] this truth strenuously, but yet continued a Donatist, nor did he perceive this consequence of his principle, namely, that the Christians of Africa who were in communion with all the rest of the world, were the members of the true Church. Parmenian and the other Donatists plainly saw this consequence; and that they might not grant it, chose rather to deny the principle, and maintained that the Church was corrupted by the communion of the wicked. Parmenian therefore wrote a letter to Tichonius, as if to undeceive him; but the latter persisted in his opinion, and was afterwards censured by the Donatists, in one of their Councils. To this letter of Parmenian, now some time dead, St. Augustine undertook to reply at the desire of the brethren, and divided his answer into three books[7].

[3] Supr. bk. 16. ch. 40.
[4] Gennad. c. 19. p. 31.
[5] S. Aug. 3. Doctr. Christian. c. 30. tom. 3. p. 57. Bibl. PP. 1677. tom. 6. p. 49.
[6] c. Ep. Parm. 1. c. 1.]
[7] Retr. 2. c. 17.

In them he treats of the question of right, in opposition to the Donatists; namely, whether the good are defiled by communication with the wicked, by remaining in the unity of

the same Church, and participation in the same Sacraments. A. D. 400.
He then proves[1] that the reproaches of the Donatists against those whom they accused of being Traditors, could not hurt the Christians of other countries, who had not been acquainted with what had passed in Africa, nor hinder the effect of GOD's promises delivered in so many places of the Old and New Testament, with regard to the universality of the Church spread throughout the world, and its eternity throughout all ages. And as the Donatists took advantage from some passages of the Scripture, which forbade communication with the wicked, and seemed to reject the sacrifice, prayer, and preaching of impious men; St. Augustine explains all these passages, and shews that the Priest, although a sinner, is heard[2] when he prays for the people; that his preaching is profitable to others, when he teaches truth[3], and that the sacrifice of the wicked is only prejudicial to himself, because there is but "one only and the same Sacrifice, ever "Holy, offered by CHRIST the ever righteous, Who hath "offered Himself for us and is our Mediator in Heaven."

[1] Lib. 1. c. 2. [tom. 9. p. 12.]
[2] Lib. 2. c. 8. § 17. [p. 35.]
[3] c. 9.

In a word, all the Sacraments[4] profit those who receive them worthily, and are hurtful only to those who administer them unworthily, whether their sin be known or not. The good Minister[5] by communicating grace to the people, earns a reward for himself, but grace is also communicated by the evil Minister; for it is GOD who conveyeth grace by men, as He sometimes giveth it without the ministry of men[6]. The communicating therefore with the sinner by living with him, and receiving from him the word of GOD and the Sacraments, is not participation in his sin; but only the consenting to his crime. Neither the Prophets[7] nor the Apostles[8], nor JESUS CHRIST Himself, separated themselves from the society of the sinners whom they reproved. However, as we are sometimes commanded to separate[9] ourselves from the wicked, St. Augustine gives rules for this separation, that is, for excommunication. The severity of the Church[1], as well as its gentleness, is an effect of its charity. When a Christian is convicted of a crime deserving the censure of Anathema, he is separated from the Church for his amendment; and if he does not repent, it is by himself that he is cut off from the Church. But this must be done, supposing there is involved

[4] c. 10.
[5] c. 11. § 24.
[6] c. 15. § 34.]
[7] Lib. 3. c. 4.
[8] Lib. 2. c. 15. § 34. [p. 47. E. Cf. c. litt. Petil. 2. c. 106. § 243.]
[9] Lib. 3. c. 1.
[1] c. 2. § 13. [p. 64. C.]

A. D. 400. no danger of schism, but that this person stands single and without support, and that the people assist the pastor against him. When the distemper is become general[1], the good can do nothing but sigh, lest they pull up the good wheat with the tares[2]. Nothing further than reproof can be used to the multitude, and that too at a fitting time, as for instance in public calamities which humble them, and render them more tractable. But separation is unnecessary, pernicious, and sacrilegious, because it proceeds only from pride; it troubles the good who are weak, without correcting obstinate sinners; it is never allowable to separate from the Church, and there is no safety[3] but in the unity of that Church, which is founded on the promises of GOD, and necessarily known thoughout the world.

[1 Vid. supr. bk. 19. ch. 41.]

[2 § 14, 15.]

[3 c. 6. § 28. [p. 75.]]

XLVII. Books on Baptism.

In these books against Parmenian, St. Augustine had promised[4] more thoroughly to discuss the question of Baptism; and immediately after composed a separate work[5] on this subject, divided into seven books, wherein he answers also the objections which the Donatists drew from the writings and behaviour of St. Cyprian. To prove[6] the validity of the baptism of heretics, St. Augustine argues in this manner; it is agreed, that apostates and schismatics do not forfeit their Baptism, since they are not re-baptized[7] when they return to the Church, as neither do they lose their ordination, since they are not re-ordained. Baptism may therefore be also received out of the Church, in the same manner as it may be preserved. Schismatics are only separated from us in a spiritual sense, namely, in what regards their will and opinions; they are therefore with us in every thing that they believe as we do; but the blessings they enjoy in common with us, that is, the Belief and the Sacraments, are useless without charity, the want of which divides them from us: when they return, these blessings, which they have already, are not bestowed, but begin to be of use to them. The case is the same with the wicked, who, remaining in[8] the Church, live according to the flesh without charity; they receive the Sacraments, but without fruit; they may thus also receive even Baptism; they are not rebaptized when they are converted, but the Sacrament which before only served to their destruction, now begins to work to their salvation.

[4 Lib. 2. c. 14. § 32.]

[5 Retr. 2. c. 18.]

[6 De Bapt. 1. § 1—7. [tom. 9. p. 79.] et 6. c. 3, 4, 5.]

[7 Bingh. 12. 5. 4, 5.]

[8 1. c. 17.]

So is it with the Ministers of the Church[1], be they covetous, envious, revengeful, or defiled with any other vice; they have not a whit the less the power to baptize[2]; they would not even be deprived of it, were they guilty of errors in the faith, whether their vices or errors are known or concealed[3]. Now, if the wicked that are in the Church may give and receive Baptism, they may also do it out of the Church; because they do not give it and receive it as being out of the Church, but by virtue of the faith and the Sacraments they have received of her. It is still the Church[4], which, in separate societies, produces children by the Sacrament, which belongs to her; or rather, it is JESUS CHRIST, who baptizeth by any Minister, worthy or unworthy. The sanctity of his Baptism[5] cannot be profaned by man, it is accompanied always by the power of GOD, working either for the salvation of those who rightly use it, or the destruction of those who abuse it. In respect, therefore, of the truth of the Sacrament, neither faith nor a good life is necessary to him who gives or receives it[6], but both are essential in respect of its effect to benefit. It is sufficient that Baptism be administered in the words of the Gospel, whatever bad interpretation[7] he who baptizes or is baptized may put upon them. This doctrine applies equally to all the Sacraments, and St. Augustine says expressly, that those who receive the Eucharist unworthily, do nevertheless receive the Body [and Blood] of CHRIST[8].

A. D. 400.

[1] Lib. 4. c. 4. § 5.
[2] 1. contr. Petil. c. 2. [tom. 9. p. 207.]
[3] De Bapt. 4. c. 4. [p. 124.]
[4] Lib. 1. c. 10. [p. 87.]
[5] Lib. 2. c. 10. [et 3. 10. et 4. 13.]
[6] Lib. 3. 14, 15. p. 114, 115.]
[7] Lib. 4. c. 12, 15.
[8] Lib. 5. c. 8. [p. 146.]

The Baptism of children[9] proves that the validity does not depend upon any inward disposition. "For no Christian," says St. Augustine, "will say that the Baptism of children is "ineffectual." This Baptism, of itself, saves children, who die before they are capable of believing and doing good works. On the contrary, faith alone and charity without Baptism saves him who cannot receive it, as was the case with the penitent thief. But virtue alone is not sufficient for him who can be baptized, as in the case of the Centurion Cornelius[1], because his contempt of Baptism would shew that his conversion was not sincere. In the same manner, Baptism alone is not sufficient for him[2], who is of age to do good works. But GOD supplies what is wanting independently of man, faith to the child, and the Sacrament to the adult. Although

[9] Lib. 4. c. 23.
[1] Lib. 4. c. 23. [p. 140. F.]
[2] Lib. 4. c. 25. § 32.

A. D. 400. Baptism given without the pale of the Church is valid, he who receives it, unless in the utmost necessity, sins[1]. In the Church itself, a layman[2] may baptize, and his Baptism is valid; but unless there is a necessity for so doing, he sins. Whether he who is unbaptized[3] can administer Baptism, was a question, for which St. Augustine waited for the decision of a Council; however, he seems inclined to pronounce it valid, and so it has been since decided.

[1] Lib. 1. c. 2, 4, 5.
[2] c. litt. Parm. 2. § 29. p. 44.
[3] § 30. p. 45. D. De Bapt. 7. c. 53.

[4] Bingh. 2. 6. § 5. Giesel. § 69. vol. 1.] As to St. Cyprian[4], St. Augustine always mentions him with the greatest respect, and never opposes his opinion but with the utmost consideration. He excuses him by the example of St. Peter[5], who was mistaken on the question about legal ceremonies[6]; by the obscurity of the question which St. Cyprian had to handle; and by the liberty of opinion he was entitled to exercise before the dispute had been decided by a plenary, that is, an universal Council. St. Augustine gives us these rules concerning the authority to be followed in the Church. The Scripture[7] is superior to all, neither is it allowable to dispute of the truth or correctness of what is contained therein. The writings of Bishops may be corrected by other Bishops of greater knowledge, and by Councils; decrees of provincial Councils may be overruled by general; and these themselves may be corrected by later Councils.

[5] Lib. 2. c. 1. [p. 95.] et 6. c. 1.
[6] Gal. 2. 11.
[7] Lib. 2. c. 3. [p. 98.]

"It is not my private[8] opinion," he says, "which I prefer "to that of Cyprian; but that of the whole Church, which "he would[9] have embraced himself, had he been clearly in- "formed of it. I make use of the liberty[1] he has allowed "every one, to follow an opposite opinion; he acknowledged "himself, that the ancient custom of the Church was con- "trary to what he maintained, and that the custom of bap- "tizing heretics was not introduced before Agrippinus[2]. He "has not condemned those who died without any other "Baptism than that which they had received without the "Church, and he did not himself[3] separate from the com- "munion of such as defended the ancient usage in opposition "to him; any more than he did from those Bishops who "were covetous and usurers, and whose scandalous behaviour "he lamented. He always maintained charity, and by this "means has manifestly condemned the schism of the Dona- "tists, by shewing that separation is unlawful either for a

[8] Lib. 5. c. 17. [p. 152.]
[9] Lib. 2. c. 4. [p. 98. D.]
[1] Lib. 6. c. 7. [p. 165.]
[2] Lib. 2. c. 7, 8.
[3] Lib. 1. c 18. [p. 94.] 2. c. 6. [p. 99.]

"difference of opinion, not yet decided by the supreme "authority of the Church, or for crimes out of one's power "to correct." Lastly[1], St. Augustine invokes[2] St. Cyprian, reigning in heaven, entreating that he may be assisted by his prayers, in imitating his virtues, and withstanding the heretics and schismatics, who endeavoured to prevent his writings. A. D. 400.

[1] Lib. 7. c. 1. [p. 185.]

[2] *adjuvet nos orationibus suis.* See 5. c. 17. p. 152. D. and supr. bk. 19. ch. 31. note k.]

He further presses the Donatists on the perpetuity of the Church, and says: "If it is a sacrilege and prevarication, to "receive heretics without baptizing them; all the Church, "before the time of Agrippinus[3], was guilty of this prevarica- "tion; that is, there was no Church. Whence then is "Donatus? Both we and the Donatists are the descendants "of those prevaricators, who had by prevaricating lost the "Church. Now, if the reception of these heretics was not a "lawful cause of separation, it is plain that we may com- "municate with sinners. You are in the wrong, therefore, "to reproach us with the pretended crimes of Cæcilian and "others whom you call Traditors, and to make this the "foundation of your schism. If we are of the race of these "traditors, you, as well as we, are the posterity of those an- "cient prevaricators."

[3] Lib. 3. c. 2. et 7. c. 2, 25, 54.

About the same time, St. Augustine being in the Church of Cirtha or Constantina[4] in Numidia, with Fortunatus, the Catholic Bishop of that city, a letter was given him from Petilian, the Donatist Bishop of the same place, written to his Presbyters. St. Augustine felt that he ought to answer[5] it, and he did so by a letter addressed to the faithful in his diocese. But as he had received only part of Petilian's letter, on afterwards obtaining the whole, he drew up a more exact reply: first, setting down the words of Petilian, and then his own answer, as in a conference. This is the second book against Petilian, which he did not write till about two years after the first, that is, in the year 402, at the latest; since he supposes Pope Anastasius[6] still living. He afterwards wrote a long letter to the Catholics of his diocese; which is generally called the *Book on the unity of the Church*[7]. He therein treats of the question about the true Church, and laying aside all disputes concerning matters of fact, only makes use of the words of the Holy Scripture;

[4] contr. litt. Petil. 1. c. 1.

[5] Retr. 2. c. 25. [p. 50.]

[6] Contr. Petil. 2. c. 51. § 118. [p. 254.]

[7] p. 337.]

A. D. 400. first laying down this rule, that in matters of controversy, the literal sense only is to be followed. He proves, therefore, that the true Church must be universal, and spread throughout the world, and refutes the argument drawn from passages misapplied by the Donatists, to prove that the Church was only amongst them. Petilian having seen the first letter of St. Augustine, made a reply, in which, for want of argument, he loaded him with calumnies and reproaches. The answer of St. Augustine[1] forms the third book against Petilian, where he first shews how little personal affronts avail in religious disputes, in which the authority of man is as nothing, but only the cause of GOD, which he defends.

[1] c. 1. [tom. 9. p. 297.]

XLVIII. First Council of Toledo.

Spain still continued as much divided as ever by the Priscillianists, and by the want of conformity in discipline. This gave occasion for the first[2] Council of Toledo, held in the beginning of September, (according to their æra 438), in the Consulship of Stilicho, A.D. 400. Nineteen Bishops out of all the provinces of Spain were present, the chief of whom was Patruinus[3] of Merida; and the most famous, Olympius, who wrote a treatise against such as attributed sin to nature, and not to free will[4]. This was an error which the Priscillianists had derived from the Manichees. Patruinus proposed[5] the removal of their scandalous non-conformity, (especially in ordinations), which proceeded so far as to produce schism, and obedience to the regulations of the Council of Nicæa. All the Bishops agreed, and twenty Canons were drawn up.

[2] Conc. 2. p. 1222. [Mans. 3. p. 997.]

[3] Innocent. Ep. 23. c. 5. [ap. Coust. Ep. 3. § 8. scr. A.D. 404.]

[4] Gennad. c. 24. [ap. S. Hier. tom. 5. p. 33.] S. Aug. in Jul. l. c. 3. § 8. [tom. 10. p. 500.]

[5] p. 998. Mans.]

They ordained, that "the Deacons or Priests[6] who are married, and have not observed continence, shall not be promoted to the Priesthood, or Episcopate." That, "those who have performed[7] public penance, shall not be ordained Clerks, that is, not even Door-keepers or Readers, but in case of necessity. He who since his baptism hath served in war[8], if he is received among the Clergy, cannot be advanced to the office of a Deacon. The Reader[9] who marries a second time, shall continue a Reader; but the Sub-deacon[1] shall be made a Door-keeper or a Reader, on condition, however, that he read neither the Epistle nor Gospel." This shews that the Readers might ordinarily read them; and they did so in Africa[2] in the time of St. Cyprian. "Any Clerk, who, being present[3] at a place that hath a Church belonging to it, shall

[6] can. 1.

[7] can. 2. [Bingh. 4. 3. § 6.]

[8] can. 8. [Bingh. 4. 4. § 1, 2.]

[9] can. 3.

[1] can. 4.

[2] Supr. bk. 6. ch. 50.

[3] can. 5.

"neglect to be present at the Sacrifice, which shall be offered A. D. 400.
"every day[1], shall no longer be esteemed a Clerk. Those who [1 Bingh. 6. 3. § 6.]
"come[2] into the Church, and never communicate, shall be [2 can. 13.]
"admonished to do penance, or no longer refrain from the
"communion. But he who having received[3] the Eucharist [3 can. 14.]
"from the Priest doth not swallow it," (which was one of
the abuses practised by the Priscillianists[4]), "shall be driven [4 Supra, bk. 17. ch. 56.]
"out of the Church as guilty of sacrilege. The Priest is
"forbidden to compose the sacred Chrism[5]; but a Deacon or [5 can. 20.]
"Sub-deacon is to be sent from each Church, to receive it [Supr. ch. 24.]
"from the Bishop at Easter. No Nun[6] is to perform the [6 *professa*]
"public prayers[7] in her house, without the presence of a [7 *antiphonas faciat cum confessore*, i.e. cantore.]
"Priest[8]. If the wife of a Clerk have committed sin, he may
"bind her in his own house, chastise her, and oblige her to
"fast, provided that he makes no attempt upon her life; nor [Supr. ch. 32. note t.]
"is he even to eat with her, till she has performed public [8 can. 9.]
"penance[9]." St. Augustine records this custom, of withdraw- [9 can. 7.]
ing from near relations of a bad life, and not eating with
them, in order to their amendment[1]. "The Nun who sins [1 Supr. bk. 18. ch. 49.]
"shall suffer ten years' penance[2]; and if she is married, she [2 can. 16.]
"shall not be admitted to perform penance till she is se-
"parated from her husband[3]. If she is the daughter[4] of a [3 caste vivere cœperit.]
"Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, she shall not receive the Com-
"munion till she is at the point of death; and the father [4 can. 19.]
"and mother shall be excommunicated if they do not separate
"themselves from her. The widow[5] of a Bishop, Priest, or [5 can. 18.]
"Deacon, who marries a second time, shall not receive the
"Communion, till she is at the point of death.

"He who together with a faithful wife hath a concubine[6], [6 can. 17.]
"is excommunicated; but if the concubine be instead of a
"wife to him, though without that title, so that he is other-
"wise continent, he shall not be denied the Communion."
This Canon is very remarkable, as shewing that there were lawful concubines[d], approved by the Church. The case, according to the Roman laws, was this: not every woman could be the lawful wife of any man; both must be Roman citizens, and their conditions not very unequal. A Senator might not

[d] These were of course in no sense concubines as we might now understand the word, but wives; they are called by this name only in reference to the Roman law.

A. D. 400. marry a freed woman, nor a freeman a slave; and unions with slaves were not termed marriages. Now a woman who might not have the title of wife, might be a concubine[1], and the laws permitted it, provided a man had but one, and was unmarried[2]. Their children possessed a kind of middle character, they were acknowledged by the parents, and capable of receiving donations[3]. The Church did not concern itself with these distinctions, but keeping to the natural law, approved the union of any man and woman, provided it was single and constant[4]; and the rather, since the Holy Scripture sometimes makes use indifferently of the names of wife and concubine[5].

In the same Council[6], Symposius and Dictynnius, Bishops, and Comasius, Presbyter, abjured the errors of the Priscillianists; Symposius had twenty years before subscribed to their condemnation, at the Council of Saragoza, in 380[7]. Dictynnius was his son, and Bishop of Astorga, and Comasius his disciple. All three condemned the writings of Priscillian, especially his saying, there were two principles, and that the SON of GOD was inaccessible[8]. It appears that Dictynnius had composed certain writings, in which there were some errors, which he had already recanted. On their recantation, the Bishops of the Council of Toledo pronounced a sentence, importing that St. Ambrose had taken cognizance of the affair of these two Bishops, and was of opinion that they should be received, if they condemned what they had done amiss, and that Dictynnius should remain a Presbyter, as he was at that time, and be incapable of promotion to a higher rank; to which Symposius replied, that he had been forced by the people to ordain him Bishop. It is observed also, that the Pope Siricius had given his opinion on this subject. Mention is made of many other Bishops, chiefly of Gallicia, who had followed the Priscillianists, some of whom are condemned, and others are admitted to communion. It is said of Paternus of Braga, that he was converted on reading the works of St. Ambrose. He is allowed to remain in his Church, and is promised admission to communion, as soon as they shall have received letters to that purpose from the Apostolical see. Communion is promised also to the other Bishops of Gallicia, if they subscribe the form sent by the

[1] Cod. Justin. ff. (i. e. Digest.) 25. 7. 1, 2. ad Leg. Jul. de adult.
[2] Cod. Justin.] 5. tit. 26. de Concub. [A. D. 321 or 324.]
[3] Cod. Just. 5. 27. de Nat. lib.
[4] S. Aug. de Bono Conj. c. 5.
[5] Gen. 25. 1, 6. Jud. 19. 2, 9, 10, 24, 25, 27, 29.
[6] Chron. Idat. ed. Sirmond. Olymp. 294. [Roncall. Pars Alt. p. 14.] Conc. 2. p. 1229. [Mans. 3. p. 1004, 1005.]
[7] Supr. bk. 17. ch. 57.
[8] *innascibilem.*]

Council, "till such time," say the Fathers, "as we receive "letters from the present Pope, St. Simplician, Bishop of "Milan, and the other Bishops." This is the first time we find the Bishop of Rome simply styled the Pope[1], by way of eminence. A. D. 400. [1 Bingh. 2. 2. § 7.]

XLIX. Death of St. Martin.

The death[2] of St. Martin is thought, with most probability, to have happened in this year, 400, on Sunday the eleventh of November, on which day his memory is still honoured by the Church[3]. He had arrived to extreme old age, being above fourscore years old. He had long before knowledge[4] of his approaching death; and had intimated it to his disciples. Being informed that a quarrel existed between the Clerks of the Church of Condate[5], at the farthest part of his diocese, he went thither to restore peace, attended as usual by a great number[6] of his disciples. St. Martin, having remained there some time, and done what he desired, thought of returning to his monastery, when he found on a sudden his strength fail. He sent for his disciples, and declared to them that his end was come. They began all with one voice to say to him with tears: "Why, O father, why do you leave us? The ravening "wolves will fall upon your flock. We know your desire to "be with CHRIST, but your reward is secure to you, nor will "it be lessened by delay. O pity us, whom you are desert-"ing!" Moved with their tears, he wept also, and said[7]: "LORD, if I be yet necessary to Thy people, I decline not the "labour; Thy will be done." [2 Sulpic. Ep. 3. [ad Bassul. See supr. bk. 18. ch. 59. note z.] [3 Vid. English Calend. Nov^r. 11, the day of his death, or burial] [4 § 6.] [5 Rennes] [6 § 7.] [7 § 11.]

He had a fever which lasted some days; notwithstanding which he spent the night in prayer and watching, lying on ashes and hair-cloth; and when his disciples begged him to put at least some straw under him, he replied: "Sons, it "becomes not a Christian to die except in ashes." He continually held up his eyes and hands to Heaven; and when the Priests, who were about him, wished to turn him on one side to ease his position, he answered: "Suffer me, brethren, "suffer me to fix my eyes upon Heaven rather than on earth, "that my spirit may even now be setting out on its journey "to the LORD." Afterwards, seeing the Evil Spirit at his side, he exclaimed: "Beast of blood, why standest thou here! "Deadly one, thou shalt find nothing in me! Abraham's "bosom is receiving me!" With these words, he died. Those

A. D. 400. who were present marvelled at the brightness of his face and his whole body, which seemed to them as it were already glorified. The inhabitants of Poictiers would have taken away his relics, on the ground that he had dwelt among them, in his first monastery[e] of Ligugiacum[1]; but the people of Tours prevailed[2]. There was an incredible multitude at his funeral. As the body was being carried to Tours, the whole city came to meet it. All the country people flocked thither, and many from the neighbouring cities. About two thousand Monks were assembled in this place, and a great company of virgins. All shed tears, though none doubted of his glory. He was carried with hymns to the place of his interment, where afterwards was built a spacious church, and the famous monastery of St. Martin of Tours. He governed the Church of Tours twenty-six years, and was succeeded by St. Briccius[3], one of his disciples. His life was written by another of his disciples, named Severus Sulpicius.

[1] Supr. bk. 17. ch. 25. Greg. Turon. Mirac. 4. 30. *Locociagense.*] Supr. bk. 14. ch. 25.

[2] Greg. Turon. Hist. 1. c. ult.

[3] Greg. Turon. Hist. 2. c. 1.

L. Origen translated by Ruffinus.

About the same time Ruffinus of Aquileia was condemned by Pope Anastasius; in relating which affair, it will be necessary to look backward. Ruffinus[4] having remained about five and twenty years at Jerusalem with St. Melania, returned to Rome about the year 397, where he published a Latin version of the Apology[5] for Origen, ascribed to the Martyr St. Pamphilus, with a letter attempting to prove, that the works of Origen had been corrupted[6]. Both were addressed to Macarius, who had been Vicar[7] to the Prætorian Præfect, and was a person of great piety. Ruffinus afterwards translated Origen's work, "*Peri Archon,*" that is, "On Principles," with a preface[8] addressed to the same Macarius, where he says: "I know that many have wished Origen to be trans- "lated into Latin by some learned men; and accordingly,

[4] Supr. bk. 17. ch. 6.

[5] Ap. S. Hier. tom. [5. p. 220.]

[6] ibid. p. 249.]

[7] Pall. Laus. c. 123. [Rosw. p. 587. note a.]

[8] p. 254.] Et post Ep. 39. [tom. 4. pars 2. p. 339.]

[a] As St. Athanasius had (*A. D. 341*) introduced monastic communities into the West, (comp. supr. bk. 18. ch. 20. fin. and ch. 34. See Giesel. vol. 1. § 94), so St. Martin, about A. D. 372, first founded a monastery in the neighbourhood of Poictiers, on the Loire, with eighty disciples, (Sulp. Sev. Vit. B. Mart. c. 10. Supr. bk. 16. ch. 30). Thence, as is supposed, Pelagius introduced monasticism into England in the beginning of the fifth century (Bingh. bk. 7. ch. 2. § 4), before St. Augustine of Canterbury brought in the Benedictines, A. D. 596. (Ibid. §. 13). "The Church "of England has not declared against "a monastic life in any of her Articles. "The dissolution of Abbeys was an act "of the state and not of the Church; it "was prior to the Reformation, and "carried on by a Prince and Parlia- "ment of the Roman communion in "all points, excepting the supremacy." Collier, vol. 1. p. 65.

"one of our brethren having translated one of the Homilies A. D. 400.
"on the Canticles, at the desire of the Bishop Damasus,
"subjoined a preface, so much in their commendation, that
"he hath made every body desirous of reading Origen.
"Moreover, he promises to translate several of his other
"works. I intend therefore to follow, though in a style
"much inferior to his, what he has begun and approved, and
"acquaint the world with this man, whom he calls the
"second Doctor in the Church after the Apostles, and from
"whom he has translated more than seventy Homilies. I
"will also follow his method, clearing up the obscure pas-
"sages, and suppressing what does not agree with what he
"hath said elsewhere, in relation to the Catholic Faith; of
"which I have explained to you the reason in the Apology
"of Pamphilus." He concludes his preface with an earnest caution to the copyist to be faithful in transcribing this work. The brother, whose name Ruffinus does not express, and whom he seems so much to commend, is St. Jerome, wishing by this means to anticipate him, by shewing how much he had committed himself to approve of Origen.

Ruffinus having spread this translation at Rome, retired to his native place Aquileia, with a letter of communion[1] from the Pope St. Siricius, who not suspecting any thing, had made no difficulty in granting it. This holy Pope died soon after, on the twenty-sixth of November, 398, having governed the Roman Church nearly fourteen years[2]. Immediately after, Anastasius was elected, who held the Holy See but three years and a half. Ruffinus was accused to him of having spread the errors of Origen in Rome. St. Marcella[3], excited by her zeal for the faith, and friendship for St. Jerome, was the first who publicly opposed it. For she saw that this writing of Ruffinus was doing much mischief; that some Priests and Monks, and many seculars, were suffering themselves to be seduced by his errors. The other friends of St. Jerome at Rome[4] joined her, particularly Paulinianus his brother, and his friend Eusebius, and two other Priests, named Vincent and Ruffinus. Vincent was at Rome long before Ruffinus of Aquileia; Paulinianus and Eusebius set out a year after him; the other Ruffinus, two years after. St. Jerome had sent his brother Paulinianus to sell the remainder of their

[1] S. Hier. in Ruff. 3. c. 6, 7. [p. 459. A. 462. B.]

[2] Supr. bk. 18. ch. 33.

[3] Ep. ad Princip. 16. [96. p. 782.]

[4] p. 462.]

A. D. 400. inheritance in Pannonia, desiring to enlarge the monastery he had built at Bethlehem, and to be better able to exercise hospitality[1]. Ruffinus of Aquileia then was accused to Pope Anastasius. Witnesses were produced as evidence against him, who had themselves been reclaimed from the errors of Origen[2]. His translation of the Book of Principles was brought, but as he had not set his name to it, copies were exhibited corrected with his own hand. The Pope wrote several times to him, to summon him to Rome and make his defence in person, but he always excused himself.

[1] Ep. 26. in fin. [55. p. 558.] ad Pamm.

[2] Ep. ad Princip. [p. 782.]

In the mean time the friends of St. Jerome gave him notice of what was being done at Rome[3]. Pammachius and Oceanus wrote him word, that certain papers had been brought to them, containing the translation of the Principles of Origen. "We find therein," say they, "many propositions which do not seem to us to be Catholic; and we also "suspect that many others have been suppressed, which "would have discovered the impiety of the author; wherefore we entreat you, for the good of all that are at Rome, "to acquaint us with this book of Origen, as it is in the "original, and to correct the errors or unintentional mistakes "of this translation. And as the translator, without mentioning your name, artfully insinuates in his preface, that "he has executed the work you promised, and that you "maintain the same opinions; you ought to clear yourself "from this suspicion, lest your silence be taken for a confession."

[3] Ap. S. Hier. Ep. 64. [40. p. 341. A. D. 398.]

11. St. Jerome writes against Ruffinus.

St. Jerome having received this letter, together with the translation and preface of Ruffinus, wrote to Pammachius and Oceanus, justifying the commendations he had bestowed on Origen[4]. He says, that he praised his mind and learning, but without approving his doctrine; and that he made use of him as St. Cyprian[5] did of Tertullian, and in the same manner as the books of Apollinaris against Porphyry, and the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, are employed. He owns that he studied under Apollinaris[6] and Didymus, and that he had also been instructed by a Jew. I have read Origen, he adds, and know all that he has written; believe me, I speak by experience, his dogmas are poisonous[7], and do violence to the Scriptures. He commends[8] the morals of Origen, and his im-

[4] Ep. 65. [41. p. 341. A. D. 399.] ad Pamm. et Ocean.

[5] p. 342.]

[6] Apoll. Laodicenum audivi Antiochiæ frequenter et colui.]

[7] p. 343.]

[8] p. 346.]

c. 3.

mense labours; he agrees that his errors are excusable; only he would not have him extolled as an Apostle, or have it pretended that he is never mistaken. As to the Apology of Origen, attributed to the Martyr Pamphilus[1], he affirms that it was not composed by him, but by Eusebius. He wrote[2] also to Ruffinus; for when he left Palestine, they parted good friends. St. Jerome complains gently of his preface, in which Ruffinus, while he seemingly commends him, really accuses him of the errors of Origen; and begs him to be more cautious for the future, lest others should not bear it with the same patience. A. D. 400. [1 p. 347.] [2 c. 4. Ep. 66. [42. p. 348. A. D. 399. ad Ruffin.]

At the same time St. Jerome, according to the desire of Pammachius and Oceanus, translated Origen's Book of Principles. He himself acknowledged the necessity of making a new translation[3], on comparing that which they had sent him with the Greek original. For he observes that Ruffinus had corrected the errors of Origen against the TRINITY, which would not have been tolerated at Rome; but that he had let alone the other dogmas, concerning the fall of the Angels, of souls, of the resurrection, the plurality of worlds, and of the restoration of all things. Ruffinus had left all these errors in Origen as he found them, or had confirmed them by the writings of Didymus[4]. St. Jerome therefore thought himself obliged to make a more impartial version of this work, where all the errors of Origen should equally appear. [3 Apol. ad Pamm. adv. Ruff. l. c. 2. [p. 355. A. D. 401.] [4 commentariolis Didymi qui Origenis apertissimus propugnator est. Supr. bk. 18. ch. 10. and 36.]

Pammachius having received this, was shocked at these errors, and kept the book close, for fear of their becoming public. But one of the brethren, prompted by an indiscreet zeal, borrowed them to read, promising speedily to return them, and Pammachius lent them without suspicion. The other immediately got writers in short-hand, and copied out the whole work with dispatch, that he returned it sooner than he had promised. This copy he communicated to others; but it was full of errors, and in many places the sense was incomplete, as well by reason of the obscurity of the matter, as by the hurry of the transcribers. Wherefore ten years after, that is, about the year 409, a person named Avitus desired St. Jerome to send him the true version, which he did; and at the same time to provide him with the antidote, he wrote a letter[5], wherein he sets down the errors contained in each of the four [5 Ep. 59. [94. p. 760. A. D. 409.] ad Avit.

A. D. 400. books of the Principles. The version of St. Jerome is lost, and that of Ruffinus only remains.

When Ruffinus heard that St. Jerome had translated the Books of Principles, he was so incensed, that his friends at Rome did not think it advisable to send him St. Jerome's letter, to Aquileia. Meanwhile, he composed three books against St. Jerome, which appeared some time after. He also much about the same time translated Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, at the desire of Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia. To which he added two books, which continued it to the reign of Theodosius the Great. He tells us that he was about it when Alaric passed the Alps, to enter Italy.

LII. Ruffinus condemned at Rome.

Pope Anastasius had often cited him to Rome, to defend himself. He did not go, but only wrote him a letter[1]; where he says in excuse, that not having seen his relations for thirty years, it would be hard to leave them so soon, and that he was much tired with his long journey. He pretends that his faith was sufficiently proved by the persecution he underwent at Alexandria, namely, in the time of Valens[2]. However, he makes his Confession of Faith concerning the TRINITY, the Incarnation, the Resurrection of the Flesh, the Eternity of Hell Torments, in sufficient conformity with the Catholic doctrine. Concerning the Origin of Souls, he relates three opinions; but says he has embraced none of them, and that he holds what the Church plainly teaches concerning them, that GOD is the Author of both body and soul. As to the translation of Origen, he said, he neither defends nor approves, but only interprets him; and protests, that he never did, nor would hold another faith than that of the Church of Rome, and the Churches of [Alexandria,] Aquileia and Jerusalem.

[1] Ep. ad Anastas.] ap. S. Hier. tom. 5. [p. 259.]

[2] Supr. bk. 17. ch. 5.

This apology did not satisfy Pope Anastasius; he notwithstanding condemned Ruffinus, and hearing that Theophilus of Alexandria had condemned the writings of Origen and forbidden any one to read them, he condemned[3] them at Rome also. He did this mainly at the earnest solicitation of St. Marcella[4], and probably in the year 401. In the following year he wrote[5] to John, Bishop of Jerusalem, who had consulted him in the case of Ruffinus, and speaks to him in the following manner: "It is for Ruffinus to consider how he

[3] Ep. 87. [78.] ad Pamm. et Marcell. [A. D. 405. p. 690. fin.]

[4] Ep. 16. [96. ad Princip. p. 782. A. D. 412.] c. 5.

[5] Ap. S. Hier. tom. 5. [p. 260, 261.] Conc. 2. p. 1194.

" will be able to justify himself before GOD, who is the Judge A. D. 400.
" of his conscience. As for Origen, whom he hath trans-
" lated into our tongue, I knew not before who he was, nor
" what he had advanced." He afterwards declares how that he wholly disapproves of his translation, as being of no other use but to infect the Roman Church with a pernicious doctrine. He trusts in the Divine Providence, that his own conduct will be approved by the whole world, and says that he had written more at large to his brother Venerius, who was Bishop of Milan, the successor of Simplician. He adds, that there is a Rescript from the Emperors forbidding all the faithful to read Origen's books. He exhorts John not to pay attention to common talk, or to entertain unjust suspicions against any one, which seems to refer to St. Jerome. He concludes speaking of Ruffinus: " Know that I look upon him as
" divided from us, so that I desire I may not know where he
" is, or what he does; in fine, let him be absolved where he
" can[1]." Thus ends the letter of Pope Anastasius, which is the only writing we have of his. In it he treats John of Jerusalem with great respect, and says that the glory of his Pontificate was spread through the whole world; which proves that the charges of Origenism, made against him by St. Epiphanius and St. Jerome, had made no great impression at Rome, or that they were forgotten. Origen was also condemned in Italy by Venerius of Milan, and even by Chromatius of Aquileia; in short, by all the West.

[1] See Apol. S. Hier. 2. c. 6. [p. 405.] Ep. Justinian. tom. 5. Conc. p. 658. B. [ad Mennam. A. D. 553. Conc. 5. Gen. Mans. tom. 9. p. 510. D.]

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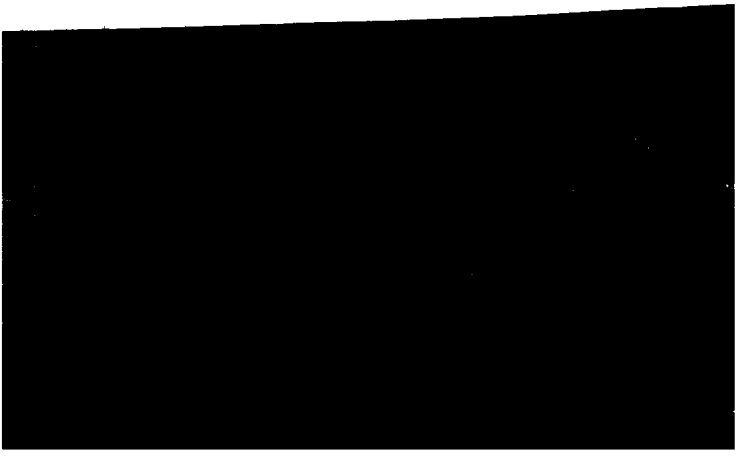
ERRATA, &c.

Page 24. note s, *for* officer, *read* division.
—— 43. line 22, *for* Anemimius, *read* Aneminius.
—— 64. heading of Chapter, *for* XXVII, *read* XXVIII.
—— 64. marg., *dele* St.
—— 115. line 27, *for* clasped his knee, *read* embraced his knees.
—— 160. note g, *for* ad Dorotheus, *read* and Dorotheus.
—— 232. note g, line 9 from bottom, *for* Theod., *read* Theodora.
—— 265. Contents, ch. 31, *for* Fortunatus, *read* Fortunius.
—— 265. Contents, ch. 46, *for* Book, *read* Books.
—— 274. marg., supply, Ch. IV.
—— 305. marg., *for* Divinam, *read* Divinum.



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